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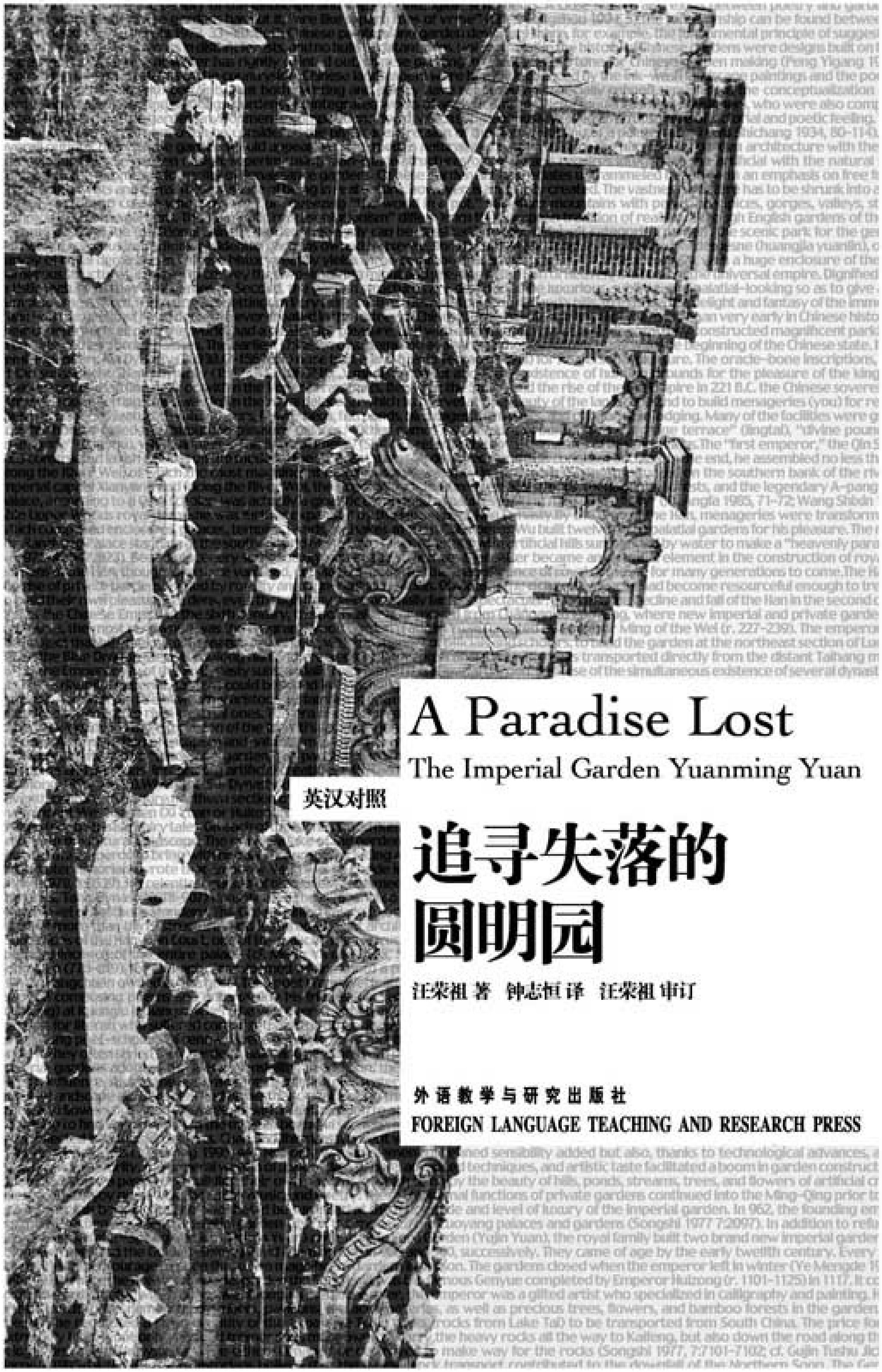
中国文人园林：汉英对照

中国历史地理论集：英汉对照

燕园文物

北平历史地理

海外圆明园研究最为全面、系统的著作，圆明园罹难150周年之际，原版英文首次登陆国内，中英对照双语呈现，字里行间重现这座已经消逝的宫苑，带您细细品读这座从无到有，从有到无的皇家御园，再叙它的光荣与屈辱。



英汉对照

A Paradise Lost

The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan

追寻失落的圆明园

汪荣祖 著　钟志恒 译　汪荣祖 审订

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch’ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
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双语版新序

拙著《追寻失落的圆明园》英文初版于2001年由美国夏威夷大学出版社出版，台北麦田出版社于2004年译成中文出版，翌年南京江苏教育出版社又出了简体字版，“麦田”复于2007年出了新版。今北京外语教学与研究出版社尚未谋面的乡友吴浩先生鼓励我于圆明园焚毁150周年之际出个双语版，作为作者的我，当然欣然同意，感激浩兄的热心，并为此书能一再重印而感到幸运与高兴。

中国园林艺术有几千年的历史，至建造圆明园时，已经达到登峰造极的境界，然而由于此一代名园被英法联军焚毁，同治帝虽修复了一部分，又遭遇到八国联军的摧残，民国以后几乎无人看守，不断遭遇到破坏，在遗址上所能见到的只是西洋楼区的一些残垣断壁，以至于有不少人误认为西洋楼就是圆明园。把圆明园说成是中国的凡尔赛宫，就是一大误会。其实, 整个西洋楼只是圆明园的一小部分，而模仿凡尔赛宫的海晏堂又是西洋楼的一小部分。圆明园内西洋楼的设计与建造都不是出自专业人士之手，所以不可能是西洋建筑中的精品，也远不能与大部分圆明园的景点相提并论。雨果（Victor Hugo）没有到过圆明园，他主要在谴责西洋文明中的霸道与残酷部分，在西方多元社会里，多少有一些反潮流的“良心”人士，发出道德的怒吼。美国文豪马克·吐温（Mark Twain）在一篇题为《致蹲在黑暗里的人》（“To the Person Sitting in Darkness”）的文章里，也声讨八国联军的烧杀掠夺，指出以文明自傲的西方人竟像野蛮的强盗。法国的雨果与美国的马克·吐温先后指帝国主义者的掠夺为“强盗行为”。我们知道，如果没有八国联军的二度破坏，不会导致圆明园完全成为废墟。

圆明园有150年辉煌的历史，而今火烧圆明园也有150年了。值此纪念往事之际，当然会关切到名园何以“失落”的问题。导致圆明园焚毁的英法联军入侵之役，牵涉到中西关系，问题的根本在于两个不同体制的冲撞。西方的罗马帝国崩溃后，经过一千年的演变成为“列国”（民族国家），而大清帝国仍然是中华帝国的延续。按照中华帝制，见皇帝要下跪是天经地义的事，但在西方人看来就是故意屈辱了。我们可以责备清朝皇帝老大不明世界情势，但怎能期待皇帝为了外国人的感受而破坏自己的体制？我想也没有任何外国领导人会破坏体制去见远来的客人。体制碰撞，两不相让，最终只有诉诸武力，被打败的体制才会不得已而接

受新体制。在这个必然的大趋势下，诸多偶然因素就微不足道了。

英法联军之前，清朝在威胁下已经接受英方的“修约”。“修约”的原因是由于《南京条约》签订十几年之后，英国已不满意现状，想要增加利益条款；清廷虽不愿意，也无可奈何，只好接受。但问题出在如何进京换约：英方不肯接受清政府指定的进京路线，而且还要求几千兵马同行，这当然会引起咸丰皇帝的疑虑，因而和战不决，和议的价码也就节节升高，最后还是以战决胜。法国因传教士命案而与英国联手，好像是一个偶然因素，其实不过是借口而已。如果没有巨大的利益可得，不可能为一件偶发的命案而劳师动众。中国的再次屈辱是军事科技落后的必然结果，英国三千军队就能征服印度，收为殖民地；相比之下，中国的命运似乎还略胜一筹。

我们不必过度谴责清廷的颟顸无能，却不应忽视西方帝国主义的横行霸道。清廷被迫接受不平等条约，不敢不履行条约，然而在履行的过程中，对方往往横生枝节——如英国人坚持要入京换约，却不遵守清廷指定的路线，强要选择经过大沽炮台，而且还要带大批军队同行，不仅引起清廷的疑虑，也不符合现代国际关系的准则。

英国是19世纪的超强，征服了印度，为什么“不想征服整个中国”？我看非不想也，是不能也。清帝国不像印度那样松散，毕竟从中央到地方仍有完整的政治结构，人口众多，土地辽阔，整个征服，谈何容易？就是在19世纪末的“瓜分中国”，最后也未完全得逞。事实上，英法联军得到经济利益后，急着签约撤兵，因严冬即至，补给困难，旷日持久，可能生变。恭亲王也急着想要外国军队撤走，不惜答应任何条件，连原不相干的沙俄经由《中俄北京条约》也获得大块土地。

当和谈最后破裂时，巴夏礼为首的代表们想逃跑才被抓当人质，抓人质在西方也是常见的事。在西方人眼里，中国监狱是很不人道的，虐待俘虏的确也是常有的事，所以要治外法权，但不能有双重标准：英法联军也抓了通州县丞，而且死在他们的狱中，更不必说联军对无辜百姓的不人道待遇——李慈铭在北京目击联军虐待中国妇女，吴可读日记中也有类似的记载。战争毕竟是野蛮的，但野蛮不是你的或他的，而是双方的。

所谓虐待俘虏、激怒英国，并不是火烧圆明园的最主要原因，只是火上浇油而已。英国统帅额尔金发现咸丰皇帝最关爱圆明园，所以他一定要烧，才能使中国皇帝感到痛；我觉得还有另一层原因：因在烧毁之

前已把园内最好的东西抢劫一空，将整个园一把火烧了，被抢的珍宝便无法追索，未尝不是一种故意灭迹的行为。我也不认为额尔金之流会在意历史上的骂名，就是在儒家中国，春秋笔法也并不足以使乱臣贼子惧——如果真惧的话，就不至于历代不断有乱臣贼子的出现。

法国作家布立赛的《1860：圆明园大劫难》一书是目前叙述英法联军攻打北京、抢劫与烧毁圆明园最详尽的一本书，颇有参考价值。但作者是法国人，不免偏袒法国，把圆明园大劫难的责任，归之于英国人。法国军队只比英国军队早到达圆明园一天，到达后并没有立即抢劫。公平地说，抢劫是英法一起干的，不必分先后轻重。法国人的确不赞成烧圆明园，因其认为不应用暴力来对付一座和平的皇家林园；不过，法国又说，要烧的话，应该烧紫禁城里的皇宫，因那是中国发号施令的中心，这才有针对性。所以雨果说得对，英法是两个“强盗”，烧皇宫还是烧圆明园只是两个“强盗”之间的争辩而已。恭亲王留在北京议和，在火烧圆明园之前已经完全屈服了，并一再请求额尔金不要烧，反而加大额尔金焚毁圆明园的兴趣。

不过，布立赛觉得火烧圆明园伤害了中国人民的感情，已经不容易，可以说是有一点“反思”的意思。从前以及现在仍有不少中外人士认为圆明园是皇家的园子，关老百姓何事？他们忽略了圆明园是中国文化的一个缩影，是一个实质文化的呈现，而一个文化在暴力下消失，不仅中国人要关切，全世界爱好文化的人都应该关切。对中国人而言，圆明园被外力摧毁当然是一国耻，以此激励民族感情也无可厚非。

清朝皇家对圆明园的失落最感痛心，固不待言。咸丰皇帝在热河英年早逝与伤悼圆明园不无关系，慈禧与同治帝不惜政治与经济的压力，一意要修复圆明园，其性情可知。中国一般国人的伤悼之情也是真诚的，如史家陈寅恪的祖父陈宝箴在北京茶楼看到天边浓烟，知道圆明园起火，不禁痛哭失声；康有为在巴黎看到圆明园遗物也感到伤心。民国以来不同背景的官方与民间人士亦多对圆明园表达哀悼，甚至愤怒。直到最近海外还有一位华裔女作家张纯瑛来到圆明园废墟，也不禁流泪，称之为“中国的哭墙”。可见150年来中国人的伤悼之情一直延续着。当然，伤悼之余要能理性思考，必须认知到：国家没有实力，必然招辱。圆明园兴盛的150年不能不说是一种“文明的崛起”，然而没有武力作后盾，这个“文明”活生生地倒下了。大国如果没能在经济上与军事上先崛起，也就没有崛起的基础，又如何谈文明或文化的崛起？

伤悼圆明园的失落，并不必刻意重建圆明园。我是最早不赞成重建

之一人，重建后的圆明园是假的，更何况即使有钱重建，也无那种重建的手艺。请看珠海的圆明新园，真是令人不堪入目。我很高兴知道有72.1%的网友反对重建或修复圆明园。如何好好保护圆明园遗址，才是要务。圆明园作为遗址公园宜尽量少具旅游的商业色彩，而保持遗址的悲壮氛围。

具有民族感情的中国人都想追回圆明园流失的文物，我不知道有何正当或合法的途径可以追回“国宝”，因为那些“国宝”是被不正当、不合法的手段抢走的。不过，铭记历史与保护遗址和追回文物是两回事。铭记历史不仅指铭记圆明园的历史，还牵涉到当今“史盲”的问题——今日有太多的人不重视历史，很多年轻人对历史不感兴趣，历史知识也愈来愈浅薄，不仅中国，全球都如此，值得我们正视。拙著希望对铭记历史起一点作用，希望圆明园的灰烬不要使青史也成灰，青史的价值要在真实，从真实的历史中才能吸取历史教训。

这本双语版《追寻失落的圆明园》将我的英文原著与钟志恒的中译本合为一册，外研社人文社科分社的易璐女士做了辛勤而又仔细的整编工作，她指出一些潜藏的错误与笔误，提出不少宝贵的意见，依照中英文对应的原则对中译本的文字也作了进一步的润饰，更加符合大陆读者阅读的需要，使我这本旧书多少有了新的面貌，少些失误，对此我衷心铭感。

汪荣祖 2010年8月31日写于美国华府

简体中文版弁言

本书中译本《追寻失落的圆明园》由台北麦田出版社出版后，江苏教育出版社吴兴元先生即与我联络，非常热心地要出大陆简体字版，并先后向美国夏威夷大学出版社与麦田出版社购得出版权。不到几个月，简体版的校样已经印出，增加了不少图片，改正了一些笔误，印制也大方美观。我对小吴的敬业与诚恳，表示感谢。

此书原由英文写作，当然要顺着英文的语法与思路写；然而由英文译成中文，译者往往不能完全摆脱原来的语法与思路的羁绊，以便转化为道地的中文，读来不免有点别扭。我于审订译稿时，虽多加润饰，但难以改头换面；此次校阅简体校样，又作了若干文字上的修订。我若用中文写此书，写法肯定会大不相同，不仅文字而且谋篇都会很不一样。

我们华人碰触到圆明园，大都[1]会带点民族情绪，从当年亲眼看到圆明园起火的陈宝箴、目击英法联军烧、杀、抢、奸的李慈铭，到近代变法家康有为、保守派作家林纾、中国马克思主义之父李大钊、诗人顾随、学者向达、将军张爱萍，各人思想背景虽异，对名园遭外来暴力所毁，莫不痛心疾首，都感到莫大的屈辱与悲愤。我个人初访荒芜的圆明园时，也不免触景生情，很能体会前人的悲愤，曾调寄《水龙吟》一阕：

名园早已荒芜，百年憾事今难状，天津失守，北京易手，皇城焚掠。

壮丽成空，火龙吞树，残垣相望，叹金楼凤阁，都成劫烬，寻陈迹，空惆怅。

闻道旧园新造，乍听之心情波荡，山林仍在，玉泉滋润，清流可畅。

只欠东风，吹开帘幕，碧湖涟涨，愿天公眷佑，长春不谢，坐圆明舫。

当时填词的心情仍希望能重现圆明园的昔日光辉，然而当写书时，已感到重修圆明园之无意义，最大的问题尚不是财源，而是技艺失传。再者，即使财、艺俱备，再造出来的圆明园也是假的，还不如好好整理与保存真实的遗迹。圆明园虽称“万园之园”不误，但其不同于万园，正

因其具有异于寻常的兴亡痛史。遗迹所呈现繁华与屈辱的历史记忆以及现场逼人的沉寂，也正是此园之所以特别令人低回、起遐想之处。圆明园遗址的悲凉之美，自然而然会激发无从压抑的民族情感。

我在写圆明园遭遇到洗劫与焚毁一章时，力求作一个“无情的历史书写者”（dispassionate historian）；然而，不容置疑的史实与普世价值昭示我们，抢劫以及焚烧圆明园都是难以自圆其说、难辞其咎的行为。最近香港大学英文系一位副教授为文指出，下令焚毁圆明园的第八代额尔金男爵的父亲任驻奥斯曼帝国大使时，即曾破坏文物，将希腊帕提农神庙（Parthenon）里的塑雕大理石像运回苏格兰老家，被伟大的诗人拜伦（Lord Byron）痛斥为太无天理与可恶的文物强盗；拜伦极爱希腊，故痛恨之至，因而要“让仇恨[永远]追索他（额尔金）的贪念”（May hate pursue his sacrilegious lust!）。半世纪后，儿子走父亲的老路，不仅抢走圆明园里的珍贵文物，而且将抢不走的烧了。这位作者觉得，从希腊被盗的石像到圆明园的废墟，对之必须作道德的批判，用“功利主义”（utilitarianism）来合理化19世纪的帝国主义与殖民主义是“不道德的”，因其乃人类共同记忆中非人性的案例，必须谴责。[2]

当年写作此书时当然有未见的资料，特别是台北“中央研究院”历史语言研究所所藏大量内阁大库明清档案，然今已数字化，极易引用；其中有关圆明园者至少有192笔，诸如乾隆九年元月总管内务府“谘典籍厅奉上谕，新岁朕奉皇太后驻跸圆明园，所有灯节恭进皇太后筵宴及赐蒙古王等筵宴，应照旧举行”；乾隆十七年内阁大学士傅恒奏：“辛未科庶吉士散馆，拟于十月四日在圆明园正大光明殿考试，伏候谕旨”；乾隆十八年大学士陈世倌奏报：“西洋波尔多噶尔亚国进贡来使巴哲格，应赍方物进献，据钦天监择吉至日，带领来使至圆明园进献，恭候内廷收讫，知会内务府等所，有赐宴等事”；乾隆五十五年八月礼部“移会典籍厅，所有二十日正大光明殿筵宴其应行入宴之朝鲜等生番，在京一品文武大臣，外省提督巡抚，衍圣公，照例于是日五鼓，前往圆明园入宴”；道光十六年四月礼部“移会内阁典籍厅，本年丙申恩科典试，皇上驻跸圆明园，相应预行知会各衙门，凡开列读卷大臣务于四月二十日黎明各咸集圆明园，听候钦点”；道光二十年翰林院“谘稽察房奉上谕，庶吉士于四月十六日在圆明园正大光明考试”；同年礼部“移会内阁典籍厅为本年十月初十，皇太后万寿圣节，皇上诣绮春园进表行礼”；嘉庆十年七月十八日圆明园“谘典籍厅为库掌伊萨布等呈，称皇上谒陵，请照例谘行各衙门于圆明园大宫门两边各部院衙门朝房，派人前来看守，并将人役花名谘覆本处”。类此档案文献均可补充本书所述，圆明园除游乐

以外，颇有繁忙的公务活动。

内阁大库档案也为本书所述圆明园里的“罪与罚”提供新的例子，如乾隆三十二年五月公兆德家人成禄在圆明园用刀戳伤袁朝礼并致死，刑部请旨将成禄即行正法。此未必是谋杀案，但不论动机为何，伤人致死按当时杀人偿命的原则，被判死刑不足为奇，也给我们提供了在圆明园内犯罪而被处死的例子。又从乾隆二十七年十一月五日的档案得知，看库步兵杨廷璧挖掘偷窃银库，也是拿送刑部严审；不过，巡防不力的参将李全等人则交兵部严加议处。

此书英文版精装与平装只印了1000本，“麦田”中文版也只印了2500本，对圆明园有兴趣的广大读者、有资格的评论者必求之于中国大陆，故吾于简体版寄厚望焉。

汪荣祖
2005年8月6日 写于台湾嘉南平原

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[1] 所谓“大都”者，即并非所有的华人都有这种民族情绪，但亦非所有的西洋人都不能对这种民族情绪具有同情感，如19世纪有法国文豪雨果与美国文豪马克·吐温，最近则有法国历史学者、资深记者贝尔纳·布立赛。布立赛写道：“圆明园被洗劫，给中国人民造成的心灵创伤，就同1871年普鲁士士兵入侵法国，将卢浮宫和凡尔赛宫一并摧毁那般无法愈合”，颇具将心比心的同情感。布立赛的新著《第二次鸦片战争：洗劫圆明园》中文版（又名《1860：圆明园大劫难》）将于2005年9月问世。见File: A5601YMY. GB Chinesenewsnet.com 2005年5月30日。

[2] Q. S. Tong, “From Athens to Beijing: The Elgin Marbles and the Ruins of Yuan Ming Yuan,” Ex/Change, No. 13 (June 2005), p. 15；另参阅pp.10-13。

繁体中文版引言

我的英文版原书《追寻失落的圆明园》（*A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* ）于新世纪的第一年由美国夏威夷大学出版社出版，并被全美研究图书馆权威期刊《选择》（*Choice* ）评选为2001年度“各学科最佳学术著作”（List of Outstanding Academic Titles）之一，出版社与作者都感到莫大的殊荣。今承钟志恒先生费心翻译成中文，衷心铭感。

圆明园是清朝五位皇帝——雍正、乾隆、嘉庆、道光、咸丰的皇家大乐园，历经一百五十余年的不断经营，工程几乎无一日中断，遂集明清园林建筑之大成，更包含西洋建筑，成为大清帝国的一颗灿烂明珠，也成为中国历史上最伟大、也是最有名的大型宫殿式御园。

中国传统帝王在儒家的影响之下，正式宫殿的设计都要按照《周礼》的规格，虽望之俨然，庄严隆重，合乎礼教，住在里面却不一定舒适自在，自然会利用其雄厚的资源，别建离宫，寻求舒适自在，满足享乐的欲望，于是汉有上林苑，唐有大明宫，宋有艮岳。少数民族入主中原的辽、金、元，也在北京一带建筑皇家园林。到明清时代，建筑跟庭园设计经过数千年之演进，已臻成熟，甚至完美的境界。清朝皇帝即在此雄厚的基础上，挟其开国后丰厚的国力，在北京西郊营建了一系列的皇家园林，而圆明园就是其中最富丽堂皇的一座。

圆明园原是康熙给四皇子雍正的赐园，最初在规模上远逊于康熙本人的畅春园。雍正继统之后，逐渐将圆明园作为清帝的主园，因而开始扩建。清朝虽是少数民族政权，但汉化颇为彻底，无疑是一儒教帝国。雍正之重视礼教，固不在话下。他为了扩建圆明园，有意或无意中表露出为了享乐而有违礼教的顾忌。作为天子，举天下供奉一人，似乎是理所当然之事；然而作为一位好天子，却不欲过用物力，尽情享受。他登基不久，适逢母丧，特意延迟了正式入居圆明园的时间，可见自知园居是一种享乐，有碍儒家的丧制。

雍正皇帝一旦于1726年农历新正大张旗鼓入园之后，迅将园居作为常居。他显然觉得于心有愧，所以力言圆明园不仅是行乐之地，也是行政之所，并下诏在园内处理国政。他绝不是说说而已，立即在园中建起正大光明殿、勤政殿等官署，办起公来。朝中将相大臣亦络绎于途，来往于紫禁城与圆明园之间。惟当风雪严寒时，可免老臣朝见，不必为皇

帝的园居付出过多的代价。雍正为了警惕自己，在园中的勤政殿里，高悬“无逸”两大字以自勉。雍正确实是一位勤奋的皇帝，似未因园居的快乐而妨碍公务。也许就他而言，可以在享乐与礼教之间得到一些平衡。

自此，圆明园成为皇帝常居之所，也因而成为活动频繁的一个中枢。从内阁大库档案可知，六部所报事由颇多与圆明园有关。诸如礼部于乾隆三年六月，知会指名官员于初十五日五鼓时分“赴圆明园内阁朝房齐集以便带领引见”；户部于乾隆五年六月十八日，在圆明园该部朝房集议河南省、田主、佃户交收租息事；乾隆于四十六年、五十五年分别驻跸圆明园，主持殿试事宜，又于五十五年八月二十日在圆明园正大光明殿设宴款待朝鲜等使节，以及在京一品文武大臣与外省提督等。皇上在圆明园设宴，引见官员，办理殿试、会试、复试等尤称常态，历五朝而不衰。

雍正扩建圆明园及其属园的欲望已很强烈，但比起乾隆皇帝来，可谓“小巫见大巫”。乾隆于1738年服完三年之丧后，正式住进圆明园。他自小就接受严格的训练，刻意要求自己做一个符合儒家规范的好皇帝；然而他对圆明园的钟爱以及大事扩建的欲望使他难以自禁。在礼教影响之下，他自觉过多的营造与个人享乐有违儒家伦理，但在物质条件许可之下，仍然忍不住尽情大兴土木，以遂游观之乐的强大欲望。从他一方面诏谕不再营建、另一方面仍营建不懈的作为上，可见其矛盾的心理。他除了完成圆明园四十主景外，更向东扩建，营建完全以游乐为主的长春园，并六次南巡，将江南园林的精华，如狮子林等等，移植到扩大的圆明园。长春园以乾隆退休后的居所为名建造，然而事实上，早在他退休前40年，长春园已经建成。我们不得不怀疑，他南巡的主要目的，名为探视民瘼，实为寻景建园。他为了建园所提出的种种理由，处处显示享乐与礼教在他心目中的天人交战。营建之欲终于战胜了简省民力之德，圆明园也就在乾隆时代成为万园之园。大清于乾隆晚年虽已由盛而衰，但圆明园的经营仍然不遗余力地持续，这是明显地糜费国库民财。

嘉庆皇帝集中财力兴修绮春园，并将其纳入圆明园，形成圆明三园的格局。道光虽以俭省著称，却肯在圆明园上花钱，兴建了好几座大戏院；至于维修与小工程，更从未间断过。咸丰登基时，正值太平天国运动，内忧外患，军费浩大，根本无力再事扩建，即使维持现状，也感罪过。圆明园原是供清帝游乐而建，但咸丰园居，竟成为话柄，传出种种荒淫无道的传闻。其实，从档案资料可知，有一次咸丰于赴天坛祭祀的前夜，在园中曾痛哭失声；然则咸丰天人交战的压力，由于国势的衰微

，较其前任有过之而无不及。

西方人往往认为，圆明园是清朝皇帝的离宫或夏宫；其实非也，而是清帝每年居住最久之地，自雍正起已是另一处听政之所。住在圆明园显然要比住在严肃的紫禁城里舒服得多，除了祭祀和礼仪之需必须回紫禁城，并且到承德狩猎、赴曲阜祭孔外，皇上大都是园居。以1775年前后为例，乾隆在园中一共居住了168天，居紫禁城105天，居承德66天，居曲阜44天。长久住在美观舒适的圆明园，日久自然生情，其情更表之于御制诗文，乾隆尤其是多产的诗人，对圆明园的四季景色，多有吟咏。此园无疑是清帝最珍惜钟爱、最引以为傲的一个大乐园。

英法联军的主帅额尔金（Lord Elgin，1811—1863）决定焚毁圆明园，主要原因就是知道清帝宝贝圆明园之深，故要焚之而使其痛。咸丰得报，果然痛心疾首，不久以30岁之英年，客死热河。圆明园之毁对清廷的打击固不止于咸丰皇帝，同治皇帝和慈禧太后对圆明园的怀念，均情见乎辞，甚至不顾众议，表达重新修复圆明园的强烈欲望。这种欲望更掺杂了强烈的国仇家恨情绪。但是在内忧外患的情势下修园，要比在盛世修园，更难被传统的道德观所接受。何况财力已经枯竭，根本无力修园。然而年轻的同治皇帝，在个人的期待跟母后的压力下，居然一意孤行，流露对圆明园无可排解的怀念之情以及想要恢复旧时御园难以克制的欲望。

同治皇帝竟以儒家的孝道为名，作为重修圆明园的理由。他的父皇咸丰因圆明园之毁含恨而死，并于弥留时将圆明园同道堂的印章相赠，以示不忘。他的母后慈禧早年在圆明园得到宠幸，且在园中生下同治，自然对于恢复御园旧时的风光，最为殷切。然而太平天国运动之后，国库空虚，虽心有余而力不足，难以启齿。直到1867年，圆明园被焚已经七年，才由一位言官出面，主张募款修园，结果所得有限，风评不佳，同治及时谴责并处罚了这位言官，以维护其体恤物力的形象。不过，他修园的强烈欲望只被礼教的大帽子暂时罩住而已，到了1873年，再也按捺不住。他于同年11月17日的上谕中强调，他之所以要修园，是为了尽孝，绝非为个人享乐。他说两宫太后抚育他长大成人，理应修复御园，使她们颐养天年。他也知道财政困难，所以并不要求重修整个圆明园，只要求修复部分，以应两位太后所需。话说得合情合理，完全符合传统礼教，于是内务府于二日后即开始作业。主要工程包括清夏斋、承恩堂、天地一家春等，都在万春园内，确为太后颐养所需。但关键仍是钱从哪里来？国库空虚，自会引发御史们的反弹。然而同治自以为理直气壮

，欲强渡关山，更希望于1875年母后慈禧40岁生日时完工。这种讨好母亲的孝心与强烈愿望，使年轻的皇帝大有不择手段达到目的的态势。他向内务府施压，向王公大臣募款，结果所得仍然有限，远不敷工程所需。但在皇帝的大力催促下，工程不得不展开；不过，开工不久，往往就因钱财不继而停工。同治原要修复3000个单位，后来虽然减到1420个，银钱仍然远远不够。

同治皇帝不顾一切修园，最后导致亲贵大佬们的一再干预。例如文祥于1874年4月2日呼吁停工，但皇上执意甚坚，置若罔闻，更亲赴工地，引起严重的安全顾虑，使恭亲王及帝师李鸿藻不得不积极出马劝阻，但5月9日的面见，毫无效果，同治于5月24日又秘密到工地视察，并在双鹤斋野餐。同治之毫不在意，令皇室震惊。同时，地方大员如两江总督李宗羲于1874年7月13日也上奏劝阻，力言圆明园即使修成，因洋人威胁未除，仍不安全，应效法汉文帝和宋仁宗于外患未除之前暂不修园的故事。此奏折明显蕴涵道德谴责的意味，并且促使翰林院编修李文田于7月20日要求同治立即停工。李文田过去虽曾捐款修园，此时则响应总督之言，直率地说，园工若继续，势将竭泽而渔，并举近日灾变不断，天象示警，不可不慎为说。然而这些以传统“礼教”来规劝同治皇帝的举动，毫无效果。

同治可以不受规劝，但无法漠视财源之不继，往往发生工已开而钱未到位的窘境。虽有一些私人捐献，但沧海一粟，无济于事。如1874年的5月里，捐得30万两，然所需则高达数千万两；二三十万两已见竭泽而渔之弊，令许多官宦之家，不胜负荷。更有甚者，重建圆明园除钱以外，尚需有钱也难以买到的巨型木材，同治曾向两湖、闽浙、四川一带的地方官，索取巨木三千，但湖广总督李瀚章、湖南总督王文韶均无以为报，因两湖沿江木材，早于太平天国运动期间，砍伐殆尽，故李瀚章奏称，唯有到贵州山区原始森林中去采伐。深入山区固已不易，运输至京，难上加难，根本是开一张空头支票塞责而已。其他各省也无木可献。绞尽脑汁搜寻巨木，终于导致一件丑闻：奸商李光昭以捐献木材为名，到处招摇撞骗，牵涉到内务府。军机处要求直隶总督李鸿章彻查此事，终于水落石出——原来李光昭利用皇帝求材心切，谎称有巨木可献，以骗取特权，同时还骗了外国商人。审判结果，李光昭于1874年9月28日被判死刑。不过在审判过程之中，好几位内务府大臣涉案，清廷于窘迫之下，不得不驱逐陪李光昭到华南去招摇撞骗的长龄，以及将内务府大臣贵宝、崇纶交部严加惩处。这是一件因修园而引发的大案，不仅于道德有愧，而且犯了刑法。

然而，丑闻之起，毕竟是由于皇帝一心一意要求修园的缘故。于是反对将大笔银子花在园工上的王公贵戚和政府大员，有更多的口舌；要求停工以爱民的呼声，更强而有力地挑战同治修园的孝心。在此情况之下，恭亲王伙同其他三亲王、文祥、宝鋆两军机大臣以及沈桂芬、李鸿藻两军机，奏请立即停工。要点有三：户部财力已尽，根本无法筹付内务府估计的一千万两到两千万两的修园费；内外反对园工的声音，不容忽视；修复紫禁城旁的“三海”，既可省钱又能奉养太后。同治皇帝在强大的压力下，修复圆明园的强烈欲望固难再伸，孝顺皇太后的借口，也难再自圆其说，可谓一败涂地。此一君臣相会，十分紧张，同治于气愤之余，冲动地要把皇位让给恭亲王，害得诸王痛哭流涕，吓得文祥跪地昏厥。修园的欲望终于被现实所击溃，同治帝终于1874年9月9日，在慈禧太后的同意下，完全打消修园的念头，不得不诏令无限期停修，残破的圆明园从此逐渐成为历史名词。至八国联军之役再遭巨创之后，圆明园更加日渐毁损消逝，以至于成为废墟，昔日繁华，仅成追忆。值得特别指出的是，圆明园之衰亡，主要由于外力入侵而遭摧毁，与历史上其他名园的没落，殊不能一概而论。唯有圆明园的一个叫清漪园的属园，修复为颐和园，留存至今。

圆明园被英法联军焚毁，清廷痛心疾首，给咸丰皇帝、恭亲王、慈禧、同治等直接“受害人”留下刻骨铭心的历史记忆。此种掺杂了羞辱、愤恨、不舍等复杂的记忆，固不限于皇室成员。英法联军入侵都城，焚烧园林，必然会给当地人留下深刻的痛苦印象。京城的士大夫亲见夷兵如入无人之境，到处烧杀抢掠，强暴妇女，悲惨万状。他们目击了代表西方文明的英法联军如何蹂躏自己的乡土，而整个惨剧中最具体的印象，莫过于火烧圆明园。后来做到湖南巡抚的陈宝箴适在京师酒楼，亲眼见到西边火光浓烟，不禁痛哭失声，在他脑海里留下的对圆明园消逝的伤感以及痛苦的记忆，恐怕绝不下于清朝皇家。自圆明园焚毁那一刻起，中国士人并不认为此园仅仅是皇帝的私产，与己无干，实是中华文明中一个灿烂的象征，而竟遭西方帝国主义铁蹄入侵，无情摧残，而引以为耻。当时的英法联军，特别是英国帝国主义者，也是要刻意羞辱“野蛮的中国人”。参与此役的英国格兰特（Hope Grant）将军即以狠狠“打击了中国的骄傲”而得意，要中国人知道，他们“绝非欧洲人的敌手”。外国人大都无法理解中国何以要利用圆明园作爱国主义宣传，甚至加以嘲笑或谴责。然而中国人受挫之余，自然会产生同仇敌忾之情，并将此痛苦的记忆由晚清士人延续到现代的中国知识分子，转化成为民族主义式的历史书写，将毁园作为民族主义与爱国情绪的宣泄点，并表现出重

建圆明园以雪耻图强的强烈欲望。圆明园遗址公园的积极建设，也在强调爱国主义教育，欲使之成为中国人集体的耻辱记忆。2000年8月，北京市通过“圆明园遗址公园规划”，确定了圆明园公园整体保护的格局与框架。其范围横跨圆明园东西路，南北向则自清华西路到规划公路五环，面积达458.9公顷。也许作为凭吊之用的所谓“遗址公园”，更具悲情之美感；若一旦整体修复，似旧物而实非旧物，反而会磨灭历史记忆；如果手艺难以达到原有的精美，则更会有画虎不成的丑恶感。

无可抵挡的汹涌西潮，迫使中国接受西方的国际规范；近代西方文明中的正负两面，都在几代中国人面前展露无遗，圆明园的被抢、被烧乃是最活生生的一个阴暗例子，中国人对圆明园的记忆与感情，也必须从中国近代屈辱史中去理解。在园林史上，也许没有别的园林蕴涵如此丰富的记忆与情绪。

汪荣祖
2004年6月25日 写于嘉南平原

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My interest in the imperial garden Yuanming Yuan began in the summer of 1981, when I first visited its ruins site near Peking University. During the subsequent years, I read and collected books and articles on the Yuanming Yuan. In 1986, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University allowed me to teach an honors course on the Yuanming Yuan with Professor Joseph C. Wang of the School of Architecture. I learned a great deal more about the garden from Jo and students in the class. In the summer of the same year, I was able to visit the Yuanming Yuan again and read some very interesting archival sources at the Chinese First Historical Archive in Beijing. Professor Yang Tianshi of the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, kindly made the arrangement to copy hundreds of pages of documents from the archives for me, for which I am very grateful.

The growing interest in making an inquiry into the imperial garden inspired me to write a book about the subject. During the years of preparation, Jo Wang again offered his assistance. Especially, under his guidance, Mr. Sam Xinbai Yu offered to draw many lively illustrations of the garden scenes for the book. I must express my deep gratitude to both Jo and Sam.

During the 1980s, I had the privilege of seeing Professor Qian Zhongshu (1910–1998), arguably the greatest man of letters in modern China, four times at his home in Beijing. Each time, I had the enormous pleasure of hearing his humorous and erudite remarks about Qing rulers and the imperial gardens, among many other subjects. I shall always cherish the memory of this highly admirable scholar.

I would like to thank Professor Peter Zarrow of the School of History, University of New South Wales, Australia, who spent his precious time in 1997 reading my first draft in its entirety. He kindly gave me many valuable suggestions and much needed encouragement. I wish to express my gratitude to two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript for their comments and suggestions. During the final stage of revision, Professor Susan Naquin of Princeton University, whom I still have not met, kindly answered my e-mail enquiry from Tianjin, People’s Republic of China, and made it possible for me to reach Re

gine Thiriez in Paris. From Dr. Thiriez I obtained her new book entitled *Barbarian Lens* for reference. In 1998, Dr. Sun Ruoyi of Chung-Hsing (Zhongxing) University generously sent me a copy of her recently completed doctoral dissertation on the European section of the Yuanming Yuan, which in time provided me with useful information for updating my manuscript.

In the spring of 1998, thanks to the invitation of Dr. Hsiung Ping-chen (Xiong Bingzhen), I was able to present my work on the Yuanming Yuan to her colleagues and scholars from other towns in northern Taiwan at the Institute of Modern History, “Academia Sinica” (Taipei). I benefited greatly from an hour-long discussion. My talk was subsequently pub- lished as an essay in a book coedited by Dr. Hsiung (Xiong Bingzhen and Lv Miaofen 1999, 285–293, 353–354).

My thanks also go to Patricia Crosby, the executive editor of the University of Hawai‘i Press, for her interest in my work. Masako Ikeda, the managing editor, and Robyn Sweesy, my copy editor, have rendered me excellent assistance. Their professionalism, in managing and editing, make me feel that I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with them. Finally, I am indebted to my wife, Shanyi (Sylvia) Lu, for her time and artistic skills in helping with the illustrations and maps included in this book.

英文版自序

我对圆明园这座帝王宫苑产生兴趣是从1981年夏天我首次游览它在北京大学附近的遗址开始。在之后的好几年里，我阅读并收集了许多关于圆明园的著作和论文。1986年，美国弗吉尼亚理工学院暨州立大学准许我跟建筑学院的王绰教授一起讲授以圆明园为主题、为荣誉学生开的课程。我从王教授和班上同学的相互讨论里，受益匪浅。在同一年的夏天，我有机会再一次探访圆明园，并且在北京的中国第一历史档案馆里读到一些非常有意思的原始档案文件。中国社会科学院近代史研究所的杨天石教授热心地帮我安排，从这些档案中帮我复印了好几百页的文件，对此我深表谢意。

由于研究这座帝王宫苑的兴趣不断增长，促使我以此主题写一本书。在多年的准备的日子里，王教授一再给予我很多帮助。尤其在他的指引之下，建筑学研究生郁欣白先生为这本书绘画了很多既生动又专业的圆明园景观图。我要对他们两位表示衷心的感谢。

20世纪80年代，我有幸在钱锺书教授（1910—1998）的北京寓所，先后四次得见这位近代中国词锋犀利的伟大学者。我们探讨的话题甚丰，其中，每一次听到他就清代统治者和他们的宫苑所作出的幽默和博学的评论时，都让我有五体投地的感觉。我将永远珍惜与这位最受人钦佩的学人曾经共度的时光。

我要感谢澳大利亚新南威尔士大学历史学院的沙培德教援（译者按：现已改任台湾“中央研究院”近代史研究所副研究员），他在1997年花费宝贵的时间帮我阅读这本书的初稿全文。他很热心地给我许多重要的建议和极需的鼓励。我还希望能对两位匿名的评阅人所提供的批评和建议表达我的谢意。在修正书稿的最后阶段，普林斯顿大学的韩书瑞教授与我虽未谋面，但她热心地从天津发出电子邮件，回答我的查问，并且为我把查问转达给人在巴黎的维珍纳·蒂瑞丝博士，因而我能够及时读到她有关圆明园焚毁的新书《洋鬼子的镜头》，作为有益的参考。中兴大学的孙若怡博士在1998年慷慨地送我一份她刚完成的博士论文影印本，内容是有关圆明园内的欧式建筑部分，及时给我相当有用的数据去提升我手稿的若干内容。

在1998年的春天，应熊秉真博士的邀请，让我有机会向她的同人和来自台湾北部各县市的学者，在“中央研究院”近代史研究所介绍我有关

圆明园的研究。一个小时的报告和讨论让我获益良多。我的讲演后来写成一篇文章，刊登在由熊博士合编的一本论文集里。

我也要感谢夏威夷大学出版社的执行编辑帕特丽夏·克罗斯比对于出版我这本书的热忱。总编辑池田万纱子和文字编辑罗宾·史云思提供了极大的帮助。他们在安排和编辑工作上的专业态度，让我感到十分幸运能与他们一起完成这项工作。最后，我要感激我的妻子陆善仪帮助我为这本书绘制很多有用的图像和地图。

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Introduction

The rise and fall of the palatial imperial garden Yuanming Yuan is the history of the Sinic Qing Empire in miniature. Its rise paralleled the beginning of the *Pax Sinica* at the time of the great Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662–1722). It took one and a half centuries of endless constructions to become arguably the greatest imperial garden China had ever built, a shining pearl of the great empire. This vast pleasance was indeed "a veritable paradise on earth" in the eyes of the visiting French priest Attiret (1702–1768).

"*Yuanming*" literally means "round and brilliant," implying perfection and excellence; however, the name actually alludes to Buddhist wisdom. The distinguished Tang Dynasty monk Xuan Zang (600–664) was quoted as saying that the birth of the prince caused so much joy because he would become a buddha and make "all wisdom round and brilliant" (*yuanming yiqie zhi*)(Xuan Zang 1977, 132). There is no secret that both Kangxi and Yongzheng were extremely fond of Buddhism. While Kangxi had been honored as the "Buddha-Hearted Son of Heaven" (*foxin tianzi*),the Yongzheng Emperor addressed himself as a "secular Buddhist of Yuanming" (*yuanming jushi*).Hence, that Kangxi chose this name with a clear-cut Buddhist allusion for the garden was not accidental at all. Also not accidental is that the Yuanming Yuan and the Qing Empire shared the same fate of glory and shame and that the Yuanming Yuan's fall corresponded with the decline of the empire. It was precisely the empire's folly in the nineteenth century that rendered the imperial garden unprotected.

This "brilliant" imperial garden, with or without the blessing of the Buddha, fell from the sky like a shining star and suddenly vanished from the planet. But the historical memory of the lost garden has persisted. Post-Qing modern Chinese continued to view the tragedy with deep emotion, a mixture of nostalgia and sadness. Its destruction by foreign forces was especially painful in the context of the century-long sharp memory of Chinese humiliation.

There have been repeated but unsuccessful efforts to redress the humiliation by reviving the glory of the Yuanming Yuan. The heroic ambition of rebuilding the lost garden has never materialized not only because of the enormou

s cost but also due to the loss of knowledge in the horticultural arts. It has seemed utterly impossible to revive the grandeur, which had been brought into being by the century-long effort of a rising empire. If the Yuanming Yuan were the pride of a mighty empire, the fall of the empire would render the restoration of the great garden as impossible as that of the empire. A few new structures rebuilt on the ruined site for tourism demonstrated defects in design and workmanship that exacerbate worries about a losing art. The dexterous craftmanship that created the magnificent garden may have been forever lost.

Since the prospect of reviving the “lost paradise” is slim, perhaps we can only appreciate the magnificence and glory in memory. But even the memory is fading fast. Especially in the English-language literature on the subject, no serious new research has been done since the publication of Carroll Malone’s *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch’ing Dynasty* (1934) and Hope Danby’s *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* (1950), both of which lack rigorous scholarship. Not surprisingly, many recent sinologists were unable to identify this great imperial garden properly. Maurice Adam links “Yuen Ming Yuen” (Yuanming Yuan) with “L’Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jesuites au XVIII Siècle”(the Architectural Works of the Old Jesuits in the Eighteenth Century) (1936). So does a recent French study, which refers to “Le Yuanmingyuan” (the Yuanming Yuan) in the European section (Perazzoli-t’Serstevens 1988). A noted historian recently wrote that “Qianlong employed Jesuit architects and designers to work on a magnificent European-style summer palace, the Yuanming Yuan, erected in a lake-side park just outside Peking” (Spence 1990, 100). As a matter of fact, the European palaces designed by the Jesuits only represented a small and peripheral section of the Yuanming Yuan. Nor is it appropriate to term the Yuanming Yuan a “summer palace,” since the Qing emperors from Yongzheng (r. 1723–1735) on had never considered the garden their summer home. It was, in fact, a principal imperial residence of five Manchu monarchs, namely, Yongzheng, Qianlong (r. 1736–1795), Jiaqing (r. 1796–1820), Daoguang (r. 1821–1850), and Xianfeng (r. 1851–1861). They spent their summers instead at the “Chengde Summer Mountain Retreat” (Chengde Bishu Shanzhuang) in Rehe, or Jehol (cf. Zhang Dongpan 1984).

The Yuanming Yuan is better known in contemporary China due to persistent public interest, even fascination, in the burning of the magnificent royal garden by foreign troops. Modern Chinese authors were thus eager to tell the

story in order to attract readers. Anecdotes of various sorts have appeared ceaselessly in magazines and literary supplements of newspapers. The Hong Kong-based director Li Hanxiang made a film called *Huoshao Yuanming Yuan* (*Burning of the Yuanming Yuan*), which has been ranked as one of the best historical movies in the Chinese-speaking world. Scholarly works on the garden in Chinese have also appeared in an increasing number since the 1980s, following the opening of the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park to the public. Authors from different disciplines produced various microstudies of a technical nature. The Yuanming Yuan Society of China (Yuanmingyuan Xuehui)founded on December 1, 1984, has promoted the preservation of the garden through source collection, research, and publication. But, to this day, a comprehensive in-depth study of this magnificent garden still awaits its author. [1]

My own interest in the subject originated in 1981 during my first visit to the ruins in the east Haidian District of west Beijing. The wilderness that was all I could see inspired my historical imagination. Nowhere could I find any indication of the vast garden composed of more than 150 scenic units skillfully designed between hills and lakes, not to mention the countless buildings, chambers, and pavilions. I have since tried to locate literature on the Yuanming Yuan. A series of books compiled by Qing scholars, such as Yu Minzhong's *Rixia Jiuwen Kao* (*The Histories of the Imperial Capital*) (1774), and Cheng Yansheng's *Yuanming Yuan Kao* (*A Critical Study of the Yuanming Yuan*) (1928), together with poems and maps of the garden's famous Forty Views, are very informative. There are also valuable Western sources, such as the eyewitness account of Father Jean Attiret, who attended the Qianlong court for many years, and the written testimonies made by British and French army officers who had plundered and burned the garden. Not until 1985, however, did I learn of the existence of a large quantity of documents pertinent to the Yuanming Yuan in the possession of the Chinese First Historical Archive in Beijing. I copied some interesting pieces from the archive during my 1986 visit, but they represented only a drop in the bucket. In 1991, a large selection of the archival documents was published in two thick volumes, which have significantly supplemented the documentary sources available since the 1930s. These two volumes not only offer the researcher a sampling of the sorts of documents available in the archives but also comprise the documents most pertinent to the Yuanming Yuan's history, construction, management, major political activiti

es, royal life, looting, destruction, repairs, and deterioration (*YMYA* 1991, 1:5). The collection, however selective, serves my purpose very well. With these hitherto unused materials in hand, plus the old literary sources, I felt confident enough to begin an in-depth inquiry into the subject. My main purpose was to reconstruct the lost garden on paper as fully as possible and to answer two questions: first, what did it look like and how did its appearance evolve, and second, what happened in it and to it?

This study covers three aspects of the garden. First, I present the Yuanming Yuan's physical appearance and its architectural elements, such as buildings, courtyards, bridges, and landscaping, discussing in some cases where elements came from, how they gradually evolved, and what meanings the aesthetical designs and arrangements possessed. The Yuanming Yuan's original section was completed in 1744; the Changchun Yuan (Eternal Spring Garden) was incorporated on its completion in 1749, and the Qichun Yuan (Variegated Spring Garden), which was composed of a number of small gardens, was annexed in 1772. Thus the garden we know in effect consisted of "three connected imperial gardens" (*yuanming sanyuan*) during its heyday.

The site, according to a recent survey, occupied 3.4 square kilometers, or 5,100 Chinese *mu* (840 acres), and measured 10 kilometers in perimeter with a rectangular shape, approximately 2,415 meters from east to west and 1,890 meters from north to south. On this immense space once stood 160,000 square meters of man-made structures (Bai Rixin 1982, 79; Yuanming Yuan Guanliju 1981, 24). Many of the structures represented the cream of traditional Chinese architecture and fit well in the specific environment. Meticulous care and immense creativity were evident everywhere, including the distinct European section, where Western-style buildings and gardens were skillfully integrated. To recreate the physical look of the Yuanming Yuan, it is useful for us to consult the still well-preserved Yihe Yuan, originally one of the subsidiary gardens of the Yuanming Yuan; the Chengde Summer Mountain Retreat in Rehe; and a few other surviving Ming-Qing gardens throughout China. Mindful of the uniqueness of each garden, they provide us with a visual sense of Chinese imperial gardens and a foundation to the literary sources. Last but not the least, three large maps of the whole garden and some original models of individual buildings offer valuable guidance as well. The description of the garden’s landscaping and the man-made structures comprises the first part of this

book.

Second, I examine the rise and fall of the Yuanming Yuan. This is a historical recounting of the glory representing the culture, intellect, and esprit of the great Qing Empire and the tragedy of invasion, plundering, and burning that foretold the downfall of the empire and the decline of the culture. I shall also look into the aftermath of the damaged garden. Not fully aware of the depth of its problems, the Qing Dynasty entertained the idea of rebuilding the burned garden. Some construction yielded results, but in the end it was left incomplete. Then the Boxer catastrophe delivered another blow to the damaged garden, and the hapless Qing Dynasty let the damaged garden estate slowly deteriorate under the relentless onslaughts of both man-made and natural disasters. This story of the sublime and the shameful will be told in the second part of this book.

Third, I explore some aspects of human activity in the Yuanming Yuan, where five Qing emperors made their home. Together with their consorts, high- and low-ranking officials, eunuchs, soldiers, monks, and members of the so-called Garden Household, the emperors led real lives in the garden, including sight-seeing, receiving guests, managing state affairs, and writing essays and poems. More important, since the Qing emperors lived for so long in the Yuanming Yuan, they made the imperial garden the de facto hub of the empire.

The Yongzheng Emperor first built inside the garden a replica of the principal imperial court, identical to the one in the Forbidden City. It is understandable that the Sons of Heaven preferred the pleasant garden environment to the more solemn palace grounds in the Forbidden City. Making the Yuanming Yuan their permanent home, the Qing rulers naturally attached the greatest importance to it. As time went on, the garden collected an extraordinary number of treasures, including jewelry, cultural relics, and books. One of the seven complete editions of *Siku Quanshu* (*Four Treasures*), comprising virtually all available Chinese books, was housed here. Besides books and artifacts, luxurious furniture and expensive decoration could be found in the hundreds of buildings and chambers. Beyond doubt, had the garden survived to this day, it would be one of the greatest and richest museums in the world. With the destruction of the garden, however, much of the bygone political and cultural life of

the Yuanming Yuan, like the pattern of last year's wind, moved beyond recap ture. Nonetheless, thanks to the recently available archival sources, I was able to obtain some evidence to reconstruct a limited aspect of bygone human life in the garden, including the Qing emperors' daily activities, administrative str ucture and functions, as well as crime and punishment.

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[1] Wang Wei's survey of the Yuanming Yuan (1959, 1993) is a good pioneering work, repeatedly updated, but it remains too sketchy to do justice to the magnitude of the imperial garden. A scholar of Taiwan flagrantly plagiarized Wang's work in the 1960s (Liu Fenghan 1963, 1969).

导论

圆明园这座皇家御园的兴衰，是清朝帝国史的一个缩影。它的兴起，跟康熙大帝（在位期间1662—1722）以中国为中心的世界秩序之崛起是并行的。圆明园历时一个半世纪无休止的营造，成为一座可以称得上是中国从未有过的最雄伟的帝王宫苑，可说是伟大中华帝国的一颗闪亮的明珠。这座巨大的庭园在来华传教的法国神甫王致诚（1702—1768）的眼里，可真是“真正的人间天堂”。

“圆明”这两个字在字义上是“圆融和普照”，意味着完美和至善，但事实上这个名字是佛语。有人引述著名的唐代僧人玄奘（公元600—664）的话说，赡部洲中释种净饭王第一夫人，今产太子悦豫之甚，因为他将是大彻大悟之人，当证“圆明一切智”[1]。康熙和雍正两帝喜爱佛学，是众人皆知的。康熙被誉为“佛心天子”，而雍正也称自己为“圆明居士”，因此，康熙选择这个富有佛学意涵的名词作为宫苑的名字，一点也不让人意外。另一点也不让人意外的是，圆明园和大清帝国同享光荣与屈辱，圆明园的摧毁跟大清帝国的衰败是分不开的。正确地说，由于大清帝国在19世纪的式微，让这座帝王宫苑得不到保护而陨落。

这座受佛光“普照”的帝王宫苑，不管是否真能得到佛祖的庇佑，就像在天际坠落的流星，突然在地球上消失。但这座失落宫苑的历史记忆仍然存在，晚清以来的中国人继续以夹杂着缅怀和悲伤的深切情怀，来检视这个悲剧。在长达一个世纪中国辛酸屈辱的清晰记忆当中，圆明园被外国军队焚毁，尤为令人伤痛难当。

虽然一再有人建议要恢复圆明园昔日的风光，以洗刷过去的屈辱，但一直无法做到。要重建这座失落宫苑的雄心壮志之所以从未能实现，除了需要巨额经费之外，也因为昔日的园艺技巧多已失传，几乎不可能再恢复它旧日的风貌。这个园子可是清朝在极盛时，花了一个多世纪时间的经营，才宣告完成。如果说圆明园代表一个强大帝国的骄傲，那么帝国衰弱之后，还要来修复这座伟大的宫苑，就像要恢复帝国一样地不可能。近年为了旅游观光而在原址重建的几座新建筑，无论在设计上还是手艺上，都不无瑕疵，让人对正在失传的技巧更感到忧心忡忡，恐怕用来创造这座壮丽宫苑的熟练工艺，可能就此已消失于天壤间。

由于恢复这座“失乐园”的希望至微，我们大概只能从过去的记忆当中来欣赏它的壮丽和风光了。但即使是回忆，也正在快速消失之中，尤

其是有关圆明园的英文文献。卡罗尔·马伦在1934年出版的《清朝之北京夏宫史》和霍普·丹比在1950年出版的《圆明园》两书之后，还没有严谨的新论著发表，而这两部著作就学术研究而言，难称严谨。因而许多当代西方汉学家未能准确理解这座伟大的帝王宫苑，并不让人惊讶。莫里斯·亚当在其1936年出版的著作中，曾误将圆明园视作“18世纪耶稣会教士的建筑”，而法国学者皮拉索里特·梭史提梵斯在1988年出版的有关圆明园的论著中，仍然把“西洋楼”误作圆明园。[2] 著名历史学家史景迁也写道：“乾隆任命耶稣会的建筑师和设计师去完成圆明园这座位于北京郊区湖滨公园中的雄伟欧式夏宫”。[3] 事实上，由耶稣会传教士设计的所谓西洋楼之欧式宫殿，仅仅是圆明园内很小的一部分；以“夏宫”来称呼圆明园也不恰当，因为自雍正（在位期间1723—1735）往后，清朝皇帝都没有特别把这座宫苑当作避暑之处。其实，圆明园是前后五朝皇帝——分别是雍正、乾隆（在位期间1736—1795）、嘉庆（在位期间1796—1820）、道光（在位期间1821—1850）和咸丰（在位期间1851—1861）——长年的重要居所，他们在夏天时多半会去热河的承德避暑山庄。[4]

圆明园在当代中国的知名度一直相当高，因为大众一直对外国军队烧毁这座壮丽的帝王宫苑一事耿耿于怀，甚至有点着迷。因此许多现代作家都热衷描写有关圆明园的故事来吸引读者，各种逸闻秘史从不间断地出现在杂志和报纸副刊里。香港导演李翰祥制作的电影《火烧圆明园》，就曾经被华语世界认为是最好的历史剧之一。20世纪80年代以来，在圆明园遗址公园对外开放之后，研究圆明园的中文著作也不断增加。来自不同领域的作者从事各种专业的微观研究，成果颇丰。圆明园学会于1984年12月1日成立，通过收集资料、研究和出版，推动了圆明园的维护工作。不过，一直到今天，仍然没有一个人对这座壮丽的宫苑作全面而透彻的深入 研究。[5]

我对圆明园发生兴趣是从1981年开始，那个时候我初访位于北京城西海淀区东部的圆明园遗址。在那里我所看到的仅是一片荒野，不禁勾起了我对过去的想象。我找不到一处地方可以看出这是由山泽之间精心设计的150多个景点所组成的巨大宫苑，更不用说那无数的建筑和亭台楼阁早已不见踪影。我从此尽量尝试寻找有关圆明园的文献。由清代学者所编辑的一系列书刊，如于敏中的《日下旧闻考》（1774）和程演生的《圆明园考》（1928），还有关于圆明园著名四十景的诗和图册都非常有价值。另外还有珍贵的西文资料，例如在乾隆朝服务多年并亲眼目

睹宫苑的王致诚神甫的描述和那些抢掠并烧毁这座宫苑的英法军官所写下的见闻。不过，直到1985年我才获悉北京的中国第一历史档案馆收藏有大量有关圆明园的文献资料。我在1986年访问北京期间，就从档案馆里影印了一些有意思的资料，不过那只是沧海一粟而已。到了1991年，档案馆挑选出大量的档案资料，印制成两大册出版，大大地补充了20世纪30年代以来所能得到的文献来源。这两大册档案资料集不单为研究者提供了馆里所收藏的文献样本，而且包含了许多与圆明园的历史、建筑、管理、重大政治活动、皇家起居、劫掠、焚毁、 修缮和衰败等最为相关的文献。这些文献尽管是经过挑选出来的，仍然对我的研究十分有用。得到这些从未被人应用过的资料，再加上旧有的文献，我感到有了足够的信心，开始深入探讨这个题目。我主要的目的是尽可能在字里行间重现这座已经消逝的宫苑，并回答两个问题：第一，圆明园到底是个什么模样，它的外观是如何演变的？第二，园里面曾经发生过什么事，它曾经遭遇过什么？

这本书的研究涵盖了圆明园的三个方面。第一，我要呈现圆明园的外观和建筑元素，包括建筑物、庭院、桥梁和景观，并且就某些方面讨论其组成元素的来龙去脉，它们是如何逐渐地在演变，以及在美学设计和布局上的意义。圆明园本园部分是在1744年完成的，长春园是在1749年并入圆明园，而由多座小园林组成的绮春园则是在1772年才被并入。因此，我们所知道全盛期的圆明园，实际上是由“圆明三园”所组成。

根据近年的调查，圆明园占地3.4平方公里，即5100亩（约合840英亩），周长约10000米，呈长方形，从东到西大约是2415米，从北到南差不多1890米。在这个广大的空间里，曾经营建了16万平方米的人工建筑。许多建筑物都代表了传统中国建筑的精华，并且与周遭的环境十分契合。细心的思索和无限的创意随处可见，包括独特的欧式建筑在内，西式建筑同样和整个庭园巧妙地结合在一起。目前仍然保存良好的颐和园（原本是圆明园的一座附园）、在热河的承德避暑山庄以及少数幸存在中国各地的明清园林，对重塑圆明园的建筑外貌来说，都极有参考的价值。留心每一座园林的独特风格，可为我们提供中国帝王宫苑在视觉上的观感以及理解文献的基础。最后同样重要的是，显示整座圆明园的三张巨型地图和一些个别建筑的原始参照也是重要的指引。本书的第一部分就是要描述圆明园的景观和那些人工建筑。

第二，我要探讨圆明园的兴衰，也就是从历史的角度叙述大清帝国全盛期所代表的文化、思想和精神，以及预告帝国灭亡和文化衰落的入

侵、抢掠和烧毁的悲剧。我也将会检视这座宫苑被焚毁后的遭遇。清朝并没有清楚认识到自身所面临问题的严重性，以至于想要重建这座已遭焚毁的宫苑，也进行了一定程度的修复，但并没有完成。后来的义和团事件给这座已经残破的宫苑另一次重大的打击，而气数已尽的清朝也只好任由这座破落的宫苑，在人祸、天灾的无情侵蚀之下，慢慢地荒废。这段庄严和屈辱的故事，将是本书第二部分的内容。

第三，我会探索圆明园这个曾经是五代清帝的居处中所进行的各方面人文活动。皇帝及其妃嫔、大小官员、太监、侍卫、僧侣以及所谓园户，在园内过着真实的生活，诸如游览、接见宾客、处理政务和写作诗文等。更重要的是，由于清帝长年驻跸圆明园，这座宫苑实际上已成为帝国的中枢。

雍正皇帝最先在园内建造了一座跟紫禁城内的太和殿一模一样的正殿。我们完全可以理解，这些清朝的天子比较喜欢住在令人愉悦的园林环境里，紫禁城内的宫殿显得太严肃了。五世清帝把圆明园当作他们常住的居所，自然极为重视此园。随着时日的增长，圆明园里聚集了极为丰厚的财富，包括珠宝、文物和书籍。七部几乎包罗所有中国典籍的《四库全书》之一，就放置在圆明园里。除书籍和工艺品外，在几百幢建筑物和楼阁之内，还可见奢侈的家具和昂贵的装潢。毫无疑问，如果圆明园能保存到今天的话，它将会是全世界最伟大和收藏最丰富的博物馆之一。不过，随着圆明园的毁坏，昔日园里的许多政治和文化活动就像逝去的昨日之风一样，再也找不回来了。虽然如此，由于近年档案资料的开放，让我能够有所依据去重塑圆明园里过去的人文活动之一鳞半爪，包括清帝的日常起居、管理的组织和功能以及犯罪和惩罚。

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[1] 玄奘：《大唐西域记》，132页，上海，上海人民出版社，1977。

[2] Michèle Perazzoli-t'Serstevens ed, *Le Yuanmingyuan: Jeux d'eau et palais: European du XVIII siècle à la cour de Chine* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilizations, 1988).

[3] Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 100.

[4] 热河避暑山庄的景观可参阅张东盘编：《避暑山庄三十六景》，上海，人民美术出版社，1984。

[5] 王威的《圆明园》一书（1959年出版，1993年再版）虽然是一个很好的先驱之作，并一再地更新，但对于这座帝王宫苑的描述，仍然有点简略。刘凤翰于20世纪60年代在台北出版了《圆明园兴亡史》（台北，文星书店，1963年出版，1969年再版），与王威的著作，颇多雷同。

PART ONE ARCHITECTURE

Chapter 1 Provenance

Before discussing the rise of the Yuanming Yuan, the greatest garden the Chinese have ever built, let us first summarize traditional Chinese garden art. Garden design and construction constitute a vital part of the Chinese cultural tradition. Living in a beautiful and diverse natural environment with a unique landscape, the Chinese have developed a distinct garden aesthetic over the span of three thousand years. Generally speaking, Chinese artists, whether poets, painters, or garden designers, have emulated nature and appreciated the feeling of a genuine harmony between man and nature.

It is well-known that in China poetry and painting have a close kinship. Modern scholars have often quoted Su Shi's (1037–1101) celebrated comment on the works of the Tang artist-poet Wang Wei (701–761), "whereas a poem conceives a painting, a painting suggests a poem" (*shizhong youhua, huazhong youshi*)(quoted in Zhao Lingzhi n.d.,*ce* 22, 8:9a). To be sure, each genre has its own standard and style, but both share the popular theme of underlining the beauty of the landscape and implying intangible sentiments. A close kinship also exists between poetry and garden. "Ideal gardens," as an eminent scholar of Chinese gardens has put it, "are like superb lines of verse" (Chen Congzhou 1994, 5).

The same kinship can be found between landscape painting and garden design (cf. Fu Baoshi 1973, 33–48). Both Chinese painters and garden designers share, for example, the fundamental principle of suggestiveness: showing no base of distant mountains, no roots in distant forests, and no hulls of distant ships. Not rare at all in the history of Chinese gardens were designs built on the basis of a famous landscape painting. As a recent writer has rightly pointed out, Chinese painting in effect sets the tone for Chinese garden making (Peng Yigang 1988, 7).

Indeed, profoundly inspired by the vast stretches of the countryside, Chinese landscapers were heavily influenced by the ink-wash landscape paintings and the poems reflecting the natural beauty. It can be said with certainty that both painting and poetry have rendered an especially refined sensibility in the conceptualization of the traditional Chinese garden art. Like poems and pai

ntings, gardens are integrated works of art, lyricism, and picturesqueness. Many designers, who were also competent painters and poets, quite naturally gave the garden environment a compositional form, which spontaneously yielded an atmosphere of pictorial and poetic feeling. This is why a standard traditional Chinese garden can often be considered the physical expression of the slow unfolding of a painted scroll (Wu Shichang 1934, 80–114). For all its artificiality, the overall outlook of a Chinese garden should appear to be formed as naturally as in nature. Since the harmony of garden architecture with the surrounding landscape is essential for Chinese garden design, superimposing man-made structures on landscape requires integrating the artificial with the natural into a symphonic unity.

In contrast to the geometric formality of Renaissance gardens, Chinese garden art appreciates untrammeled beauty with an emphasis on free form, continuous flow, and unexpected twists and turns. The ambiance of being in real nature, however, is artificially created. The vastness of nature has to be shrunk into a landscape mode, requiring only “a foot to create whole nature,” or squeezing “the world in a pot.” Miniature mountains with peaks, precipices, gorges, valleys, streams, and cataracts are common in Chinese gardens. This “symbolic representationism” differs from the European tradition of realism, although English gardens of the eighteenth century had become pastoral.

The traditional Chinese gardens generally can be classified into four different categories, namely, the scenic park for the general public, the monastic gardens of religious institutions, residential gardens owned by literati, and the oldest and most spectacular royal demesne*(huangjia yuanlin)*, or imperial garden.

A quick survey of royal demesnes in Chinese history readily yields three common characteristics. First, they are colossal, with a huge enclosure of the best scenic parkland and numerous structures, in order to convey the awe-inspiring might and prestige of the Son of Heaven, the ruler of the universal empire. Dignified grandiosity is an essential artistic feature of the royal demesne. Second, the garden structures are destined to be luxurious, sublime, and palatial-looking so as to give an image of architectonic sumptuousness. Third, they recreate settings of fairy tales, such as a jeweled palace in Elfland’s hills, to express the delight and fantasy of the immortal world. [2] The Yuanming Yuan

was the greatest royal demesne ever created in the history of Chinese landsca pe design.

The Rise of Imperial Gardens

Royal demesnes began very early in Chinese history. The Chinese rulers , like their counterparts all over the world, had a passion for pleasure, and wit h ample resources at their disposal they constructed magnificent parklands an d palatial gardens in and out of their formal palaces. The earliest Chinese roy al demesne appeared almost simultaneously with the beginning of the Chines e state. It is said that King Jie of the semi-legendary Xia Dynasty (2033? B.C. –1562? B.C.) once built a lavish Jade Terrace (*yutai*)for his personal pleasur e. [3] The oracle-bone inscriptions, excavated from the ruins of the subsequent Shang Dynasty (1562? B.C.–1066? B.C.), made no doubt about the existence of hunting grounds for the pleasure of the king. The king owned various pleas ure grounds sitting near or within the imperial ramparts. Between the Shang a nd the rise of the Qin Empire in 221 B.C. the Chinese sovereigns often found access to attractive open settings, far away from the royal palace, in which to marvel at the beauty of the landscape and to build menageries (*you*)for restin g and lodging. [4] Most of these menageries featured watchtowers, flower bed s, fish ponds, bird cages, animal pits, and comfortable lodging. Many of the f acilities were gradually transformed into country houses called the “suburban pleasure palaces.” Other names for pleasure grounds, such as “divine terrace” (*lingtai*),“divine pound” (*lingzhao*),and “divine menagerie” (*lingyou*), whic h appear in the*Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*),refer to the royal demesnes of the Zh ou kings. [5]

The “first emperor,” the Qin Shi Huangdi (r. 221 B.C.–210 B.C.) constr ucted lavish palaces on the model of the six great states he defeated during hi s conquest of China. In the end, he assembled no less than three hundred pala ces along the River Wei, of which the most magnificent megapreserve was th e Upper Woods (Shanglin) situated on the southern bank of the river. Five mi les outside the imperial capital Xianyang and facing the River Wei, the Upper Woods featured terraces, ponds, menageries, forests, and the legendary E-pan g Palace (Epang Gong). [6] This palace, according to a Qing scholar, was actu ally a gigantic compound of palaces looking much like a “city” (Xu Angfa 19

85, 71–72; Wang Shixing 1981, 46–47). This remarkable Upper Woods royal demesne was further expanded by the subsequent Han Dynasty.

By the time of the Han, menageries were transformed into “gardens” (*yuan*),which comprised enclosures, palaces, temples, ponds, and lakes. In 104 B.C., Emperor Wu (r. 140 B.C.–87 B.C.) built twelve more palatial gardens for his pleasure. The most magnificent one was the Jianzhang Palace standing at the southern end of the Lake Taiye, together with artificial hills surrounded by water to make a “heavenly paradise” (*Gujin Tushu Jicheng* n.d. 97:546–547, 523). Beautiful scenery surrounding man-made structures thereafter became an essential element in the construction of royal demesnes. The imperial gardens of the Han, though long since vanished, provided a model for the magnificence of royal demesne for many generations to come. [7]

The Han Dynasty also witnessed the rise of private gardens owned by royalty and high-ranking officials. Obviously, the rich and powerful had become resourceful enough to tread in the emperor’s steps to build their own pleasure gardens, even though they were normally far less spectacular. [8] Between the decline and fall of the Han in the second century and the rejuvenation of the Chinese Empire in the sixth century, the political center moved from Changan to Luoyang, where new imperial and private gardens flourished. Of the royal demesnes, the most renowned was the Fragrant Wood Garden (Fanglin Yuan) created by Emperor Ming of the Wei (r. 227–239). The emperor was so passionate about the project that he employed thousands of workers, with the support of officials and scholars, to build the garden at the northeast section of Luoyang. He dug a huge lake called the Blue Dragon Meer (Canglong Hai) and erected the Jingyang artificial hill with rocks transported directly from the distant Taihang mountain (Chen Shou 1959, 3:712).

The Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty (r. 265–290) substantially refurbished this imperial garden. Because of the simultaneous existence of several dynasties during this long period of China’s disunity, imperial gardens could be found in Pingcheng (near present-day Datong), Longcheng (in the present-day Liaoning), and Jiankang (the present-day Nanjing). And with the rise of wealthy aristocratic families in both north and south China at the time, private gardens flourished everywhere. Some of these gardens were magnificent enough to rival imperial ones. [9] This era also featured literati gardens of various sorts

in the wealthy Yangzi delta. Though not as spectacular, these gardens aimed at elegance in the expression of the literati's appreciation of the tranquil and rustic country style of life—a common spiritual response to the tumultuous world of the time. A combination of escapism and naturalism inspired the rise of the so-called landscape gardens, corresponding to time-honored landscape painting and poetry. This type of naturalistic "landscape garden," or parklike garden, featured streams, lakes, gorges, rock formations, valleys, trees, and miniature hills, together with chambers and pavilions. Integrating artificial creations with the natural surroundings became an essential element in the construction of imperial gardens as well (Ren Xiaohong 1994, 45–46). [10]

When the Sui Dynasty (581–618) built a new imperial city—the Daxing Cheng—south of the River Wei after its reunification of China in the early seventh century, the entire northern section of the city was designated as royal demesne. Emperor Yang of the Sui, known to history as a playboy ruler, soon added the magnificent West Garden (Xi Yuan or Huitong Yuan) in Luoyang, already a city renowned for gardens and flowers. The West Garden comprised three man-made islands created on the basis of fairy tales. On each of the islands stood numerous pavilions and temples spreading into sixteen courtyards without losing any sense of a harmonious unity with the natural landscape. The principal lake of the garden was more than ten *li* (approximately three miles) in diameter. The huge size of the garden reportedly allowed the emperor to bring with him an entourage, including as many as one thousand singsong girls. The same emperor later built more royal demesnes in southern China. Later historians wrote that Emperor Yang was so "fickle in affection" that he was never content regardless how many pleasurances he already possessed (Sima Guang 1978, 8:5639). His relentless pursuit of pleasure was blamed for the quick fall of the Sui Dynasty.

The great Tang Dynasty (618–907) consolidated the rejuvenated empire. Its tremendous wealth and power elevated landscape painting and garden design to an even higher level of aesthetic standard. The Great Shining Palace (Daming Gong) was the most impressive of all royal palatial gardens the Tang built. Completed in 634, it consisted of more than thirty structures and featured elegant architecture, exquisite decorations, and large lakes and woods. A recent excavation has brought to life the foundations of the Hanyuan Court, one of the palace's many structures, which stood 75.9 meters from east to west and

41.3 meters from north to south. One can imagine the magnificence of the entire palace (cf. Meng Ya'nan 1993, 56–57).

The Maturity of the Garden Arts

Along with the gigantic imperial gardens, literati gardens also flourished during the Tang. Liu Zongyuan (773–819), for example, transformed wildness into a pleasant garden comprising lakes, hills, chambers, and a pavilion (Liu Zongyuan 1979, 3:774). The garden villa at Wangchuan owned by the great Tang poet Wang Wei featured rock hills, a winding lake, bamboo pavilions, a willow forest, flower beds, and a dock, where the poet enjoyed composing poems and entertaining his friends (*Xin Tangshu* 1975, 18:5765). Bai Juyi, another poet of great fame, built in the spring of 817 his Thatched Hall (*caotang*) at Kuanglu in Jiangxi, where he was overwhelmed by the scenic beauty (Bai Juyi 1955, 7:2a). Enjoying scenic beauty aside, these private gardens also served as retreats for literati who suffered career setbacks or other disappointments. They found their feelings in landscapes and used landscaping to express their feelings. In any event, Tang poet-scholars of renown were eager to construct their gardens in natural settings based on their own artistic ingenuity during this golden age of Chinese poetry. They often styled their gardens, halls, and pavilions with poetic names in fine calligraphy to enhance the atmosphere of urbanity and elegance. Later designers of imperial gardens adopted the literati sensibility. In addition, the Tang's extensive cultural contacts with Central and Southwest Asia gave the Tang gardens a distinct foreign influence, such as the apparatus for circulating cold water, the Greek-style columns, and possibly the use of the arc in architecture and the stone*pailou* (Tung 1938, 413–414).

Landscape gardens reached an aesthetic peak during the Song (960–1279), absorbing the influence of Chan (Zen) Buddhism. The natural beauty of hills, streams, trees, and flowers provided Chan adepts with the inspiration to attain "enlightenment" (*chanwu*)as well as the means to suggest the metaphysical Chan world. It was not surprising to find Chan temples in the midst of beautiful scenery; indeed, Chan temples were de facto landscape gardens. Inevitably, Chan aesthetics, meaning, and delight were injected into the garden arts. Chan Buddhism, as a recent writer maintains, was instrumental in the increas

e of private gardens and affected the characteristics of Chinese gardens (Ren Xiaohong 1994, 44). Not only was an element of refined sensibility added but also, thanks to technological advances, architectural construction reached high maturity. The general wealth of upper-class people, advanced techniques, and artistic taste facilitated a boom in garden construction. The entire elite population developed a passion for building their own gardens in which to enjoy the beauty of hills, ponds, streams, trees, and flowers of artificial creation and where invited guests could enjoy good wine, beautiful music, and poetry. These traditional functions of private gardens continued into the Ming-Qing prior to the dawn of the modern era.

Against this background, no one should be surprised at the magnitude and level of luxury of the imperial garden. In 962, the founding emperor constructed at the northeast section of Kaifeng a palatial garden city on the model of the Luoyang palaces and gardens (*Songshi* 1977, 7:2097). In addition to refurbishing two old gardens, namely the Suitable-Spring Garden (Yichun Yuan) and the Jade Ford Garden (Yujin Yuan), the royal family built two brand new imperial gardens, the Jade Forest Garden (Qionglin Yuan) and the Golden-Shining Pond (Jinming Chi) in 966 and 980, successively. They came of age by the early twelfth century. Every spring the Song emperor proudly led his entourage to open these two magnificent gardens in person. The gardens closed when the emperor left in winter (Ye Mengde 1984, 4; Meng Yuanlao 1961, 189–190).

Perhaps the greatest imperial garden the Song built was the famous Genyue completed by Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) in 1117. It covered a mountainous site four miles in diameter with a huge lake. Though a mediocre ruler, the emperor was a gifted artist who specialized in calligraphy and painting. He inevitably gave his own artistic touch to the numerous chambers, pavilions, terraces, galleries, as well as precious trees, flowers, and bamboo forests in the garden. To make the garden still greater, he requested a large quantity of the expansive Taihu rocks (rocks from Lake Tai) to be transported from South China. The price for obtaining the rocks was extremely high. It not only required tremendous manpower to carry the heavy rocks all the way to Kaifeng, but also down the road along the Grand Canal, numerous bridges and irrigation systems were either damaged or destroyed to make way for the rocks (*Songshi* 1977, 7:7101–7102; cf.*Gujin Tushu Jicheng* n.d., 97:525–526 and Hargett

1988–1989, 1–6). Many historians believe that the hateful rock transport contributed to the downfall of the Northern Song. The Genyue and its great artistic creation, however, fundamentally set a brilliant example for the construction of the Yuanming Yuan centuries later, evident especially in the arrangements of hills, lakes, rocks, trees, flowers, and man-made structures. The only noticeable difference was that the Yuanming Yuan did not have the Genyue's sizable zoo.

The Qidan (Khitan) Liao and the Nvzhen (Jurchen) Jin dynasties, generally parallel to the Song, had ruled North China for centuries. Both Qidan and Nvzhen leaders constructed elegant country homes in the present-day Beijing area. Then the Mongols founded the Yuan Dynasty and made Beijing their Great Capital (Dadu). Although the Mongol rulers and princes were no great garden builders, landscape painting during their time had reached arguably the most glorious period of all, and it undoubtedly had a positive impact on later garden design and construction. Distinguished artists such as Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322) won their reputation by transforming their painting skills into garden design (Meng Ya'nan 1993, 139). Almost all the imperial gardens were built around the neighborhood of Beijing, where the Mongols set up the central government of China. The subsequent Ming emperors, in particular the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403–1424), refurbished and expanded the imperial compound, later known as the Forbidden City (Zijin Cheng), in Beijing, including the completion of the Rear Garden (Gonghou Yuan), which still exists. It was during the Ming that an increasing number of gardens appeared in the northwestern suburb of Beijing, where the Yuanming Yuan was eventually built.

While the elegant gardens of rulers and princes were being built in northwestern Beijing during the Ming-Qing period from the fourteenth to eighteenth century, the making of private gardens, especially in South China, also improved greatly. Splendid garden villas in large numbers were found in such prominent cities as Suzhou, Hangzhou, Nanjing, and Yangzhou. Even though these privately owned gardens were generally small in comparison to royal demesnes, exceptions existed, such as the Sui Garden owned by Yuan Mei, the great eighteenth-century Chinese scholar and poet. His Nanjing garden featured thirty-eight man-made structures, including his main library and studio and twenty-four separate pavilions (Yuan Mei 1892, 39:7a–8b).

More importantly, the southern gardens of the Ming-Qing period were more skillfully landscaped. They demonstrated a more sophisticated aesthetic taste in general and a gracefulness and elegance of individual structures in particular. Especially the wealthy gentry-scholars of Suzhou during this period created the best models of classical Chinese gardens, which in the opinion of an eminent modern scholar-architect were the "representative specimens of privately owned gardens in southern China" (Liu Dunzhen 1993, 3). As we shall see later in this study, the cream of the southern gardens was highly appreciated by the Qianlong Emperor, who borrowed many of the southern scenes and architecture when he expanded the Yuanming Yuan, and when he constructed the Rehe retreat, in the eighteenth century.

We should at least mention two traditional Chinese designers, Li Jie and Ji Cheng, who were highly influential in the long history of garden making. Both deserve our attention because their ideas undoubtedly contributed to the design and construction of the Yuanming Yuan. Li Jie was an architect of Song China and the author of the monumental*Yingzao Fashi* (*The Construction Manual*) published in 1103. The book, which richly illustrates and substantially details the methods of design and construction, deals with how to build "arch bridge" (*gongqiao*) and to beautify a garden with water, in addition to standardizing the use of "glazed roofs" (*liuli wa*) which came to characterize the palaces, halls, chambers, pavilions, kiosks, terrace houses, and corridors. The*liuli* (glazed tile), a term originated in the Sanskrit*vaidurya,* was first introduced into China through Southwest Asia and took five hundred years to be used as an essential building material. It is certain that He Zhou, who began manufacturing glazed tiles in the color of green, and thereafter Tang craftsmen furthered the technique to produce the world-renowned*liuli* in three bright colors, usually yellow, blue, and purple. [11]

Ji Cheng was a seventeenth-century scholar from Wujiang in Jiangsu Province, and he authored the celebrated*Yuanye* (*The Craft of Gardens*). The first part of this landmark book includes an introduction and chapters on site selection, foundation setting, and the construction methods of roof making. Part Two is devoted to balustrades, while Part Three discusses such topics as how to make doors, windows and walls, select rock, and construct artificial hills. This ten-thousand-word text was accompanied by two hundred plates defining the standard Chinese-style gardens, in particular the landscape garden with

its meticulous attention to the composition of individual scenes. It emphasized the importance of creating a “main scene” to distinguish one garden from another and adapting man-made structures to harmonize with the natural surroundings (Ji Cheng 1983, 1–39; Alison Hardie 1988). [12] There is general consensus that the works of Li and Ji helped to elevate the stan-dard of Chinese garden art by harmonizing the making of hillocks, lakes, buildings, and courtyards as well as the planting of trees and flowers in late Ming and early Qing China.

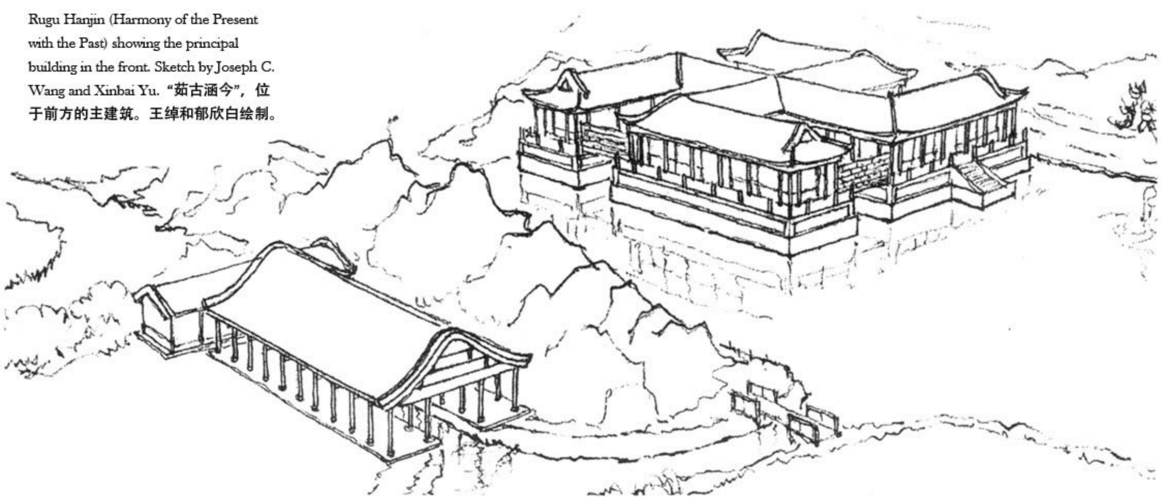
A Great Synthesis of the Garden Arts

Just as the Ming-Qing gardens synthesized traditional Chinese garden art, so the Yuanming Yuan synthesized the Ming-Qing gardens. Indeed, it was constructed at a time when Chinese garden art had long since reached maturity. Besides the availability of specific skills, this was the Qing’s most affluent period, making it possible to create an imperial garden unrivaled in style as well as grandeur. In general, the Yuanming Yuan was constructed on level land, and it was an amalgam of palaces and pavilions, scenic enclosures, landscaping, artificial hills, and numerous clusters of chambers to serve various functions, such as courts, temples, schools, and libraries. All of the man-made structures were organized on a north-south axis in the classical style of courtyard compounds together with secondary axes linking lesser structures. Thus, whitewashed walls, black-grey tile roofs, chestnut-brown pillars, railings, overhanging ornaments, hillocks, lakes, flowers, and trees composed the majestic garden scenery of the Yuanming Yuan. There were hundreds of beautiful scenes in the garden, of which the Qianlong Emperor designated forty best views. After having carefully selected the well-defined scenes, His Majesty gave each of them an elegant name and an illustrative poem. Moreover, the emperor instructed court artists to create the images of the Forty Views in an album. These paintings survived the Yuanming Yuan and have become world renowned.

Given its size, variety, and complexity, the Yuanming Yuan possessed virtually every form of structure appropriate for a garden. The principal ones are summarized as follows (cf. Ji Cheng 1983, 74–82, 84; Ji Cheng 1988, 66–71; Zhou Wuzhong 1991, 74–85):

1. Halls (*tang*), the principal edifices in garden architecture or the main

buildings adjacent to a particular scenic object, usually face south—the imper ial direction—with a large empty space in the front. A Chinese hall is normall y built of round timber, standing tall, spacious, and open to observe the surro unding views.



Rugu Hanjin (Harmony of the Present with the Past) showing the principal building in the front. Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “茹古涵今”，位于前方的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Prominent halls in the Yuanming Yuan were numerous, such as the Cool Summer Hall (Qingxia Tang) in the Variegated Spring Garden (Qichun Yuan) and the Calm Sea Hall (Haiyan Tang), a large European building in the Eter nal Spring Garden (Changchun Yuan). The most distinguished hall in the roy al garden was surely the Main Audience Hall, a replica of the principal Imper ial Court inside the Forbidden City.

2. Pavilions (*ting*), the basic meaning of which is “to make a stopover,” are designed for rest and enjoyment of scenery during garden tours. As Ji Che ng noted, “there is no fixed design for pavilions” (Ji Cheng 1983, 81; Ji Chen g 1988, 69). However, no matter what the form of design (square, round, hex agonal, oblong, octagonal, fan-shaped, or plum-flower shaped), a pavilion is open on all sides to maximize views. Hence, it is not accidental that pavilions are often located in places with better views, in particular on the tops of hills, amid groves, or at the water’s edge, while their size and shape are adapted to the surroundings. Given the number of scenic spots in the Yuanming Yuan, p avilions of various shapes and designs in the garden were too numerous to co unt. One of the most unusual, for instance, was the Five-Bamboo Pavilion (W uzhu Ting).

3. Terraces (*tai*) are high, raised, roofless platforms made either from pi

les of rocks or of flat planks. They are constructed in highly selective locations in order to allow travelers to admire both distant and nearby views. Normally, a terrace is situated either on high ground or beside a lake. The Peony Terrace on one of the Nine Isles in the neighborhood of the royal living quarters of the Yuanming Yuan was the best known, for it had once hosted the well publicized gatherings of the three generations of the royal family, namely, grandfather (Kangxi), father (Yongzheng), and son (Qianlong).

4. Chambers (*lou*), normally two stories and cuboid in shape, are built between hill and lake to catch natural beauty through open windows. Chambers were very common in the Yuanming Yuan; however, the Qianlong Emperor especially enjoyed the Catching Evening Sunlight Chamber (Ranxia Lou) at one of the famous Forty Views.

5. Belvederes (*ge*) can be identified as “storied houses,” with open windows on all four sides. Not surprisingly, many library buildings were named belvederes, including the main library in the Yuanming Yuan, the Wenyuan Ge (Library of Literary Sources).

6. Gazebos (*xie*) are constructed at scenic spots, either beside water or among flower beds, in an attempt to “borrow” the views. Since most are found at the water’s edge, gazebos are often referred to as “water gazebos” (*shuixie*). They appeared in large number at the scenic views surrounding the largest lake, called Fu Hai; for instance, the Clear Void Gazebo (Chengyuan Xie) at the southern end of the lake.

7. Garden porches (*yuanlang*) are long and winding walkways and corridors that serve as the arteries and veins between scenic views regardless of weather conditions. Corridors in particular have many types and are classified either by shape, such as straight, wavelike, and winding, or by function, such as the open, two-story, hill-ascending, and waterside corridors. The double corridor—two corridors in one separated by a wall with tracery windows, giving a sense of depth and surprise—is generally rare but found often in the Yuanming Yuan.

8. Galleries (*xuan*) take after the model of the ancient Chinese carriages, which look spacious and lofty, so they are also known as “carriage galleries” (*juxuan*). They are built in high open space to capture the best views. A disti

nctly unique gallery was the Chunhua Gallery in the Eternal Spring Garden, where the Qianlong Emperor exhibited his huge collection of famous inscribed stone tablets.

9. Chapels (*zhai*) are secluded retreats for self-reflection or meditation in a quiet surrounding, in a sense similar to European chapels, where one seeks spiritual comfort and tranquility. Small studies or libraries can also be called “book chapels” (*shuzhai*), where the owner of the garden can read and write in solitude. Moreover,*zhai* in Chinese tradition was the place where one abstained from meat, wine, and sex before offering sacrifices to gods or ancestors. It was not uncommon for Qing emperors to use one of the chapels, or*zhai*, in the Yuanming Yuan for private moments of self-reflection and worshipping.

10. Lodgings or cottages (*fang*) are private quarters including living rooms and bedrooms. Some of “mountain lodgings” (*shanfang*) in the Yuanming Yuan were very large, such as the Beauty-Covered Mountain Cottage (Jiexiu Shanfang), included in one of the famous Forty Views.

11. Landboats (*fang*) were constructed for enjoying scenic views and merrymaking. The best known landboat is the Marble Boat (Shifang), which was first built at the Kunming Lake in the Qingyi Yuan and is now a favorite spot for tourists in the Yihe Yuan.

12. Studios (*guan*) are alternative dwellings, usually for the purposes of reading and creating artistic works. In the Eternal Spring Garden, the Qianlong Emperor created the interesting and playful Exquisite Jade Studio (Yulinglong Guan) sitting on an island connected by a winding bridge.

Structures of various styles in the Yuanming Yuan were by no means isolated units; combinations of pavilions and terraces or chambers and belvederes or a group of different buildings and courtyards with great complexity and irregularity suggested a majestic piece of the integral whole. Virtually every one of the Forty Views was a compound of various style structures.

In addition, three common Chinese-style structures were found in large number in the Yuanming Yuan. First, bridges (*qiao*), which separate as well as integrate one scenic space with another, were essential in a garden connected by large bodies of water and complicated networks of canals such as the Y

uanming Yuan. They augmented the scenery with a variety of exquisite styles, ranging from a zigzag stone bridge across a narrow channel to a high-rise marble round arch bridge vaulted over passing barges. Winding bridges are usually built on the same level as the surface of the watery area to allow viewers to appreciate the swimming fish and the floating lilies. Quite clearly, a bridge can also serve as foil to discover a nearby scene. It is quite common that lake stone was used as railings on stone-slab bridges which can be piled up with yellow stones. Wooden bridges, while rarely seen in a small private garden, were numerous in the Yuanming Yuan.

Second, walls (*qiang*), which surround virtually every Chinese garden, extended many miles in the gigantic Yuanming Yuan. There are also walls within a garden, built either of stone or brick, designed in many different ways, and decorated with artistic carvings of flowers, birds, or fairies. The largest wall inside the Yuanming Yuan was the Wall of Sravasti, a secluded compound, standing prominently at the northeast corner of the original Yuanming Yuan.

Third, pagodas (*ta*), the Buddhist structures, are almost indispensable elements to magnify any sizable garden, including the Yuanming Yuan, and add religious meaning and aesthetic value. Also, the Yuanming Yuan possessed many stone boats and archways, which are extremely rare in ordinary gardens.

The overall design of the Yuanming Yuan creatively syncretized the Chinese views of nature and life, artistic craftsmanship, aesthetic taste, and garden techniques. Devices, such as contrast, foil, effect, relative dimension, sequence in depth, and scenery in contraposition, were all employed in the planning of this great garden. Every piece of the structure was skillfully and flexibly matched to the topography and terrain in western Beijing. Even roads, streams, and lakes were embellished with flowers, trees, animals, and rocks. Arrangements of scenic objects were often highly complex in order to increase the feeling of depth and to make it impossible to take in all the views at one glance.

In general, the construction of the Yuanming Yuan employed three key technical elements for creative integration, namely, adapting (*yin*), borrowing (*jie*), and coping (*dui*). Adapting is to adapt the garden creatively to its natural setting—land form and physical features—to make it an integral whole. A

fitting adaptation facilitates borrowing of both nearby and distant surrounding views. The idea of borrowing also reflects the distinct Chinese aesthetic taste and worldview. That is, a garden is an integral unit of the whole universe, while the natural beauty surrounding the garden is part of its views. A line of the Tang poet Du Fu illustrates this idea very well: “My window contains the ageless snow on top of the West Hills, while my door faces the countless boats anchoring at the Suzhou wharf” (1972, 12:5a). The West Hills snow and the Suzhou wharf boats become the “borrowed views” of the poet’s villa. The Yuanming Yuan sitting in the beautiful landscape of northwest Beijing and surrounded by three elegant hills had much view to borrow from. In terms of borrowing, the Yuanming Yuan also fully used the skills in “spreading views” (*fenjing*), or entertaining different views from all sides, and in “dividing views” (*gejing*), creating smaller gardens within a garden, as we shall discuss below.

As for the technique of “coping,” this matches one structure with another in order to accentuate symmetry. All these elements involve the skills of arranging, organizing, creating, and even widening space, thus requiring that careful attention be paid to “general layout” (*buju*), “tidying up water” (*lishui*), “piling up hills” (*dieshan*), “putting up structures” (*jianzhu*), and “planting trees and flowers” (*huamu*). [13] Even if there are guidelines, there is no formula. Chinese garden designers, including Ji Cheng, emphasized the importance of inventive applications of the rules.

The traditional skills and techniques plus imagination helped to produce in the Yuanming Yuan more than one hundred different scenes by “reproducing” famous legends, great paintings, imaginary palaces, historic temples, and unique libraries. The quantity and variety of flowers and trees in this enormous imperial garden certainly made it a marvelous botanical garden as well. Tree selection and flower arrangement are part of the overall design that set off beautiful effects in the scenic environment. As early as 1725, the Yongzheng Emperor asked the Imperial Household to give the tributary plants from Burma to the Yuanming Yuan for cultivation (*YMYA* 1991, 1:10–11).

Designers of the Yuanming Yuan clearly had in mind the overall views of the garden and its surroundings before they created a landscape of hillocks, rills, lakes, and countless structures. They were determined to give a fresh and more elegant look when adapting some admirable features of famous south

ern gardens. Even the Qianlong Emperor’s visibly distinctive European-style buildings and gardens were skillfully integrated with the other scenes, thus causing no sense of overall disharmony. Furthermore, the entire outlook of the garden was to show both the gracefulness of country life as well as the grandeur of imperial power to endorse and underline the Chinese political culture of the unified one world.

Water, which suggests calmness and quietude, is an indispensable element for any type of Chinese garden. Dainty ponds, which are seldom geometric, establish a contemplative aura to delight garden-dwellers. The Yuanming Yuan especially can be characterized as a “water garden” (*shuijing yuan*), covered by lakes, large and small, connected by a network of canals and winding watercourses. As maps of the garden show, all structures appeared to be situated on islets or spits of land surrounded by artificial hills, terraces, hollow rocks, and flowering trees and shrubs. According to the tradition of Chinese garden design, designed water areas are given the shapes and characteristics of lakes, brooks, ravines, and waterfalls in the natural world, as to imitate nature is the fundamental principle in the theory of garden making.

Water areas, in whatever forms, provide attractive scenes contrasting with adjacent hillocks, groves, and halls. Needless to say, the ample water resources in the area supplied the Yuanming Yuan with the necessary drinking water, in addition to moderating temperatures and irrigating the plants. The Yuanming Yuan’s lakes branch out into numerous streams and canals connecting one section to another, which served the convenient routes to transport people and goods.

The great imperial garden Yuanming Yuan was a gigantic architectural creation of man-made hills, landscapes, ponds, and canals, together with palaces, halls, chambers, pavilions, and basilicas, embodying hundreds of smaller gardens and scenic points. And one scenic spot and another in this vast space are artistically integrated by winding roads and streams. The specifically designated scenes actually consist of an independent and yet cohesive garden complex. The huge size, grand architecture, exquisite interior designs, and numerous priceless antiques as well as cultural relics made the garden truly unmatched.

The Yuanming Yuan finally came of age during the Qianlong reign, whe

n it comprised five gardens, namely, the original Yuanming Yuan; Changchun Yuan (Eternal Spring Garden, which is different from Kangxi's Changchun Yuan, which means "joyful spring"); Qichun Yuan (Variegated Spring Garden); Xichun Yuan (Loving Spring Garden), also called Qinghua Yuan (Pure Flowery Garden); and Jinchun Yuan (Spring-Coming Garden). This pealed northwest Beijing's fame for the "Three Hills and Five Gardens" (*sanshan wuyuan*). The last two gardens, however, were given to princes in the nineteenth century and were later turned into the campuses of Tsinghua and Peking Universities (cf.*Gujin Tushu Jicheng* n.d., 97:1100).

The most important designers of the Yuanming Yuan were members of the Lei family. For several generations, the Leis maintained an office inside the garden to carry on the endless repairs and new construction work. Lei Fada, who first won wide recognition in his profession at the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, earned official rank after having helped the Kangxi Emperor rebuild the Grand Harmonious Court (Taihe Dian) inside the Forbidden City. His son Lei Jinyu showed comparable family talent in designing and constructing Kangxi's Joyful Spring Garden, for which he earned a Rank Seven and a permanent job in the Yuanming Yuan as an employee of the Office of the Imperial Household (Neiwu Fu). The emperor, who was very fond of him, honored his seventieth birthday in person.

The descendants of Lei Jinyu continued to serve as the principal architects and builders of the garden. Three Lei brothers, Jiawei, Jiarui, and Jiaxi, accompanied the Qianlong Emperor's South China tours to study and copy southern gardens to be rebuilt in the Yuanming Yuan. The Leis thus earned the nickname "Model Lei" (Yangshi Lei) from their ability to produce excellent architectural models. Hundreds of the models displaying judicious designs and fine craftsmanship, still available today, provide us with an extremely useful guide to the once glorious garden (Zhu Qiqian 1984, 102–104; Shan Shiyuan 1984, 95–101).

The Leis were constantly at His Majesty's disposal. Normally, the emperor's wishes to add a ceiling here or a veranda there were transmitted to the Leis through the garden's general manager (*zongguan*); occasionally they were communicated through eunuchs. On March 8, 1859, for instance, General Manager Wang delivered a decree to paint all of the newly built terraces and

eaves in bamboo green (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1066; cf. 1063–1070).

The Leis were so dexterous in garden making that they impressed the Qing court generation after generation. Their skills, rooted in traditional Chinese culture, used familiar symbols to underline the grand imperial ideology and to display the unitary concept of the world as a concrete aesthetic entity. That is, the harmonious unity of Heaven, Earth, and Man reflected a cohesive impression of natural components and artificial creation. They no doubt took into consideration the Confucian interpretation of the human world. Many palace buildings, including their interior decoration, indeed followed the Confucian views of appropriation contained in the*Book of Rites* (*Zhouli*), which stresses solemnity and dignity. At the same time, since the purpose of the garden was for pleasure, Confucian conformity was emphasized less in the garden design. In the Yuanming Yuan, except for the ostentatious Main Audience Hall displaying Confucian solemnity, many other structures, in particular those located in the Eternal Spring Garden, showed an explicit Daoist influence of cheerfulness and relaxation. The Mind-Opening Isle (Haiyue Kaijin) in the Eternal Spring Garden appeared extraordinarily unconventional and lively. The Daoist universe, however, weaves a network of the man-nature relationship no less, if not more, harmonious than the Confucian universe. In fact, the artistic formations of the Daoist sense of untrammeled natural beauty combined with man-made structures emulating celestial phenomena, or recreating the world of fairy tales, equally signify a harmonious dimension of the universal empire. The Yuanming Yuan also included a Muslim mosque and Baroque building, and yet none of the alien influence seemed to have affected the harmony of the imperial garden as a whole.

The designers of the Yuanming Yuan also took the popular Chinese practice of*fengshui* (geomancy) into consideration.*Fengshui* had affected Chinese social life in virtually all aspects for millennia. Even the well-educated literati often regulated their domestic affairs, in particular the construction of a grave or house, in accordance with the cannons of*fengshui.* They believed that selecting a spot for construction condemned or approved by the*fengshui* experts would impose dire calamities or lasting fortune on all those who lived there and their offspring. Fearful of calamities and longing for fortune made geomancers valuable experts. Since a good siting for living space that fully fit the principles of geomancy would favor the inhabitants' wealth, health, and happiness,

the Chinese have taken for granted to select a “lucky site” for construction, in whatever manner, as an assurance of peace and security for millenarian. Although imperial Chinese governments with whatever ethnic background never acknowledged the orthodoxy of*fengshui*, they actually sanctioned the practice. Modern Chinese to this day still try to adapt their residences to cooperate with the basic principles of*fengshui* . [14]

Despite its superstitious nature,*fengshui*, which emphasizes a delicate balance of*yin* and*yang* currents in the earth’s surface, is fully in agreement with the idea of harmonizing men and nature cherished by the Chinese tradition. Usually places approved by geomancers appeared to be tranquil burial grounds or delightful and beautiful home settings. Interestingly, the noted historian of sciences Joseph Needham also finds that*fengshui* embodied “a marked aesthetic component.” Needham sensed “a feeling of desolation” when revisiting the gardens and park of Versailles, which he had “greatly admired” in his youth. This was so, because his experience with Chinese gardens, such as the I Ho Yuan (Yihe Yuan), convinced him that the geometrical garden as Versailles represents “imprisoning and constraining Nature rather than flowing along with it” (Needham 1956, 2:361).

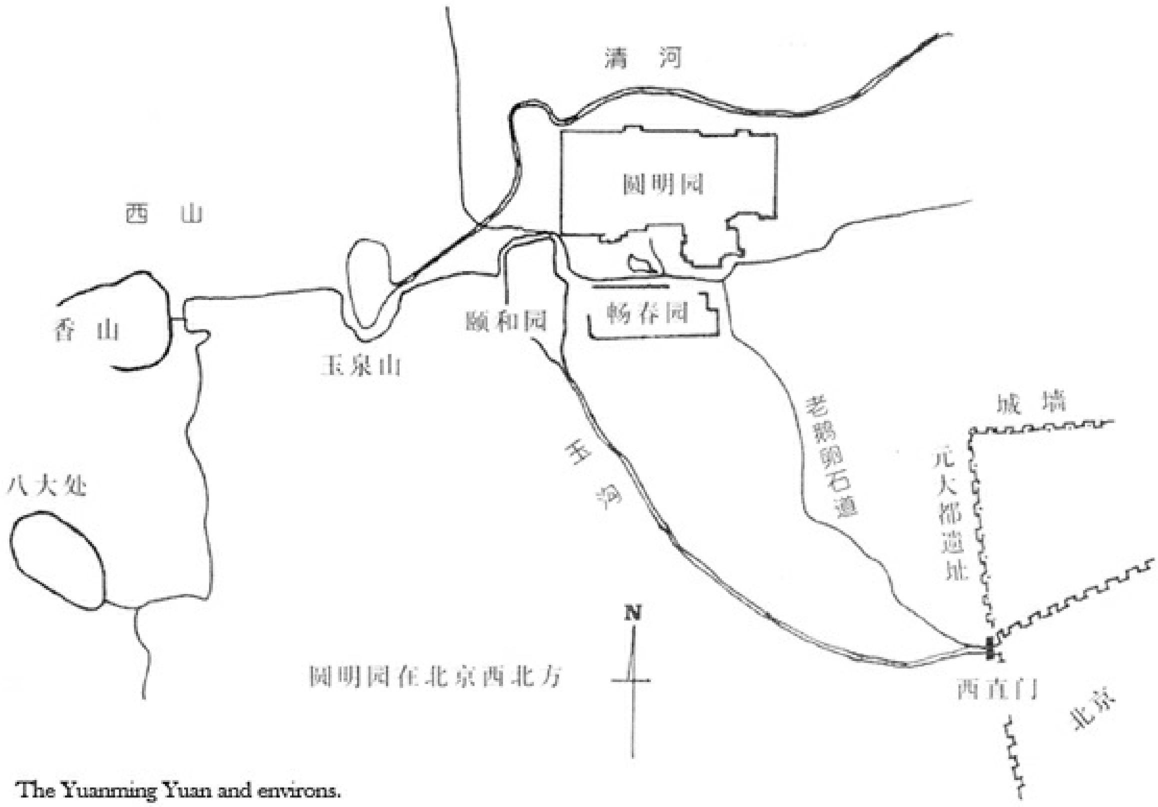
As a synthesis of Chinese art of garden construction, the Yuanming Yuan could not possibly ignore the crucial element of geomancy. Indeed, Manchu rulers took geomancy seriously for the sake of good luck. For instance, in 1724, the Imperial Household summoned a highly acclaimed geomancer, a certain Magistrate Zhang from Deping of Shandong Province. He inspected the construction sites of the Yuanming Yuan, in particular analyzing the garden terrain in both physical and psychic senses, in order to diagnose their features (*YMYA* 1991, 1:6–7).

The Haidian area in northwest Beijing had been chosen as a nice siting for garden construction long before the founding of the Qing Dynasty. In aerial photographs, its natural configuration is smooth in form and outline, with virtually no difficult terrain that would be in discordance with Nature. To the west of this flat area, however, there are dozens of mountain chains and streams, generally known as the Western Mountains (Xi Shan). Slightly north of the Western Mountains stand the Jade Spring Hills (Yuquan Shan), where the Yuanming Yuan drew their fresh water. Also nearby is the Fragrant Hill (Xiang

Shan). Its ridges were described by Ming scholars as the “skins of an Azure Dragon” (*qinglongpi*) (Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng 1980, 296; cf. Gu Zuyu 1956, 2:476). And the mountain Weng stands about five*li*, or 1.5 miles, west of Haidian, particulary its graceful curve like a “water jar” (*weng*) for which its name is derived (Jiang Yikui 1980, 73). The interaction of these two mountain ranges is like the convergence of the male and female energies in harmony. It is clearly an auspicious model of*fengshui* topography.

The Yuanming Yuan occupied one of the best lots in the area. The arrangement of its general layout was in distinctive harmony. The numerous artificial hills in the imperial garden could be deliberately made in accordance to geomatic theories. The color pictures of the Forty Views clearly show respectively man-made structures in a secluded spot, where a loft mountain range called “Azure Dragon” and a lower ridge called “White Tiger” converge. Each of the scenes, in a sense, represents an auspicious model in geomantic terms.

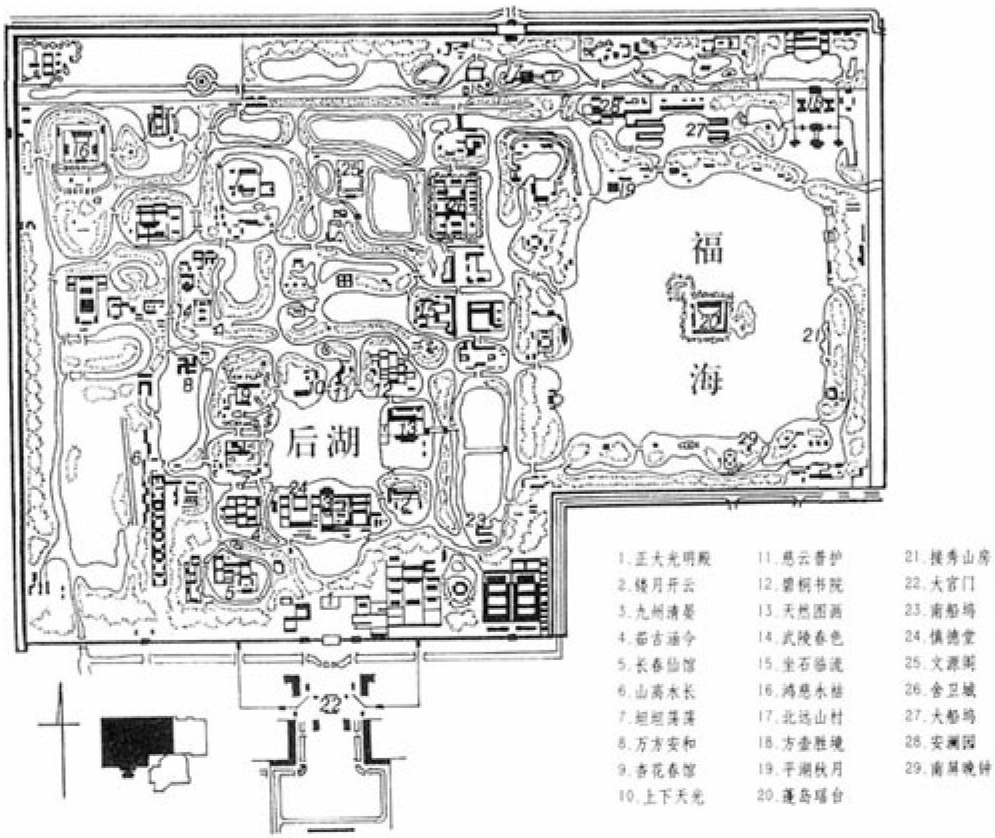
The imperial garden’s*fengshui* seems too good to be found fault with. Hence even in the wake of its calamity, the eventual burning down, no one seemed to have taken the advantage of hindsight and blamed the bad geomancy for its ultimate fate. There is, however, an interesting minor charge. According to a Qing scholar, in 1839, the Daoguang Emperor tore down an arch-shape bridge outside the Inner Gate of the original Yuanming Yuan for his convenience to watch target shooting. The scholar cited a geomancer as saying that a river needs its bridge just like a bow its target, and by removing the bridge it symbolized the targetless bow, a bad omen for the decline of the military. China’s defeat in the Opium War in the years that followed made the scholar feel that the geomancer’s predestination seemed to have come true (Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 5).



The Yuanming Yuan and environs.

Plan by Sylvia Lu Wong.

圆明园及其四周。陆善仪绘制。



Overview of the original Yuanming Yuan showing twenty-nine man-made structures or scenes mentioned in the book. Plan by Sylvia Lu Wong with reference to the map in YMYJ 1 between pp. 122–123 and to He Chongyi, Zeng Zhaofen's work in YMYJ 1:81–92.

圆明园原貌总览，标示出书中提到的29处人工建筑或景点。陆善仪参考《圆明园》第1期（1981）122—123页中的地图以及何重义、曾昭奋绘制的地图（载《圆明园》第1期，81—92页）等资料绘制而成。

Chapter 2 Disposition

The Yuanming Yuan imperial garden consisted of the most magnifi-cent architectural works the Qing Empire ever created. It represents a glory in the Chinese cultural tradition and the pinnacle of Chinese garden arts.

The site on which the Yuanming Yuan was built is a plain rich in fresh water at the foot of the Jade Spring Hills near present-day Haidian, northwest of Beijing. The water from the Jade Spring has been described as cool and clear, to be admired as “pearls under moonlight” (*mingyue yeying qingguang yuan*)(Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng 1980, 297). The plentiful spring accounts for the abundant groundwater in Haidian and its neighborhood. In fact, *“dian”* means the place where water runs together (Jiang Yikui 1980, 69). Moreover, the terrain allowed a gigantic garden to achieve its maximum aesthetic effects. As the great modern Chinese architect Liang Sicheng summarizes, the Yuanming Yuan was essentially a design of hillocks and lakes with buildings, courts, chambers, pavilions, arbors, and other structures in between. Even though symmetry and balance were stressed, Liang goes on, greater emphasis was placed on variations and liveliness in accordance with topography to the extent of being unconventional. Although the garden, for Liang’s critical eyes, perhaps contained too many man-made structures, which jeopardized the beauty of the landscape, he has no doubt about its lively creativity (1985, 3:225, 231).

A more recent scholar has called the Yuanming Yuan “the garden of ten-thousand gardens” (*wanyuan zhi yuan*)in reference to its ingenious and judicious disposition on a large lake and near the tall West Hills in the neighborhood (Chen Congzhou 1994, 5). Indeed, due to the excellent location, pleasant country homes appeared here as early as the Yuan Dynasty in the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth century, natural beauty made this region so attractive that the Marquis Li Wei of the Ming was inspired to construct the well-known Clear Flowery Garden (Qinghua Yuan), which had claims to be “the leading garden in the region” (*jingguo diyi mingyuan*). Shortly afterward, the distinguished calligrapher Mi Wanzhong built the equally famous Ladle Garden (Shao Yuan) in this area. Both celebrated gardens, according to the Peking University scholar Hou Renzhi, deteriorated during the transition from the Ming to

the Qing (1991, 99).

The Qing rulers constructed gardens in the Haidian region all over again. As the three available maps show, the Yuanming Yuan contained vast lakes connected by a network of canals and winding waterways. From a bird's eye view, all of the structures in the garden appear to have been situated on islets or spits of land surrounded by artificial hills, terraces, hollow rocks, and blooming trees and shrubs. The specially named "scenes" (*jing*)comprised a series of independent and yet cohesive smaller gardens. And this huge park, as a Briton observed, "contained a vast variety of elegant little buildings" (Holmes 1798, 134).

In 1737, the second year of his reign, Qianlong instructed the distinguished court artists Castiglione, Tang Dai, Sun You, Shen Yuan, Zhang Wanbang, and Ding Guanpeng to draw a silk map of the Yuanming Yuan. Once completed, it was hung on the north wall of the Clear Sunshine Belvedere (Qinghui Ge). The belvedere was situated on the west side of the royal living room at the center of the Nine Continents. Its structure, a simple rectangle with elaborate motifs and decorations carved on the posts and beams by carpenters, fit beautifully in the landscape and among other surrounding structures. Noticeably, it had a large overhang to protect the inhabitants from foul weather and was carefully painted to protect it from decay. The right angles and axial symmetry reflected the sublime order. This was the place where the emperor and his companions enjoyed the quiet pleasures of composing poems, drawing pictures, and admiring the landscape (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1333–1334).

The famous Forty (Best) Views (*sishi jing*)of the Yuanming Yuan were completed and designated in 1744, of which twelve views, or scenes, were constructed after Qianlong became emperor in 1736. Even though Yongzheng had completed so many of the forty views, Qianlong continued to refurbish all the views extensively. The urbane Qianlong gave every one of the Forty Views a cultured name with an explanatory poem (*Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985). The emperor's practice was quite in line with what a refined scholar did for his private garden, that is, to use an elegant name and poetic theme to make manifest a pictorial image of the uniquely created scene. Moreover, the proud Qianlong commissioned the court artists Shen Yuan and Tang Dai and the calligrapher Wang Youdun to produce a two-volume silk atlas, 2.6 feet

high and 2.35 feet wide, to convey impressionistic images of all forty scenes.

This set of pictures and poems was taken away by the French during the war of 1860, and it subsequently found a home in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. The French gave the Chinese a duplicate color set of the atlas in 1983 (*Yuanming Cangsan* g 1991, 16; cf. Cai Shenzhi n.d., 135). The woodcut version of the same atlas signed by Sun Hu and Shen Yuan was published in the 1920s (Cheng Yansheng 1928, 1).

Different parts of the garden were reached by various roads that deliberately made "various turnings and windings" (Attiret 1982, 9). There was perhaps a geomantic element in it. Perhaps the evil spirits, which would travel in a straight line, would be diverted by a winding course. But turnings and windings also were essential for creating surprises. A narrow, tortuous, and dark mountain road would seem to guide viewers into a dead end, but before long a broad space would open to them. Suddenly they would be surprised by a view of elegant trees, blue sky, white cloud, flying birds, beautiful flowers, and a stream of water escaping down from higher ground into a pool. At that moment, they might even enjoy the clean and soft winds blowing from distant hills. Roads thus facilitated visitors' pleasure of admiring successively unfolding views from spot to spot. The element of surprise endorsed the art of mixing concealment (*cang*)and revelation (*lu*). The European buildings at the northern end of the Eternal Spring Garden would seem to be hidden from the Chinese architectural structures by walls and hills, with only tall roofs visible from distance. But concealment was not used simply to communicate that "nothing Western could mar the harmony of the main garden" (Thiriez 1998, 51); it was used to create surprises as well.

Unlike the technique of concealment used to completely hide elements in prose or in a poem, concealment in the garden means to bring forth a reserved and implicit expression, thus unfolding scenes that cannot be viewed in a single glance. [15] The British took note of the effect of intricacy and concealment when they visited the Yuanming Yuan at the end of the eighteenth century. "At Yuen-min-yuen (Yuanming Yuan)," it is said, "a flight wall was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket" (Staunton 1799, 2:114).

In addition to roads, a network of canals linked to almost every corner of

the garden served the same purpose of circulation. Numerous barges and boats traveled in the garden. The successive Qing emperors all preferred smooth boat traveling. To facilitate this service, the Yuanming Yuan employed an increasing number of sailors, boathouse keepers, and boat repairmen. Since all these people lived and worked in the garden, they formed the garden's "boat household" (*chuanhu*), one of many households in the service of the emperor and the royal family. [16]

Scenic Structures in the Original Yuanming Yuan

The original configuration of the imperial garden before the completion of the Sea of Blessing (Fu Hai) was square in shape. It consisted of three principal groups of man-made structures, namely, the administrative buildings, the royal residence compound, and a complex of rural scenes spreading along the central axis from south to north, in addition to numerous composite smaller enclosures scattered throughout the huge garden.

The main entrance, facing south, was named the Grand Palace Gate (Da'gongmen); it was one of the garden's eighteen major gates. On top of the gate hung a wooden tablet with three large Chinese characters, *yuan ming yuan*, in the style of Kangxi's calligraphy. Centered in front of the Grand Palace Gate was a five-column-wide section of rooms used as office space for representatives from virtually all major government agencies, including the Grand Secretariat (Nei Ge), the six boards, Hanlin Academy, and the Bureau of the Clansmen (Zongren Fu). Beyond the main gate was the Inner Palace Gate, or the Gentlemen's Entrance (Churu Xianliang Men), guarded by a pair of gilt dragons across an arch bridge over a moat. On both sides of the entrance there were rooms for visitors to wait. This was the place where the emperor reviewed the annual archery contest of his troops (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1325).

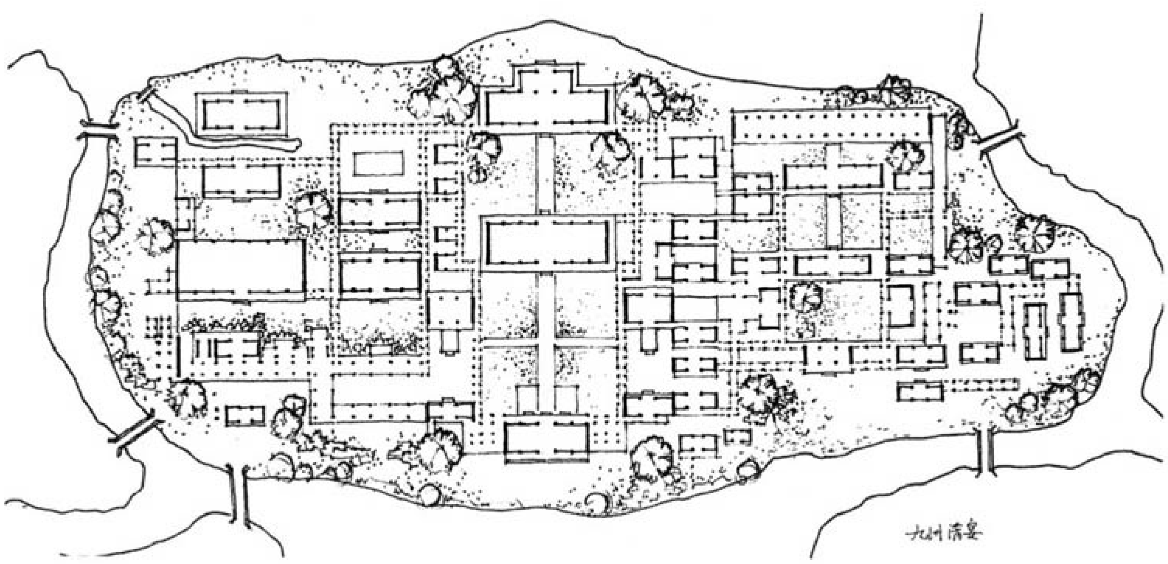
The grand Main Audience Hall (Zhengda Guangming Dian), the name of which means open-mindedness and magnanimousness appropriate to a great ruler, stood at a central position inside the Inner Palace Gate. This piece of architecture was a replica of the imperial audience hall called Great Harmony Hall (Taihe Dian) in the Forbidden City. It was "well adorned exteriorly with paint and gilding, and netted with iron wire under the fretted eaves to keep the birds off" (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1326).

The hall had seven columns made of solid wood, 129 feet long and 63 feet wide, sitting on a 4-foot-high terrace of round stone pedestals, each 2 feet 9 inches in diameter. Inside, an “antithetical couplet” (*duilian*)written by Emperor Yongzheng himself was displayed on a pair of scrolls hanging on each side of the hall in symmetrical fashion. The building’s floors were paved with *dalishi* (slabs of a white marble veined in black) 2 feet square and about 3 inches thick on a brick-lime foundation ascended by three sets of stone steps. In the front there was an open courtyard with two side halls (*piandian*)on each side, and in the back a rock hill resembling a gigantic jade bamboo shoot in upright form. This hall was the place where the emperor met with his officials and foreign dignitaries as well as served banquets, in particular the grand banquets for such special occasions as the emperor’s birthday, and the metropolitan examinations. In general, this administrative section, with the Main Audience Hall as its principal structure, is a large enclosure surrounded by walls. Looking out from inside one could catch the pleasant views of dark-foliaged trees and flowers mixed red with purple. With the rise of the imperial garden’s political stature, this audience hall soon acquired two wings. The east wing provided office space for the grand councilors (*junji*), who made policy decisions on a daily basis, while the west wing was used as waiting rooms (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1326; Swinhoe 1861, 294; cf. Malone 1934, 75–76). The Qianlong Emperor designated this place the first of his Forty Views.

To the east of the Main Audience Hall was the Diligent Court, or the Royal Office Room (Qinzheng Dian). It contained a large compound of halls, with the Baohe and Taihe Courts in the middle sandwiched by the Flush Spring Chamber (Fuchun Lou) in the back and the Fragrant Azure Grove (Fangbi Cong) in the front. This court was the place in which the Qing emperors summoned officials, read memorials, or ate simple meals; comparable with the Qianqing Palace in the Forbidden City. A large screen behind the throne in the main office room showed two big Chinese characters, *wu yi*, meaning not to indulge in pleasure (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1330–1331; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 9; cf. Zhu Jiajin and Li Yanqin, comps. 1983, 2:55). This place provided the Qing emperors from Yongzheng onward with the administrative space to conduct state affairs. Qianlong designated it as the scene of the “Diligent and Talented Government” (Qinzheng Qinxian).

Behind this administrative section across the Front Lake (Qian Hu) was t

he royal residential area called Nine Continents, consisting of nine islets, con nected by bridges and encircling the 200-square foot Rear Lake (Hou Hu). [17] The so-called Nine Continents, ostensibly from the Confucian *Book of History* , refer to the known world in ancient China (*Shujing* 1911, 2:1). The Yongzheng Emperor, who named this area, wanted to signify his universal empire surrounded by the seas and to symbolize “all under heaven” (*tianxia*)under peace and prosperity. I contest that neither Yongzheng nor Qianlong ever considered the miniature Nine Continents to be an example of the “last radiance of the setting sun” (*luori yuhui*)in the history of the imperial garden construction. I think that it is a misunderstanding for Wang Yi to assert that creating the immense universe in miniature unknowingly displayed the loss of a broad intellectual vista and a sign of the decline of the imperial grandeur (1990, 177–181). It is a remarkable art to “create a world in a pot.” Rather than losing a broad intellectual vista, such a design implies exactly the majestic worldview the imperial ruler entertained. It is in effect a vital aesthetic element in the Chinese garden art, which allows a small man-made structure to symbolize the immense nature, not just a part of the earth but also a part of the universe.



Jiuzhou Qingyan showing Feng Sanwusi Dian (Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court) in the lower center. Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “九州清晏”，奉三无私殿位于图中下方。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

As a matter of fact, most classical Chinese gardens are enclosed within a

limited area but with the clear intention of creating a sense of infinite space. The creation of spaciousness is the essence of garden art. Condensation that produces the effect of making the small look like the spacious is no doubt a refined technique. And the Nine Continents in the Yuanming Yuan are precisely the grand center of this magnificent imperial garden symbolizing the universal Chinese world. It is surely through symbolism that the feeling of grandness rather than smallness communicated.

The islet on the north-south axis in the Nine Continents accommo-dated three architectural units in a row from north to south, namely, the seven-column-wide Nine Continents in Peace Hall (Jiuzhou Qingyan), the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court (Feng Sanwusi Dian), and the five-column-wide Yuanming Yuan court facing the Front Lake. The row of three courts laid on the central axis with the Grand Palace Gate. On the east side of these courts stood Family of Spring Between Heaven and Earth (Tiandi Yijiachun) and the Benevolence Receiving Hall (Cheng’en Tang). The latter hall housed apartments for imperial ladies to live. On the west side of these three courts was the eminent Clear Sunshine Belvedere (Qinghui Ge) in which, on its northern wall, the map of the Yuanming Yuan was hung between 1737 and 1860. Sandwiched between two small lakes, the emperor’s own bedroom was also located in this vast compound, which Qianlong designated as the Nine Continents in Peace (Jiuzhou Qingyan) (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1331–1332; Wang Wei 1992, 21). This designation seems to suggest that the emperor wished to survey “all under heaven” in microcosm.

The imperial bedroom and seraglio in the Nine Continents were forbidden ground, and yet the European visitor Father Attiret was able to see them. He found there “all the most beautiful things that can be imagined as to furniture, ornaments, and paintings.... [There are] the most valuable sorts of wood; varnished works, of China and Japan; ancient vases of porcelain; silks, and cloth of gold and silver. They have there brought together, all that. Art and good taste could add to the riches of nature” (Attiret 1982, 23). In 1860, when the European invaders seized the garden, a British officer saw the royal living quarters where “a large niche in the wall, curtained over and covered with silk mattresses, served for the bed; and a sloping platform enabled His Majesty to mount into it.” Under a pillow, the Briton noticed “a small silk handkerchief with sundry writings in the vermillion pencil about the barbarians.” Near the be

d on a table there were “pipes and other Chinese luxuries” (Swinhoe 1861, 298). This description at least reflects the setup of His Majesty’s bedroom during the Xianfeng Emperor’s time.

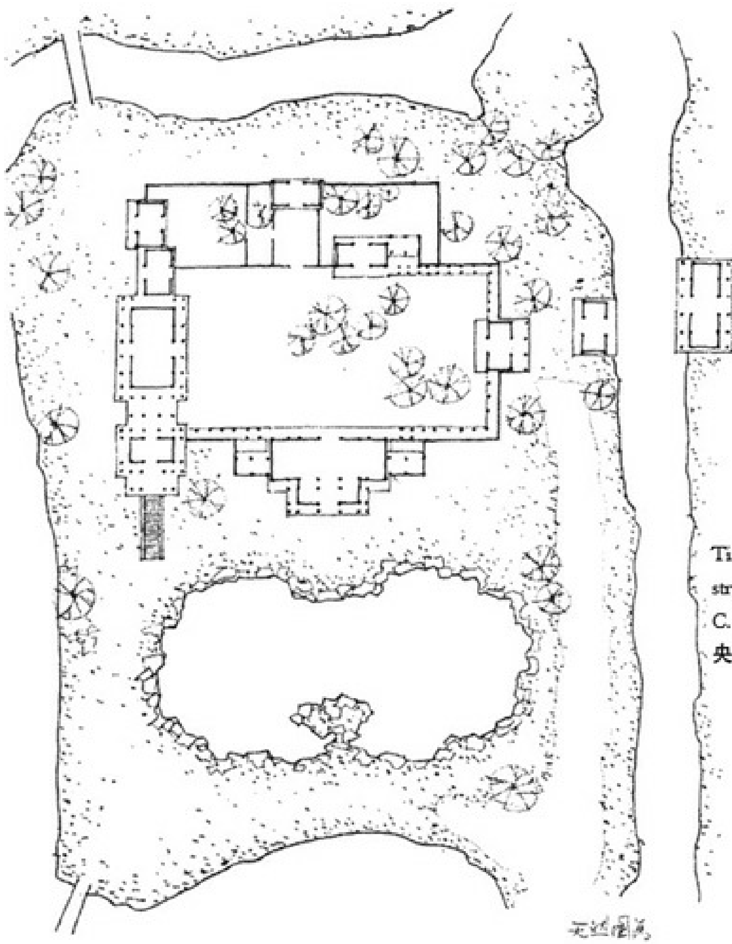


Louyue Kaiyun (Engraved Moon and Unfolding Clouds) showing Ji’en Tang (the Memorial Hall) in the background. Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “镂月开云”，纪恩堂位于背景中。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

On the second islet of the Nine Continents sat the famous Peony Terrace (Mudan Tai), which Qianlong eventually designated the scene of the Engraved Moon and Unfolding Clouds (Louyue Kaiyun). Its main hall in the front was built using precious *nanmu* (*Phoebe nanmu*)timber with tiles in splendid green and gold, yielding a look of resplendence. The elegant-looking gallery behind the main hall was named the Imperial Orchid Fragrance (Yulanfen). Further back was an expansive complex of structures consisting of the Memorial Hall (Ji’en Tang) in the middle, the Nourishing Simplicity Study (Yangsu Shuwu) to the west, and the Resting Cloud Chamber (Qiyun Lou) to the east (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1336; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 13). The central theme of this scene was the peony. The great Song philosopher Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073) had designated this particular flower to symbolize riches and honor, and Kangxi identified ninety different kinds of peony in his imperial garden (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 278). Every blossom season, normally late spring, when hundreds of peonies came into bloom, the Qing emperors arrived at the terrace to observe the magnificent “embroidery view” against the backgrou

nd of enormous green pines. It is not at all surprising that Qianlong found the Peony Terrace his favorite place to compose poems. [18]

The remaining seven islets of the Nine Continents complete the circle in the following order. At the northeast corner of Rear Lake was the Natural Sce
nery (Tianran Tuhua), which is also the name of its principal structure standin
g in the middle with two wings. Its west side included a pavilion and a chamb
er, and its east side included the Five-Fortunes Hall (Wufu Tang). In front of this scenery extended a large courtyard featuring numerous phoenix trees in t
he midst of a bamboo grove.



Tianran Tuhua (Natural Scenery), with the principal structure in the middle facing a lake. Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. "天然图画"，包括位于中央朝向湖泽的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。



Bitong Shuyuan (Blue Phoenix-Tree Academy). Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. "碧桐书院"。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Crossing a stream over a flat bridge from the site of the Five-Fortunes Hall, one arrived at the Blue Phoenix-Tree Academy (Bitong Shuyuan). Its main structure, facing south, included a three-column front house, a five-column main court, and a five-column rear court. Tidy Wutong trees grew on each side of the courtyards to provide long shade over the houses, which appeared to be hidden. Qianlong is said to have loved coming here to hear the sounds of rain, which inspired him to write poems. Westward from the academy was the Gentle Clouds Cover All (Ciyun Puhu). With the unique Bell Tower (Zhong Lou) at its back and slightly to the west, the three-column-wide main front court named the Happy Buddhist Ground (Huanxi Fochang) faced the Rear Lake to the south. To the north of the court, beside a Daoist shrine, was a three-story chamber in which Avalokitesvara and Guan Gong, the legendary military hero, were worshipped. To the east of the main court stood the Court for the God of Rain (Longwang Dian) for worshipping the Yuanming Yuan's Dragon King named Zhaofu. The name Gentle Clouds Cover Allobviously refers to the merciful protection over all souls (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1337–1340).

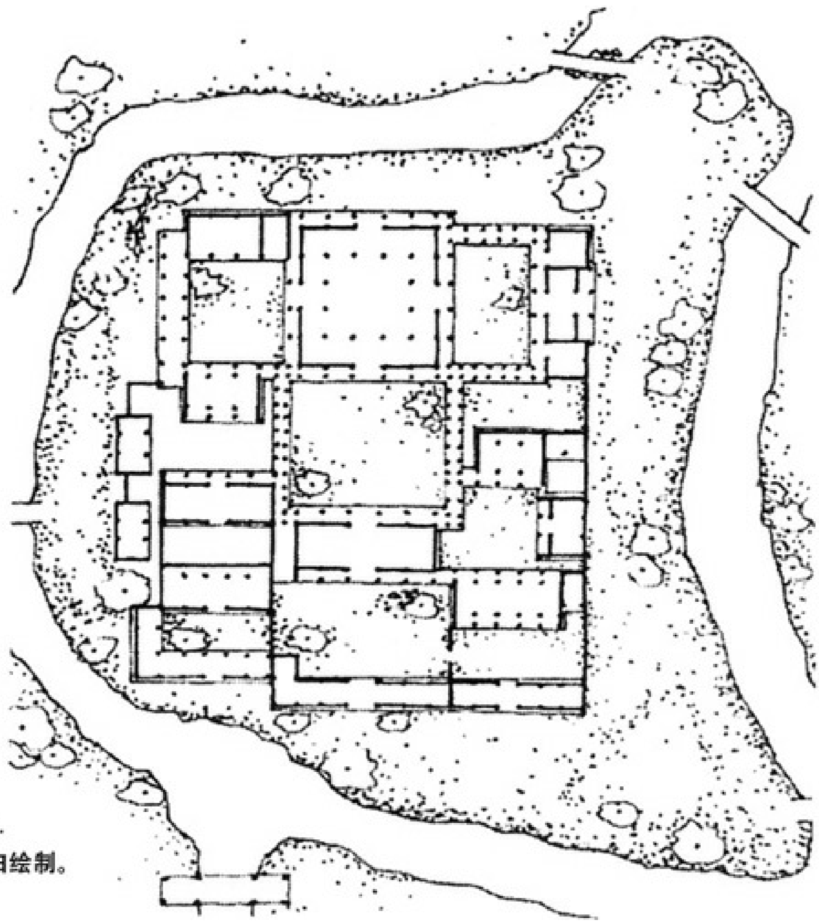
One left this religious land over a stone bridge westward to the Sky in R

eflections (Shangxia Tianguang). Its main structure, a two-story chamber ove rlooking the Rear Lake, was a replica of the famous Yueyang Chamber (Yue yang Lou) at the Dongting Lake in the central Yangzi valley. On both sides o f the chamber extended two narrow banks like rainbows, and at the middle of them stood a hexagonal arbor. Behind the chamber was a compound of small er structures called the Silent Courtyard (Ping'an Yuan), where the Nine Cont inents made a southwest turn to the islet named the Apricot-Flower Villa (Xi nghua Chunguan).



Principal building on Shangxia Tianguang (Sky in Reflections). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“上下天光”里的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

The villa was composed of the Apricot Grove (Xinghua Cun), the Sprin g Rain Gallery (Chunyu Xuan), the Green Shady Hall (Cuiwei Tang), the Res trained Chapel (Yi Zhai), and the Water Reflection Chapel (Jingshui Zhai). Y ongzheng had created this scene, while Qianlong embellished it and designate d it as one of the Forty Views. Qianlong liked to come here in late spring whe n flowers blossomed, and he described the view as splendid as the “rosy rays of light” (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1341).

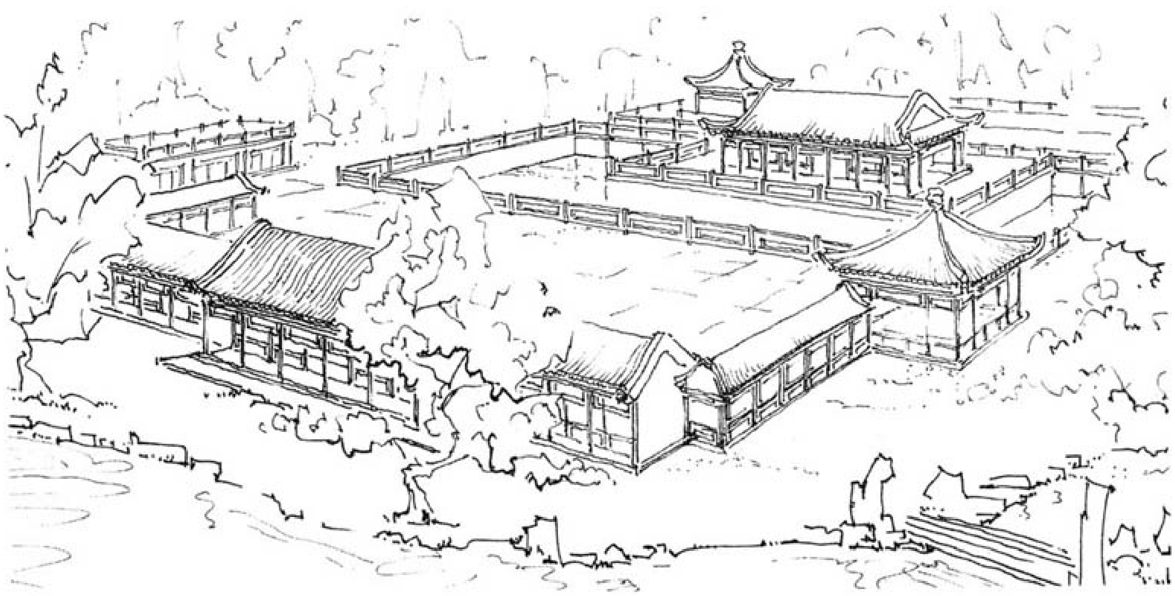


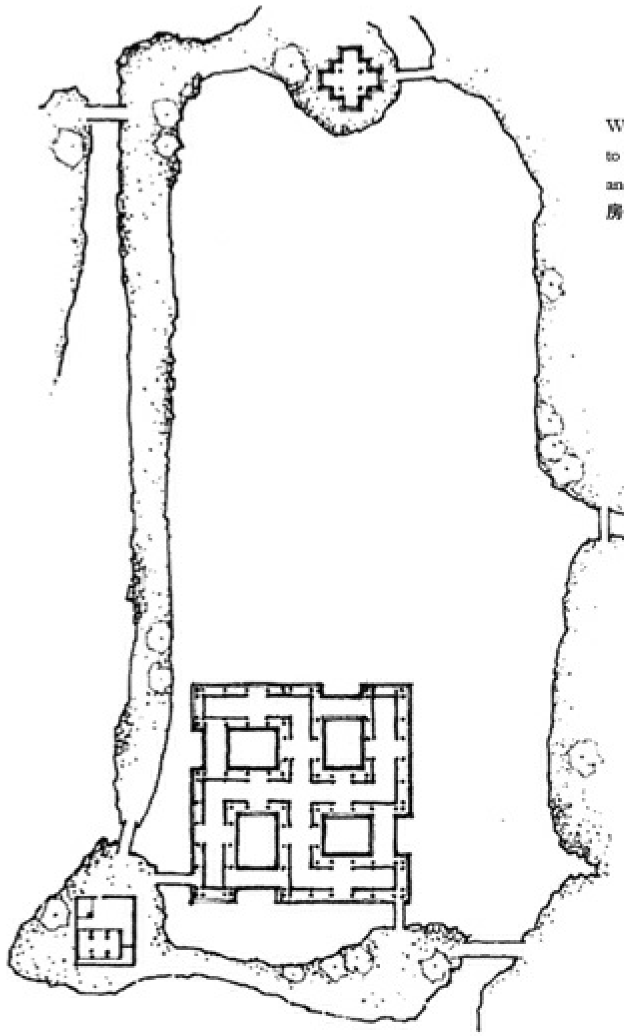
Rugu Hanjin (Harmony of the Present with the Past). Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“茹古涵今”。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

The islet on which stood the Apricot-Flower Villa was connected to the Magnanimous World (Tantan Dangdang) by the Blue Wave Bridge (Bilan Qiao). Its front structure had three sections: the Pure Heart Hall (Suxin Tang) in the middle, the Knowing-Fish Arbor (Zhiyu Ting) to the northeast, and the Double Beauty Chapel (Shuangjia Zhai) to the northwest. Behind the front structure was the Splendid Wind and Moon (Guangfeng Jiyue). The unique feature of this scene was the square fish pond, which was very much to the pleasure of Qianlong who cited in a poem the saying of the great Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi: “See how the minnows are darting about! Such is the pleasure that fish enjoy.” (Wang Xianqian 1972, 108) South of this scene, the islet named the Harmony of the Past with the Present (Rugu Hanjin) sat at the southwest corner of the Rear Lake and connected by bridges to the main living quarters and to the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall (Changchun Xianguan). All galleries, chapels, and studios here were built in a large square lot connected by delightful winding corridors. In designating this scene, Qianlong quoted the great Tang poet Du Fu: “While I hold my contemporaries with no contempt, I have my a

ffection for the ancients" (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1341–1343; cf. *Yuanming Y uan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 10–27). The scenes on the nine islets arguably co nstituted the best of the Forty Views.

Tantan Dangdang (Magnanimous World).
Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
"坦坦荡荡"。王绰和郁欣白绘制。





Wanfang Anhe showing Ping'an Yuan adjacent to the Swastika House. Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. "万方安和"，平安院位于字房的旁边。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Across the Nine Continents to the west was the Swastika House. Qianlong designated it as the Universal Peace (Wanfang Anhe), with houses constructed in a swastika shape on a lake. [19] Cool in summer and warm in winter, the houses were built on a solid brick foundation surrounded by water. Here the Qianlong Emperor was especially fascinated by the inverted golden reflections of the swastika formation in the lake under the autumn moon. The golden reflections recalled the brilliant light of the Buddha (*Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 31). Other scenic sites with ostensible religious significance included the better-known Cloud-Living on the Moon Land (Yuedi Yunju), a secluded enclosure surrounded by short red walls and green pines and sitting at the northern end of the Drill Field. Its main building faced a stream in the front and was backed by a small hill. This was a favorite place for members of the royal family to perform their Buddhist worship (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:13

47; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 37).



The principal structure of Wuling Chunse (Spring Beauty at Wuling). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“武陵春色”的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

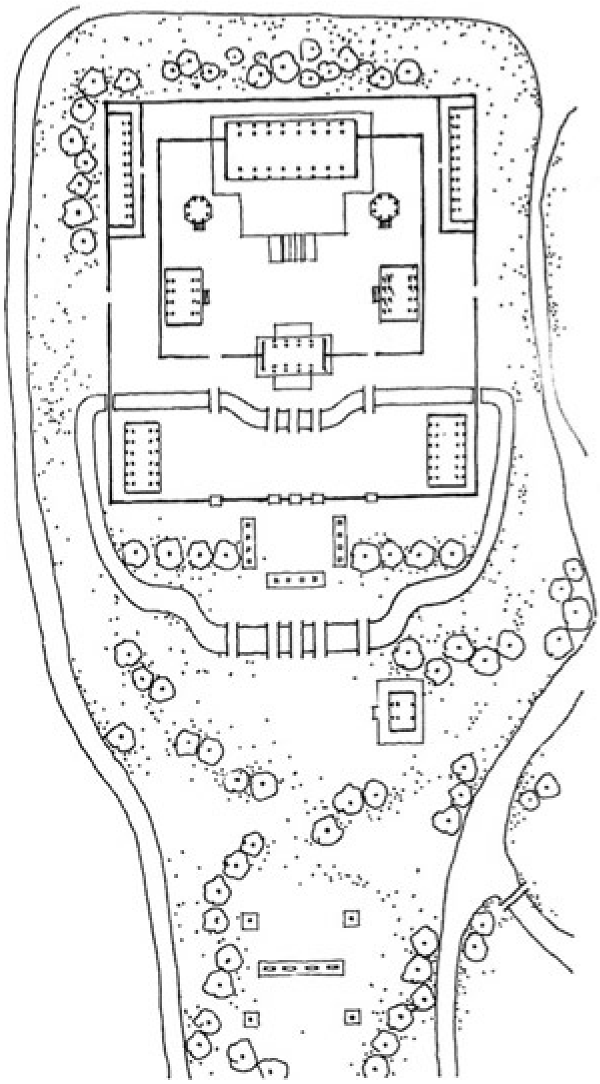
Just north of the Swastika House was the Peach-Blossom Cove (Taohua Wu). This scene recalls the famous legend invented by the third-century poet Tao Qian (372–427), also known as Tao Yuanming. In the legend, a fisherman loses his way and discovers a hidden paradise called the Peach-Blossom Cove in which people live happily without knowing the outside world. The fisherman returns home and tells the story, but he cannot find the cove again. The lost cove has since inspired Chinese literati into utopian thoughts of a legendary happy land. The Peach-Blossom Cove contained a series of halls and galleries. The hall named Deep Source of Peach Blossom (Taoyuan Shenchu) at the northeast end (*Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 33) was created by Yongzheng, who was very pleased with the ingenious design and inscribed with his own calligraphy names for each chamber on the horizontal board. [20] Qianlong designated this cove Spring Beauty at Wuling (Wuling Chunse) and selected it as one of the Forty Views (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1347–1348).

The Drill Field was located at the southwest corner of the original Yuanming Yuan. It featured a review stand and a large flat field for military exercises. Qianlong designated it as the High-Reaching Mountain and Outstretched River (Shangao Shuichang) (*Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 35). Across the Cloud-Living on the Moon Land and in the northwest corner, Qianlon

g spent 600,000 taels to complete the Ancestral Shrine in1742. The main stru cture, called Blessing Palace (Anyou Gong), was set all the way back in the middle facing south (*Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 39).

Unlike most other structures in the garden, the construction materials of the Ancestral Shrine were mainly stone and marble. In the distance from the e ntrance, one could observe two pairs of “ornamental columns” (*huabiao*) [21] in front of the Memorial Archways (*paifang*), which was crowned with light yellow glazed tiles and eaves. The columns, each standing twenty feet high a nd about a hundred feet apart, were surrounded by four marble pillars carved with dragons, clouds, and flames alongside a marble balustrade and a stone a nimal. Five parallel marble bridges crossed a moat with three screen-shaped memorial arch ways that led to the palatial gates. Each bridge was guarded by two stone Chinese unicorns, or *kylin* (*qilin* , a Chinese unicorn symbolizing a uspiciousness), approximately 174 centimeters tall on 98-centimeter-high sto ne platforms (cf. *YMYJ* 1984, 3:133). The gates led the way to the shrine’s tal l, reddish outer wall, which was crowned with a yellow glazed tile roof. The i nner wall was also red and covered by a yellow glazed tile roof. Inside the co urtyard were the waiting rooms. The main gate stood on top of a splendid mar ble terrace ascended by marble stairs and balustrade, and a pair of bridges stre tched across a moat. On both sides of a vast courtyard were guestrooms, two l arge incense burners, and a pair of pavilions with double roofs. The main shri ne palace stood on a large marble terrace ascended by five stairways escorted by bronze animal figures. The central stairway, which was richly decorated w ith carved dragons, was reserved for the emperor’s use only. Qianlong design ated it the Most Kindness and Eternal Blessing (Hongci Yonghu).

The Ancestral Shrine showing the Anyou Palace (top). Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. "鸿慈永祜"，安佑宫位于上方。王绰和郁欣白绘制。



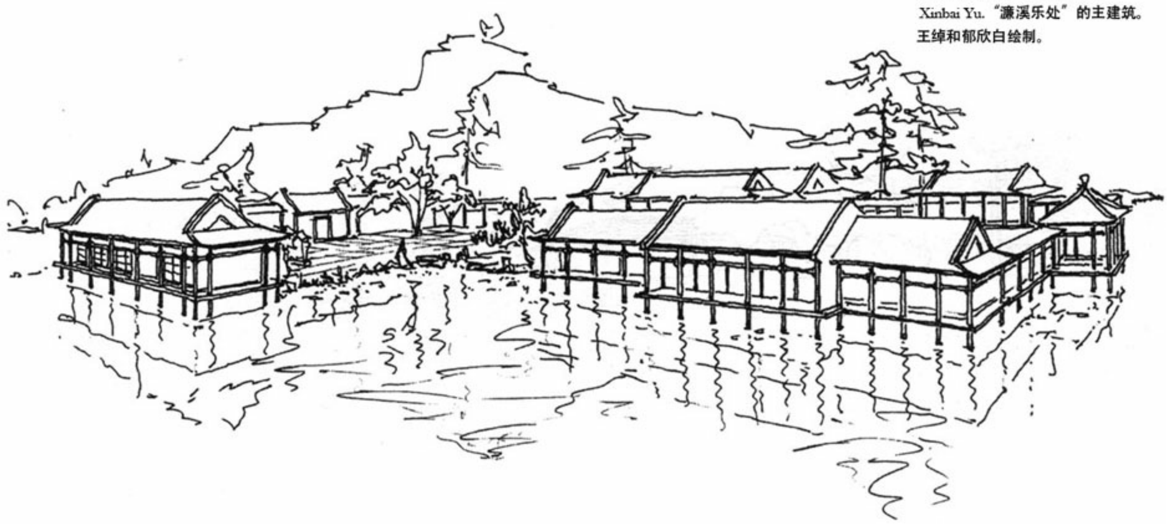
Inside the shrine, Qianlong placed the portraits and name tablets of Yon gzheng and Kangxi to show his affection for his deceased forefathers. After Qianlong died, his own portrait and memorial tablet were placed here for rem embrance andworshipping by his successor. The shrine, to which the Manchu royal family always attached great importance, would have been considered a truly exceptional structure in any type of garden (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1351 –1353; Zhaolian 1980, 391).

To the east of the Ancestral Shrine was the Faculty Club (Huifang Shuy uan). It consisted of such structures as the Expressing Excellence Gallery (Sh uzao Xuan) in the front, the Conceiving Distance Chapel (Hanyuan Zhai) in t he rear, the Relaxation Room (Sui'an Shi) to the west, and the Lofty Clouds Chamber (Zhuoyun Lou) to the east. Further east from the Faculty Club was t

he Half-Moon Gallery (Meiyue Xuan). South of the gallery between an arbor and a chamber stood an open-air structure, about three column wide, facing the uniquely designed scene called Traces of Snow on a Broken Bridge (Duanqiao Canxue) (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1354; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 41). The bridge was made of broken rocks in dozens of different shapes, some of which are still visible at the present-day ruin site.

Below the Faculty Club was a religious complex that emulated the famous Lamaist temple known as Yonghe Gong in Beijing. It had three sections: two rows of seven-column chambers connected by two hallways to the west; three rows of seven-column chambers in the middle; and the Good Omen Palace (Ruiying Gong) comprising three Buddhist-style courts to the east. Qianlong designated this Buddhist compound the Dazzling Eaves under Heaven (Ritian Linyu) (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1355; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 43).

East of the religious complex was the largest scenic point, approximately twelve acres, with several magnificent pieces of architecture, including the nine-column principal structure surrounded by hills and brooks. One of the unique features of this scene was the great number of lotuses floating in shallow water. It is well known to Chinese literati that the great Song philosopher Zhou Dunyi (Zhou Lianxi) authored the celebrated essay “Passion for Lotus” (“Ailian Shuo”) to compare the lotus to gentlemen. Qianlong appreciated the essay and thus dubbed this scene the Scholar’s Wonderland (Lianxi Lechu) to indicate that he would be content to be surrounded by well-bred gentlemen.



The main structure of Lianxi Lechu (Scholar's Wonderland). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “濂溪乐处”的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Walking further to the east in a bookish journey, we observe the Sounds of Wood and Water (Shuimu Mingse) with a Western-style water wheel pum ping water into a room. The sounds of water, *sese, lingling*, echoing the rustli ng woods, helped the emperor attain a lofty realm which combines kindness with wisdom (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1362; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyo ng* 1985, 49, 51).

Several rural scenes appeared around the northern end of the original Yu anming Yuan. The Yongzheng Emperor first created a farm in the garden to r emind himself of the daily basis of rural China, where millions of subjects liv ed (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1356). [22] His Majesty could observe from a pavili on how farm work was performed. Later he added to this rice field a silkwor m farm and a brocade and dye mill. Ever since the Wei-Jin Period, between t he third and fourth centuries, the Chinese literati continuously tried to find th eir own distinct character in the expression of garden design in general and fl ower arrangement and rock formation in particular. While some wanted to sh ow their unique ambition, others wanted to demonstrate their stainless, magn animous, or aloof personalities. Character andtaste have long since been cons idered the “soul” of a garden and of its owner. Clearly mindful of his responsi bility to diligently attend to government affairs and the people’s welfare, Yon gzheng purposefully created a farm scene inside his beloved imperial garden t o show his concern about the people as well as to underline his benevolent rul e. It seems quite clear that the emperor used this theme to make a political cla

im to be a conscientious ruler of the majority farming population as well as to rehearse the self-serving Confucian moral ideology.

Qianlong designated five rural scenes. The one at the southeast neighborhood of the Sounds of Wood and Water (Shuimu Mingse) was dominated by a house in the shape of a gigantic Chinese ideogram, *tian*, meaning "rice field," which the emperor dubbed Simple Life in Quietude (Danbo Ningjing), with the Rising Sunshine Chamber (Shuguang Lou) at its side. There were four other rural scenes. The Bountiful Farms (Duojia Ruyun) was a large rice field with a few small houses. The Orchid Fragrance over the Water (Yingshui Lanxiang) consisted of rice fields, weaving mills, and fishing ponds. The Fish-Leaping and Bird-Flying (Yuyue Yuanfei) contained numerous village huts surrounded by a stream. And the Northernmost Mountain Village (Beiyuan Shancun), originally known as TeachingFarming Gallery (Kenong Xuan), contained rows of small yet elegant chambers and villas on both sides of a narrow river (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1341–1375; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 45, 47, 53, 55, 57).

On the east side of the Northernmost Mountain Village arose the Sitting Rocks and the Winding Stream (Zuoshi Linliu), which included a replica of the celebrated Orchid Pavilion (Lan Ting) located at Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province. The Orchid Pavilion was the garden estate of the great East Jin calligrapher Wang Xizhi (321–379), who spent time there in the company of scholarly friends drinking wine, practicing calligraphy, and composing poems. When reciting poems outdoors, they sat on rocks and set their drinking cups in the nearby stream to see which cup would float downstream. [23] Qianlong, a poet in his own right, delighted in recreating Wang's pleasure. Other structures to enrich the scene included the Clear Sound Pavilion (Qingyin Ge) and the All-Happy Garden (Tongle Yuan), where Qianlong dined frequently. Directly adjacent to this pavilion and garden was the Curving Courtyard and Lotus Pond (Quyuan Fenghe), modeled after the famed lotus view from Hangzhou's West Lake. A nine-hole bridge (*jiukong qiao*) bisected the large rectangular pond. The three-mile-long left bank was also a replica of the famous Su Dongpo Bank in the West Lake (cf. *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1885, 80–83; Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1376). These are the scenes that Qianlong brought back to the Yuanming Yuan from his southern tours.

The Majestic Sunset-Tinted Peaks of the West Hills (Xifeng Xiuse) was located at the northeast corner of the original Yuanming Yuan. It featured a sumptuous chamber designed especially for the Yongzheng Emperor to admire the sunset. The design was to bring the magnificent mountain view of sunsets into the broad and bright windows on the west side of the chamber, a good example of the “view borrowing” technique. In fact, as Yongzheng’s poem indicates, this design borrowed from the sunset view at the famed Mountain Lu (Lu Shan) in Jiangxi Province (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1365; cf. commentaries in *Yuanming Yuan Tuyong* 1987). East of this viewing chamber was a larger structure named the Hanyuan Zhai surrounded by magnolia trees, which fill the air with fragrance when they blossom. Northeast of the chapel was the delightful Admiring Fish at the Flourish Haven (Huagang Guanyu), built to observe countless gold fish in a stream. At the foot of a nearby hill was the Cave of the Three Fairies (Sanxian Dong), which was large enough to accommodate two hundred persons (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1365–1366; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 59). Qianlong gladly included this in his Forty Views.

Let us now turn our gaze to the southeastern edge of the garden entrance to find a small garden designated as the secluded Deep Vault of Heaven (Dongtian Shenchu). It was the campus of the royal school and comprised rows of elegant classrooms and dormitories concealed in a bamboo grove, orchids, and pine trees. Both Yongzheng and Qianlong attended school here when they were princes (cf. Qianlong’s 1744 poems in Yu Minzhong1985, 3:1378). [24]

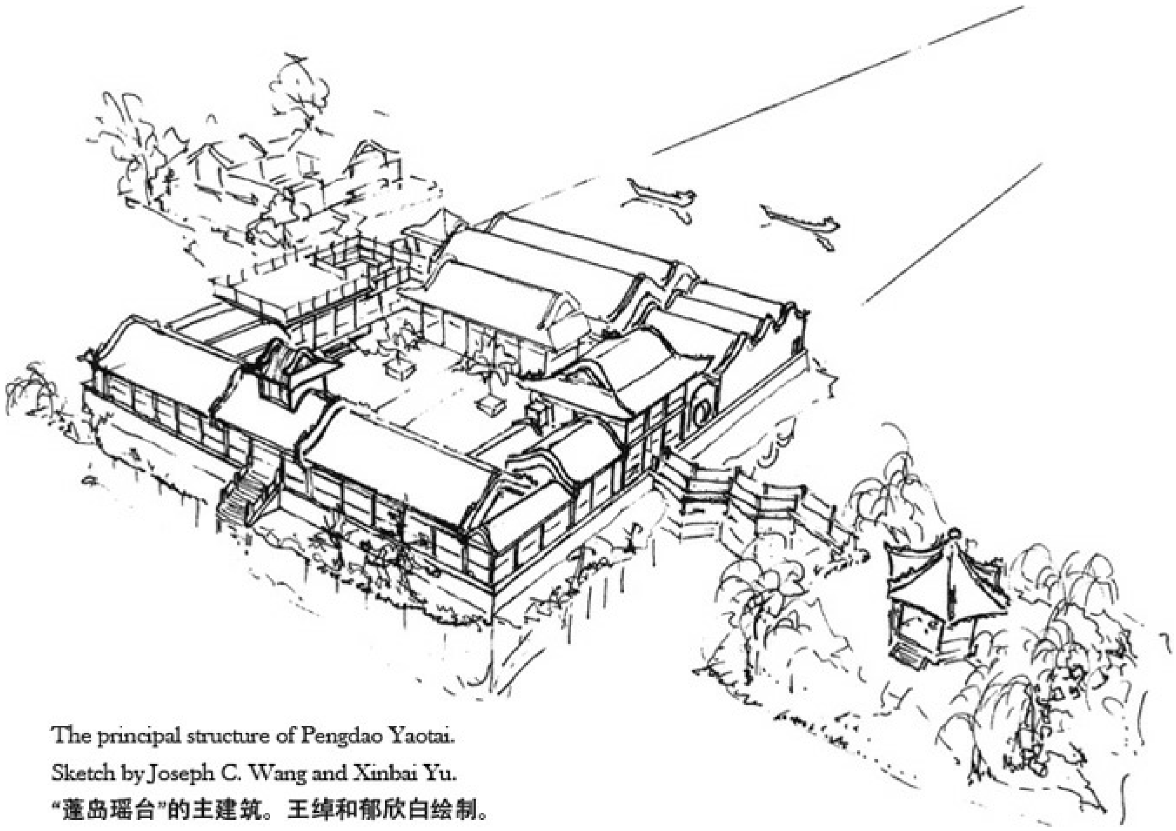
On the other side of the entrance stood the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall (Changchun Xianguan), where Qianlong resided as crown prince for many years. It consisted of a three-column-wide front structure, a five-column-wide main building dubbedthe Green Shade Gallery (Lvyin Xuan) in the rear, and a compound of galleries, studios, chapels, halls, and rooms to the west. After Prince Hongli had become Emperor Qianlong, he invited his beloved mother to live here (cf. Qianlong’s poem in *Yuanming Yuan Tuyong* 1987; *Qingshigao* 1976, 14:3862–3863, Chong Xian 1984, 240–262; Yu Minzhong 1985,3:1349–1350).

Scenes Surrounding the Lake

The second phase of construction in the Yuanming Yuan extended eastw

ard to surround the largest lake of the garden, known as the Sea of Blessing (Fu Hai). The square lake was about 700 meters on each side, which yielded the impression of a broad, extensive surface as well as a feeling of openness. The lake's shore, which was supported by stone precipices, projected crumbling cliffs. There were steps leading to a half-moon shaped terrace, which in turn led to a tree-lined boulevard embellished with colorful flowers. The open space around the lake was ideal for watching fireworks after sunset. When fireworks lit up the dark sky, lanterns of different colors and various shapes were normally hung on top of numerous buildings. Qianlong enjoyed sitting at the lakeside under the full moon. Attiret, who often accompanied the emperor on his boating trips, calculated the lake to be "very near five miles round" and considered it "one of the most beautiful parts in the whole pleasure ground" (Attiret 1982, 16). The calculation was obviously the priest's impression rather than an accurate measurement. It is no doubt an artistic success to yield such a sense of extensiveness. The Yongzheng Emperor first called it a "sea" (*hai*), with the deliberate intention of exaggerating.

At the center of the lake was the Fairy's Islet (Penglai Zhou), designed on the basis of a fairy tale drawn by the great Tang artist Li Sixun (651–716). Together with Wu Daozi, Liwas one of the most accomplished painters in the tradition of Chinese landscape painting established since the Six Dynasties Period. [25] This technique gives landscape painting a three-dimensional prospect. The designer of the Fairy's Islet evidently had in mind the surrounding topography and views, so that the whole landscape and architecture were dynamically adapted into the scenic environment. When designating his Forty Views, Qianlong called the Fairy's Islet the Immortal Abode on the Fairy Terrace (Pengdao Yaotai).

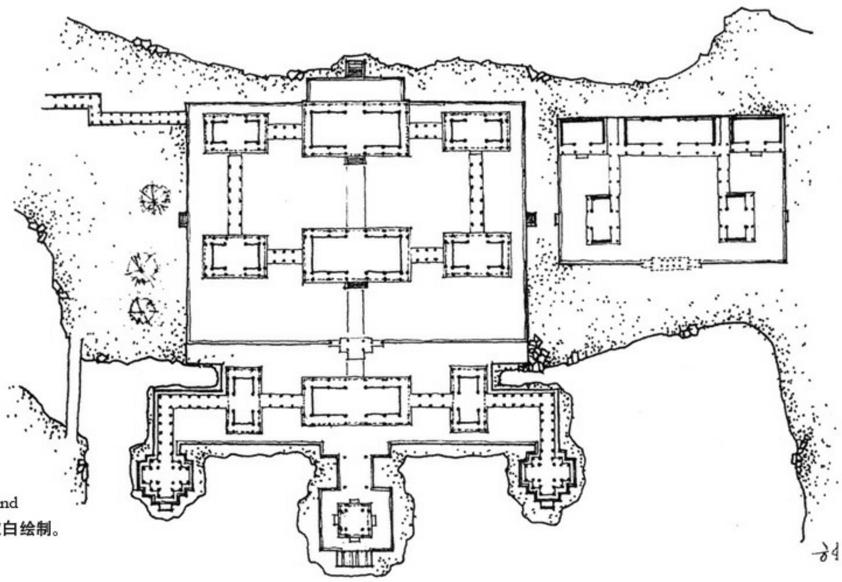


The principal structure of Pengdao Yaotai.
Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“蓬岛瑶台”的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

The Fairy’s Islet, rising six feet above the surface of the water, actually c omprised three islets with the large one at the center named the Fairy Terrace (Xianren Chenglu Tai). Exactly square in shape, this terrace accommodated a dozen splendid chambers, principally the Reflection Pavilion (Jingzhong Ge) to the north, the Mind-Opening Chamber (Changjin Lou) to the east, and the World of Paradise (Jile Shijie), for the performance of either Buddhist or Dao ist rites, to the west. The small islet to the southeast was called the Fairy Hill at the Sea (Yinghai Xianshan), while the Jade House on North Isle (Beidao Y uyu) was located to the northwest. The Fairy Terrace compound, which had f our facades, each overlooking the l 1985, 3:1371). Every man-made structure was half hidden in the midst ofmisty hills to project the image of a fairy tale. Fully charmed by this scene, which he referred to as the Big Rock, Father Att iret described it as having “inexpressible beauty and taste”:

> From it you have a view of all the palaces, scattered at proper dista nces round the shores of this sea; all the hills, that terminate about i t; all the rivulets, which tend thither, either to discharge their waters into it, or to receive them from it; all the bridges, either at the mout

> hs or ends of these rivulets; all the pavilions, and triumphal arches, that adorn any of these bridges; and all the groves, that are planted to separate and screen the different palaces, and to prevent the Inhabitants of them from being overlooked by one another. [26]



Fanghu Shengjing (Wonderland in the Square Pot). Plan by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “方壶胜境”。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

The Fairy Islet could only be reached by boat. Yongzheng regularly sailed on the lake with his favorite relatives and officials. His dragon barge was lavishly built. Normally a fleet of thirty boats followed the emperor’s lead. Qianlong seemed to have enjoyed boating even more. He started the popular dragon boat race here to celebrate the Mid-May Festival Day (Duanwu Jie) annually (Zhaolian 1980, 378). Attiret also had the privilege to observe this particular festival with the emperor on the scene. He noted that numerous boats on the lake, either gilt or varnished, served different purposes: “sometimes, for taking the air; sometimes, for fishing; and sometimes, for jousts, and combats, and other diversions” (Attiret1982, 20–21). In the summer of 1860, the Xianfeng Emperor had the pleasure of boatingon the lake for the last time. Only four months later, the foreign invasion destroyed the garden (*Yuanming Cangsang* 1991, 11).



Yingxun Ting (Welcoming Warm Wind Arbor) . Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. 迎薰亭。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

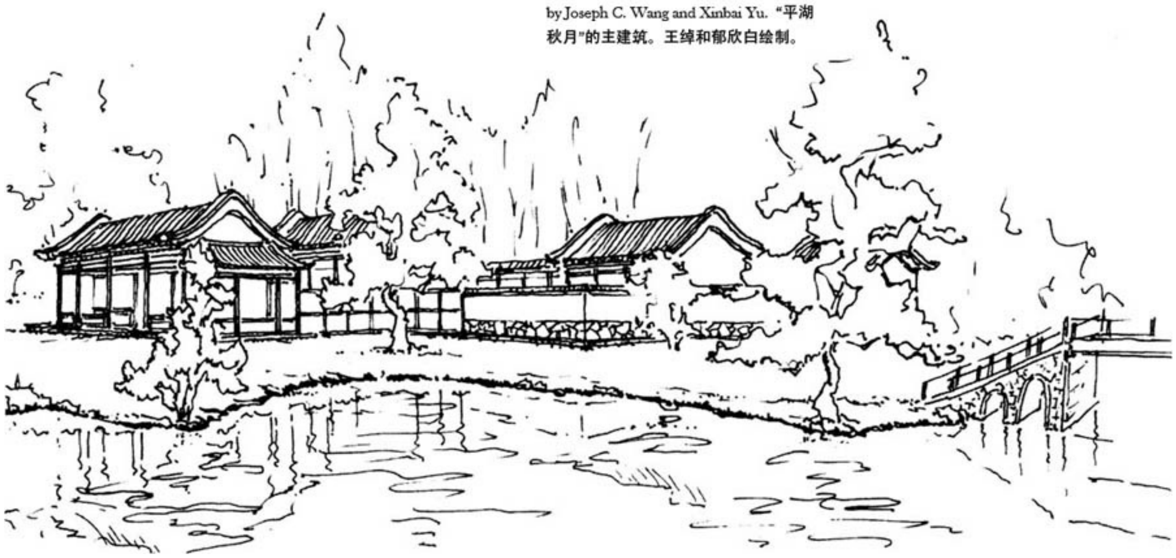
The most impressive structure surrounding the Sea of Blessing was the s o-called A Wonderland in the Square Pot (Fanghu Shengjing), which the Qia nlong Emperor completed in 1740. Situated at the northeast corner of the lake , with the Welcoming Warm Wind Arbor (Yingxun Ting) in front, was Wond erland's principal structure, a pair of chambers with gold glazed tiles. The Fin e-Brocaded Chamber (Jinqi Lou) to the east and the Green Pyroxene Chambe r (Feicui Lou) to the west stretched forward like two arms. Behind the two ch ambers rose a large enclosure surrounded by decorated gates and courtyards r eplete with pines, magnolias, common trees, and incense ornaments. In the fr ont section of the enclosure, a colorful court was sandwiched by the Purple C loud Chamber (Zixia Lou) to the east and the Blue Cloud Chamber (Biyun Lo u) to the west.

Surrounding the enclosure were the Flowery Chamber (Qionghua Lou) s andwiched by the Ample Luck Court (Qianxiang Dian) and the Abundant For tune Pavilion (Wanfu Ge). To the east of the enclosure was the Pistillate Pearl Palace (Ruizhu Gong), and south of the palace was a shipyard and the Templ e of the Dragon King (Longwang Miao). The pillars and beams of the numer ous structures in the Wonderland were painted in deep red with ornaments in green, white, and blue, which sharply distinguished the white marble from th

e blue water.

On the west side of the Wonderland was a scene borrowed from the West Lake of Hangzhou known as the Three Pools Reflecting the Moon (Santan Yinyue), which yielded the impression of three moons on the water surface. The overall design of this scenerycleárly bore the elements of Daoist mystery. In fact, as Qianlong's own statement shows, the intention was to create a fairyland on earth so that finding a paradise overseas, as Qin Shi Huangdi had tried in vain to do, was absolutely unnecessary (Yu Minzhong 1985,3:1368–1369; cf. *YMYJ* 1983, 2:50).

To the west of the Wonderland laid the Calm Lake under Autumn Moon (Pinghu Qiuyue), one more replica from the West Lake of Hangzhou. Qianlong, who created the replica, enjoyed the bright and golden reflections on the lake on a clear mid-August full-moon night. If the emperor left here and walked westward, he would enter the Boundless Impartiality (Kuoran Dagong) at the northwest corner of the lake. This scenery consisted of a seven-column main structure also called the Boundless Impartiality; the All-Round Pretty Cottage (Huanxiu Shanfang); the Double Cranes Chapel (Shuanghe Zhai); the Lakeside Chamber (Linhu Lou), and a large pond. At the southern end of the lake's west shore stood the Bath in Virtue (Zaoshen Yude), which features the three-column Clear Void Gazebo (Chengyuan Xie) facing east with two smaller structures on its sides, namely, the Conceiving Pure Light (Han Qinghui) and the Conceiving Wonderful View (Han Miaoshi). North of the gazebo was first the Lookout Stand (Wangying Zhou) overlooking the lake then the Thick Willows Cover the Study (Shenliu Dushu Tang) (cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1370–1371; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 64).



The principal structure of Pinghu Qiuyue (Calm Lake under Autumn Moon). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “平湖秋月”的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

On the south shore of the lake was a large scene designated the Double Reflections and the Roaring Waterfall (Jiajing Mingqin), which Qianlong derived from Li Qinglian’s poem to suggest two adjacent lakes as a pair of mirrors (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1373). Indeed, between the large lake on the one side and a small inner lake on the other, a long narrow bank separated this artificially created scenery. Its main structure was a colorful pavilion standing on a long straight bank connecting two islets, one at each end, thus enclosing a space of water behind the bank. Reflections of the pavilion on both water surfaces produced a terrific view. South of the pavilion across a strip of water stood the Chamber of Distance (Juyuan Lou). On its south side, a straight bank seemed to have been hooked by a U-shaped bank.

The islet to the east side of the bank had an artificial hill with a waterfall. The roaring sounds of the falls could be heard from the nearby Nourishing Palace (Guangyu Gong), which was accompanied by the Luck-Gathering Court (Ningxiang Dian) to the south. Eastof the palace on a hill was the site of the famous bell duplicated from Mt. Nanping near the West Lake in Hangzhou, known as the Evening Bell at Nanping (Nanping Wanzhong). The duplicated bell was the exact shape and size of the original (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1372; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 74). According to a legendary story, when the bell was first placed here, its sounds were not so loud as they should have been. An ingenious young craftsman in the Yuanming Yuan dug a dee

p well beside the bell, and the setup accelerated the vibration of the sounds. Then Qianlong heard the bell loud and clear from his living quarters on the Nine Continents (Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang, 1985, 134–136).

At the southeast corner of the lake was the scene designated as the Other Paradise (Bieyou Dongtian). Its main structure, about five columns wide and surrounded by a group of spotless villas, included the better-known Green Gathering Chamber (Nacui Lou) as well as the Pretty Water and Wood Chamber (Shuimu Qinghua) and the Appreciating Chapel (Shishang Zhai) (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1372; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 72). On the east shore of the lake were the cottages designated by Qianlong as the Belle Villa (Jiexiu Shanfang). The principal structure, approximately three columns wide, was accompanied by the Green-View Arbor (Lancui Ting) below, the Cloud-Searching Chamber (Xunyun Lou) above, and the Smooth-as-Silk Chamber (Chenglian Lou) and the Pleasant Study (Yiran Shuwu) in the rear. With hills to its back, the Belle Villa was fully open to the lake, and this was where Qianlong was most pleased with the fog floating at sunrise and with the shady west hills at the sunset (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1371–1372; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 70).

At the northern end of the east shore, a group of lakeside houses were designated Contemplation at the Lakeside (Hanxu Langjian). This elegant name, which was also the name for its principal structures, as in most of other designated names, alluded to a Tang poem that compared the clear lake to a penetrating mirror reflecting one's mind. The scenery contained a gallery called Sunset at the Thunder Hill (Leifeng Xizhao), in which the name board of "Hanxu Langjian" was hung. At its side, to the northwest, stood a square-shaped structure named the Springlike Kindness (Hui Ruchun), and the Cloud-Searching Gazebo (Xunyun Xie) together with the Orchid Courtyard (Yilan Ting) were to the northeast (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1372, 1373; *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 77).

All the scenic points around the large Sea of Blessing lake gave rise to a charming poetic atmosphere in which reality and fantasy were mixed. Reality (*shi*)refers to the accentuation of the structural substance, while fantasy (*xu*) derives from the mind, which creates the reality. Fantasy in Chinese garden art, however, is not completely abstract; rather, it is the intangible, implicit, and

reserved elements in garden-making. If reality is form, fantasy is the content absent of transparent intelligibility. Thus, the interplay of reality and fantasy in the search for fantastic views is an epistemological prerequisite of any Chinese designer. In this sense, the specially designated Forty Views in the Yuanming Yuan provide an excellent model of such interplay.

Father Attiret came to see the Yuanming Yuan only a year before the designation of the Forty (Best) Views was complete. He saw “numerous pleasure houses” on “a vast compass of ground,” and the “raised hills from 20 to 60 foot high,” which formed many “little valleys.” The “valleys” in Attiret’s writing could well be the designated scenes. He also took note of many “clear streams” running into large or small lakes and a magnificent boat “78 foot long and 24 foot broad with a very handsome house raised” on one of the canals. He was impressed by the “different courts, open and closed porticos, parterres, gardens, and cascades, which when view’d all together, have an admirable effect upon the eyes.” The more than two hundred buildings, which constitute the Forty Views, convinced Attiret that he had never seen such pleasure grounds in Europe. He considered the Yuanming Yuan simply “a veritable paradise on earth” (Attiret 1982, 7–8).

Chapter 3 Expansion

The Qianlong Emperor considered his garden project complete when he designated in 1744 the Forty (Best) Views, a kaleidoscopic series of selected scenic spots in the Yuanming Yuan. But, actually, the emperor’s extraordinary passionfor building more gardens had just begun. In addition to the summer retreat at Chengde and the Skinny West Lake (Shou Xihu) in Yangzhou, he expanded the Yuanming Yuan so much that it eventually consisted of many more dozens of smaller gardens and distinct scenic units. Each unit had its own style and theme, but without losing a general sense of integrity. One scenic area overlapped another, with adjacent areas half-closed from and half-open to each other, thus resulting in the simultaneous impression of sequence and cohesion. Clearly, when the emperor was unable to restrain himself from endless garden constructions, no one dared to stop him. Perhaps more important, the empire of Qianlong’s time was still rich enough to satisfy, or justify, his passion for gardens (cf. Sugimura Yūzō 1961,218–223).

The Eternal Spring Garden

The year 1749 marked the beginning of the great expansion of the Yuanming Yuan. It set the stage for including 1,059 acres of land to the east soon to be called the Eternal Spring Garden (Changchun Yuan), named after Qianlong’s boyhood residence, the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall (Changchun Xianguan).

This huge annex was designed and built from blueprint as the most comprehensive and costly single project in the garden’s history. The justification was Qianlong’s need to have a retirement home, as he promised to abdicate at the age of eighty-five, having completed sixty years of his reign (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1380). His retirement, however, was still more than forty years away when the Eternal Spring Garden was completed in 1751, and in the years up to Qianlong’s retirement, it would become an integral part of the Yuanming Yuan. Because this particular garden was constructed for the emperor’s retirement, the entire design stressed pleasure. Delightful structures of various sorts featuring the fascinating Daoist aesthetic buildings, which were rarely seen i

n the original Yuanming Yuan, were abundant in the Eternal Spring Garden.

If the Yuanming Yuan proper can justifiably be called a water garden, the Eternal Spring Garden appears even more deserving of such a name. The design was based on a lively large water space divided into irregular shapes by numerous isles and sandbars connected by bridges and banks. Construction began with the Classics Hall (Hanjing Tang) and the Homely Memorial Hall (Danhuai Tang) on a large open field east of the Shuimo Village, which was located adjacent to the Yuanming Yuan's east gate, known as the Bright Spring Gate (Mingchun Men). To make the Eternal Spring Garden look like an imperial garden, a palatial front gate about five columns wide was constructed, together with a pair of *kylin* standing on white jade stands. Like the front gate of the original Yuanming Yuan, it also has two wings of offices outside the gate (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1379–1380; Cheng Yansheng1928, 30a). But this palatial gate was rarely used because it was more convenient for the emperor and his entourage to pass through the Bright Spring Gate, which directly linked the two sections of the imperial garden.

Striding through the front gate into the precincts, immediately visible was the nine-column Broad-Minded Hall with two side halls and the South Long River (Nan Changhe) at its back. To the west side of the hall, was a ten-hole stone bridge, approximately forty meters long, known as the Eternal Spring Bridge (Changchun Qiao), crossing the river. Over the bridge was the central islet, the largest in the Eternal Spring Garden, on which stood a large compound of buildings comparable in size to the Nine Continents, or approximately 10 percent of the entire Eternal Spring Garden. In the compound was a pair of two main buildings, the Classics Hall (Hanjing Tang) to the south and the Truthful Chapel (Yunzhen Zhai) to the north. This group of architecture surrounded by green hills and beautiful flowers created a tranquil environment in which colorful *pailou,* or decorated archways, each sandwiched by short walls stand in three directions: south, east, and west. The Classics Hall was a vast complex of 480 structures, large and small, including kitchens, warehouses, apartments, and verandas. It was apparently His Majesty's living quarters in the Eternal Spring Garden, and Qianlong found it his favorite place to relax, read, or recite Buddhist scripts for moments of tranquility and meditation after a busy day's work (Qianlong's poem in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1381–1382; Jiao Xiong 1984, 14).

The Truthful Chapel was guarded by a pair of lion sculptures made of white marble and flanked by a row of apartment houses on each side. Here in 1773 Qianlong placed a set of the *Little Four Treasuries* (*Siku Quanshu Huiyao*),a condensed version of the monumental *Four Treasures* , and thus the chapel was also known as the Rich-Taste Library (Weiyu Shuwu). This splendid little library was lost forever in 1860, together with the set of the *Four Treasures* kept at the Yuanming Yuan’s Literary Source Library. [27]

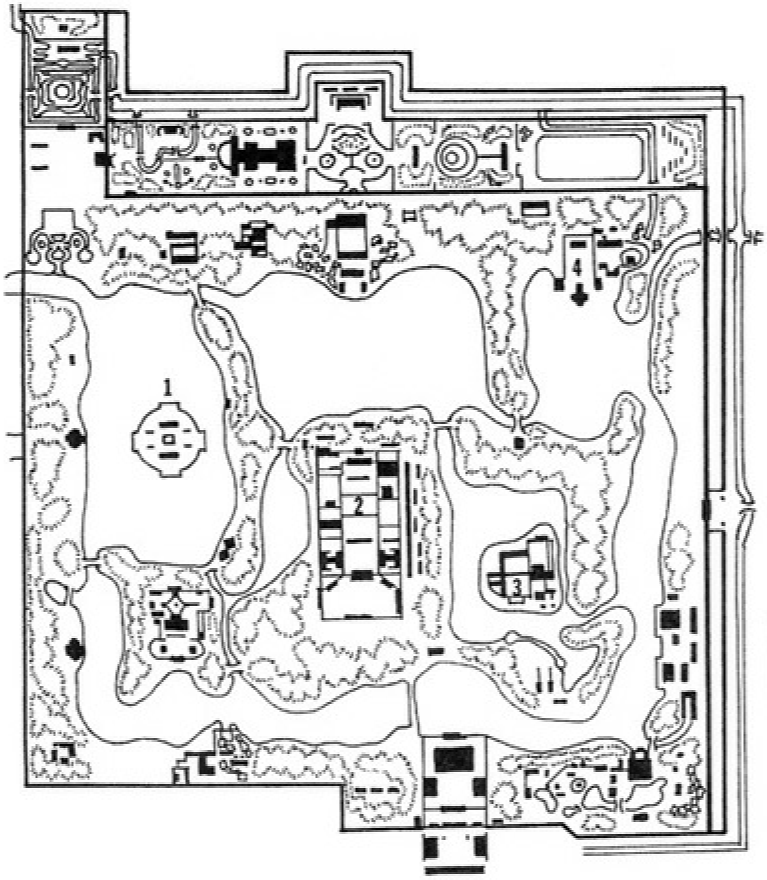
The Classics Hall and Truthful Chapel were separated by a large courtyard, in which Qianlong built the unique Chunhua Gallery (Chunhua Xuan) to house the best inscribed stone tablets, many of which were exhibited on the walls of a long corridor connecting the two main buildings. This remarkable collection of the inscribed stone tablets, which elegant styles from the best hands always serve as model calligraphy, was clearly to please the Qianlong Emperor, who was an accomplished calligrapher in his own right. [28]

Two smaller islets flanked this larger central islet. On the islet to the west stood the Eternal Thoughtful Chapel (Siyong Zhai), the name for a vast compound of structures of various sort that connected the Little Haven to its east. Its main structure, also called the Eternal Thoughtful Chapel, was five columns wide and had two wings of corridors facing an open lake and leading to a three-column hall with various sitting rooms displaying numerous priceless bronze antiques. The north side of the hall faced the Distant Wind Chamber (Yuanfeng Lou). Further north was the octagon veranda with exquisitely carved white balustrade leading the way to a courtyard containing an octagonal pond with goldfish (Zhao Guanghua 1984, 2). Demonstrating a well thought-out symmetry, on the east side of the central islet was the parallel structure named the Exquisite Jade Studio (Yulinglong Guan). The floor plan of the Exquisite Jade Studio shows two contrasting sections linked by corridors: a naturalistic design to the east and a rectilinear design to the west. The lodging to the east contained a huge curve-shaped marble bathtub, specially built for Qianlong’suse. Standing southeast of this complex was the unique Clear Reflection Chapel (Yingqing Zhai), surrounded by hills. Its several structures were also connected by long, winding verandas (Jiao Xiong 1984, 16–17, 18–19).

The three principal structures on the central islet, namely the Classics Hall, the Chunhua Gallery, and the Truthful Chapel, formed a south-north axis e

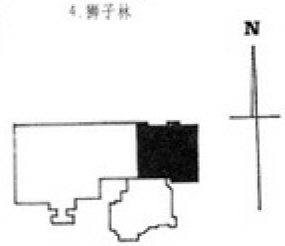
xtending across the lake to an impressive high-rising islet. On this islet was another architectural group consisting of the Green-Crossed Gallery (Cuijiao Xuan) to the south and the Mountain-Loving Chamber (Aishan Lou) and the Watering Orchid Hall (Zelan Tang) to the north. To the west side of the latter hall stood a number of interesting temples, in particular the Fahui Temple, which possessed a 73.5-foot-tall pagoda made of colorful *liuli* (colored glaze) tiles with a grand tower sitting on a large white jade terrace. Between halls and chambers were courtyards and corridors to connect them (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1386). Extra effort was made to make the artificially created background look absolutely natural. Stone bridges, caves, chairs, and even man-made waterfalls could be found under fully planted pine trees in the surrounding rising ground. [29] This was the place, because of its higher position, that yielded a bird's-eye view of the entire garden.

The most spectacular piece of architecture in the Eternal Spring Garden was the Mind-Opening Isle (Haiyue Kaijin) sitting on a round islet in a rectangular lake west of the central islet and looking splendid in green and gold. The whole architectural complex sat on a two-level round terrace. The lower level, about 80 meters in diameter and surrounded by white marble balustrades, was easily accessible to the waterfront in all directions. On the upper level, about seventy meters in diameter, stood a quadrilateral pavilion covered by yellow *liuli* tiles on top of a three-storied structure. Its appearance was similar to the Temple of Heaven (Tian Tan) in the Forbidden City, and yet in this particular environment it yielded the image of a resplendent structure sitting on a giant jade bowl. Here many elegant structures appeared hidden among pomegranate trees of various sorts. They looked like a mirage from a distance and like a fairyland in close range (Zhao Guanghua 1984, 3). The flowers, when blossoming in May, made a charming view of red-white embroidery. On the east side of the pavilion was a large pond surrounded by weeping willows and covered with fully-grown lotus in summer (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1385). [30]



Overview of Changchun Yuan (Eternal Spring Garden) showing the four best-known scenes and the European section in the north. Plan by Sylvia Lu Wong with reference to the map in YMYJ 1981, 1.
长春园总览，位于北边的四大名胜和欧式建筑区。陆善仪参考《圆明园》第1期附图绘制。

1. 海岳开襟
2. 淳化轩
3. 玉玲珑馆
4. 狮子林



To the east of the Mind-Opening Isle across a narrow strip of water was the Long Island Fairy Terrace (Changshandao Xianrentai), a square brick structure approximately 350 meters long and 20 meters wide. Rising almost two stories high, steps with carved jade railings ascended to the fairy terrace. Crepe myrtle, sweet-scented oleander, pomegranate, Rose of Sharon, and palm and pine trees were abundant, particularly the densely planted white-skinned pines (*baipisong*), which cast long shadows over the terrace. On top of the terrace stood a cross-shaped arbor with gold copper roofs and yellow glazed *liuli* tiles in which a huge female Buddha statue was accompanied by a dozen statuettes. Around the arbor, elevated flower beds full of large peonies on both sides of the hill, north and south, offered a terrific view in spring.

To the west side of the Mind-Opening Isle across the water was the beautiful Pomegranate Fragrant Islet (Liuxiang Zhu), which featured a golden-pillar, double-eave, four-cornered arbor standing on a white marble terrace surro

unded by a carved balustrade. Outside the arbor were planted numerous pomegranates; at the time of blossom in May, the colors of white and red created the look of embroidery. The lake at the east side of the arbor was filled with seemingly boundless lotus (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1386; Zhao Guanghua1984, 2–3). The whole setting on the islet gave rise to a vivid sense of a Daoist fairyland (see Qianlong’s poem in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1385). Noticeably, this Pomegranate Fragrant Islet together with the Mind-Opening Isle and the Long Island Fairy Terrace formed a west-east axis, which, in the opinion of a recent garden architect, represents the most ingenious design of all in the royal demesnes (Zhao Guanghua 1984, 3). The maps of the Yuanming Yuan that are available to us suggest the traveling route of the emperor and his entourage. They may have proceeded on the winding road from the east shore of the Sea of Blessing through the Bright Spring Gate, which separated the Eternal Spring Garden from the original Yuanming Yuan, and immediately observed this spectacular view.

Most of the rest of the architectural units that were built in the Eternal Spring Garden were reproductions from the attractive gardens and scenic spots that Qianlong studied in South China on his many southern tours. He visited as many famous southern gardens as he possibly could, and in fact he brought with him craftsmen and artists, who dutifully copied whatever garden structures in which the emperor showed interest and intended to recreate in the Eternal Spring Garden under construction. It was not uncommon that he instructed designers to copy an entire southern garden. Eventually, no less than five complete southern-style gardens were transposed to the Eternal Spring Garden (see Chapter 4).

The Garden of Compliance (Ru Yuan), situated at the southeast corner of the Eternal Spring Garden, was built on the model of Zhan Yuan in Nanjing, which specialized in artificial hills and rockery, yet it is much larger than the original. Its best scene was located to the east, where a large pond separated a hall in the north from a chamber in the south. To the east side of the pond rose a 7-meter-high man-made hill. There were pavilions on both sides of the foot of the hill, and on top of a terrace one could see the Eternal Spring Garden in one direction and the rural scene outside the southern walls in the other. Below the terrace were hundreds of precious peonies of different colors. To the west side of the pond was a rockwork hill with caves. On top of this hill stood

the Pure Jasper Gazebo (Qingyao Xie) facing the Blue-Conceiving Chamber (Hanbi Lou). To the south of a hexagonal arbor was the Green Gallery (Weilv Xuan). On the north side of the gazebo the Lengthening Purity Arbor (Yanqing Ting), seven columns wide. West of the arbor is the Green-Conceiving Gallery (Hancui Xuan). From the decks of this hall looking northward, one could view lakes and hills as far as six hundred meters away; thus, the isolation of this smaller garden inside a large enclosure (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1390; Jiao Xiong 1984, 14–16) was ameliorated using the technique of "view borrowing."

The Alizarin-Red Garden (Qian Yuan), to the side of the Broad-Minded Hall, consisted of the Bright Glossy Chapel (Langrun Zhai), the Exquisite View Chamber (Zhanjing Lou), and the Fragrant Water Chestnut Flat (Lingxiang Pian) (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1382).The design exquisitely utilized southern skills of arranging space, water, banks, and architecture on the 1.2-acre lot, approximately 100 meters long and 50 meters wide. A small river to the east was crossed by three elegant bridges—an arch bridge, a winding bridge, and a three-hole stone bridge. The riverbank, composed of skillfully constructed rock formations, supported a city-gatelike structure, and, together with plants of various sorts in the water, gave rise to a pleasant feeling of wildness. The garden also featured flower arrangements, miniature trees, and a large pond, in which thousands of golden carp swam.

Inside a courtyard on the west side of the Bright Glossy Chapel a very precious piece of delicate green lake rock was erected. Qianlong took it from the desolated Southern Song palace in Hangzhou in 1752, named it the Green Lotus (Qinglian Duo), and designated it as one of the eight views in this particular garden (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 272). [31] The emperor was so fond of the lake rock that he composed at least four poems praising it. One reads:

A lotus was carved out of stone, so beautiful
It strikes me, like a Chan Buddhist, a sudden enlightenment
The rock, it appears, has flown here from nowhere
I deserve to have it not,
But it pleased me so immensely. [32]

The Little Haven (Xiaoyoutian), on the northeast side of the Eternal Thoughtful Chapel, was duplicated from Wang Zhi'e's villa at Nanping in Hangz

hou, a famous rock garden Qianlong had visited in 1751 (Liang Zhangju 1981, 234). It is a compact garden full of flowers, hills, caves, and man-made falls. The Lion's Cove (Shizi Lin), in the northeast corner of the Eternal Spring Garden, was a copy of the most celebrated rockery garden, Suzhou's She Yuan, reportedly designed by Abbot Weize in 1342 and where Qianlong paid a visit in 1762. The distinguished Yuan Dynasty artist Ni Zan (1301–1374) added to its fame by producing an excellent portrait of the garden (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1387; Wu Zhenyu1983, 198; Liu Dunzhen 1993, 105; cf. Zhao Guanghua 1984, 3:5; Tung 1936, 235; LiangZhangju 1981, 220).

Long before the rise of Suzhou's She Yuan, the Song Dynasty scholar Ye Mengde (1077–1148) had built the famous Rock Groove (Shi Lin) at his native Huzhou in Zhejiang Province. Since the Rock Groove had long since perished, however, She Yuan was surely the best surviving model for Qianlong. The Lion's Cove was constructed on a 2.2-acre plot featuring houses mostly on the west side and rock formations mostly on the east side. The man-made structures included the Bring-Up Moon Arbor (Yangyue Ting), the Fast-Growing Flower Studio (Huazhou Guan) in the rear, and the Horizontal Blue Gallery (Hengbi Xuan) leading into the rock section to the east. Rockery formation, as Qianlong himself noted, was the principal theme of the cove. His Majesty personally instructed the best craftsmen from Suzhou to pile the rocks to form a forest of hillocks exactly like the Lion's Cove in Suzhou. The mission was obviously accomplished, as the emperor noted that the site instantly reminded him of his southern tours (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1387, 1388–1389).

The Viewing Garden (Jian Yuan) was a small secluded garden surrounded by water north of the Garden of Compliance (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 199). This was a skillfully designed compact enclosure. It comprised many large man-made structures. A main hall of two dozen rooms extended on both sides of the corridors. A two-story library called the Ten-Thousand Source Belvedere (Wanyuan Ge) was the home of precious books, paintings, and calligraphy. A three-column study named Library under the Shade of the Phoenix Trees (Tongyin Shuwu) had a fishpond surrounded by a white marble balustrade. A winding veranda at the north side of the pond led the way to a complex of architectural units, such as the Longevity Gallery (Yishou Xuan), the Ancient Moon Gallery (Guyue Xuan), and the Self-Reflection Chapel (Zixing Zhai), all bearing the influence of southern-style Chinese gardens. Reflections of some of th

e galleries could be seen in the Long River. Qianlong liked to come here for reading, thinking, and meditation. He wished to spend a considerable amount of time here in retirement.

Across the Long River from the Viewing Garden, a hilly road led to the Pure Reflection Chapel (Yingqing Zhai), connected with several chambers by corridors. Directly behind the Viewing Garden was a dockyard to service the numerous garden boats, each of which had an elegant name, such as Moon-Carrying Showboat (Zaiyue Fang) and the Flying-Cloud Tall Ship (Feiyun Louchuan), recorded in *Daqing Huidian* (*The Comprehensive Canon of the Great Qing*).Surrounded by hills, the whole setting offered a sense of privacy and tranquility. At the chapel’s northwest end across a winding bridge stood the Exquisite Jade Studio (Yulinglong Guan) on a large island in a lake surrounded by hills (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1389; Zhao Guanghua 1984, 4–5; Jiao Xiong 1984, 14; Cai Shenzhi n.d., 134).

Rockery is best in South China, and Qianlong was determined to get the best of it. As a form of art, rockery and hillocks have been made since the beginning of Chinese garden-making. Unlike stones and rocks in a Western or a Japanese garden, Chinese rockeries are usually fanciful recreations of a painting, a poetic theme, or a scene from the wild world of nature. They are famous for steepness and precipitousness and composed of fantastically shaped limestone through the action of water. The best available materials are from Lake Tai, known as the “lake rocks from Tai Hu” (*Taihu shi*).The rocks, usually white, blue, and light green, appear porous, spare, and grotesque after centuries of washing and scouring at the bottom of a lake. The rocks with the best shapes come from the very bottom of the lake. Diving into the lake and pulling them out with heavy ropes was the only available means to obtain them in the premodern China. Lake rocks aside, there are at least fifteen other sorts of rocks, usually named after the place where they were first found (Ji Cheng 1987, 218–238).

We may also observe that the art of rockery arrangement emphasized proper foils to show off shapes and contours in contrast to the surrounding structures and natural scenery. The craze for elegant rocks was such that garden owners were most proud of their rockeries. Some strived for magnitude, while others liked exquisiteness, but all appreciated the rocky solidarity and were ac

customed to endowing their rocks with personality, carrying over the life impulse of nature into the cold artificiality of human creation. It was not unusual forChinese garden lovers to treat their favorite piece of rockery as a delightful companion or even an admired hero. Indeed, it was not unusual for them to instill sentiments into their favorite rocks.

Zhang Dai, a Ming writer, once saw a white rock on the ground, 10 feet tall and 20 feet wide, and found it “crazy and wonderfully crazy”; he also saw a black rock, 8 feet wide and 15 feet tall, looking “skinny and wonderfully skinny” (1982, 59). Likewise, a Qing scholar by the name of Liang Zhangju found three outstanding characteristics for rocks, namely, transparency (*tou*),wrinkles (*zhou*),and skinny (*shou*)(1981, 21–22). The Song Emperor Huizong so indulged in the rocks that he risked the people’s anger by crowding the Grand Canal with barges loaded with much treasured rocks from the south for his gardens in Kaifeng (*Songshi* 1977, 39:13684).

Piling rocks to form successful hillocks requires constructing a near-exact resemblance to a wild hill. That is why Chen Congzhou said: “it is difficult to achieve weightiness and unsophisticatedness in rockery formation, still more so in laying a hill of primitive simplicity” (1994, 16). Simplicity means conforming to nature: “No traces of artificial tricks or unnatural devices are visible,” the rockery-piler Li Yu insisted, “and a hillock should really look like a real one from a distance” (Liu Dunzhen 1993, 34).

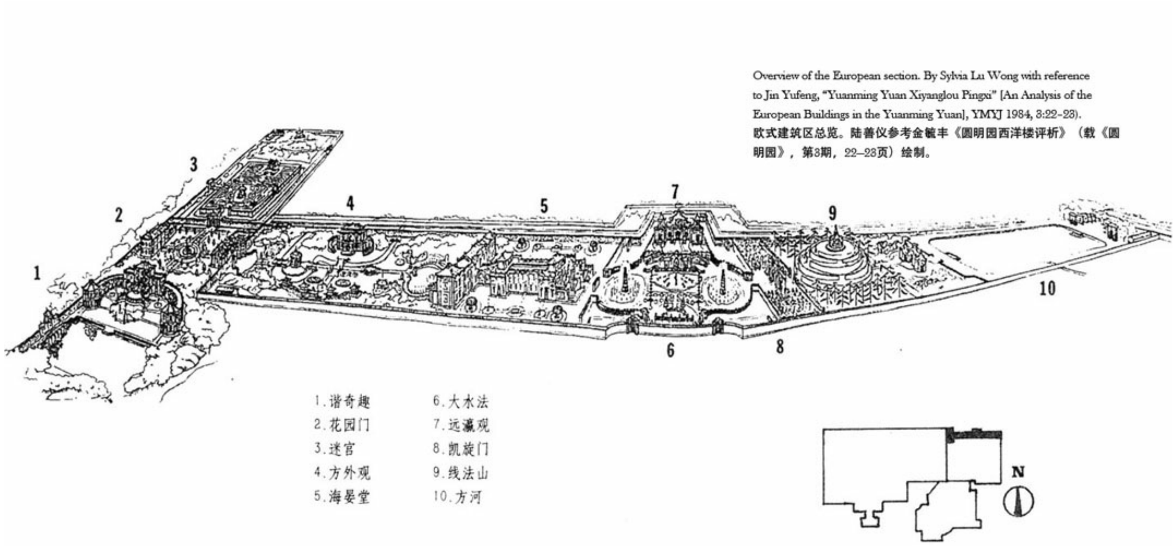
The major components of hillocks include peaks and hilly ridges, gorges and gullies, terraces and footpaths, bridges and waterfalls, all of which stress infinite variety, clear contours, and a three-dimensional presence (cf. Liu Dunzhen 1993, 36). Because the Eternal Spring Garden occupied a huge flat land, hillocks were particularly significant to the overall garden layout. The massive dredging of the lakes yielded a large quantity of mud and loose earth with which to create as many as fifty man-made hills in the garden. Although the hilly ridges were not very high, ranging from 10 to 15 meters, efforts were made to avoid any trace of artificiality by planting plenty of trees and by integrating the hillocks with lakes (Zhang Jiaji 1986, 167).

Rockery and hillocks are no doubt indispensable elements of Chinese gardens. Following his repeated trips to South China, Qianlong brought back the essence of the art and created a large number of rockeries and hillocks in th

e Eternal Spring Garden. In the process of duplicating southern-style gardens in the Eternal Spring Garden, however, designers strived for creativity. Much ingenuity was exercised to transform or upgrade the original designs and their meanings. For instance, the original theme of the Fish-in-the-Stream, a scene copied from a Hangzhou temple, was a mere expression of the Buddhist compassion of setting fish free in the stream; the replica in the Eternal Spring Garden, however, magnifies it by incorporating the spirit of imperial benevolence. More often, the replicas distinctly superseded the original design. Qianlong was so satisfied with the results in his garden that he asked himself rhetorically: “Why should I miss South China any more?” (*hebi gengxian wujiang* ?)Not any more, because he “magically transplanted much of the beautiful southern scenes into his royal demesne” (quoted in Wang Kaiyun’s poem in *YMYZ* 1984, 328; cf. Yu Minzhong, 1985, 3:1387). Indeed, compared with the old sections of theYuanming Yuan, the Eternal Spring Garden looks far more playful. The layout of the entiregarden was well planned to suit the best personal taste of the Qianlong Emperor for HisMajesty’s pleasure only.

The Chinese Versailles

The section of European palaces and gardens, known as the Western-Style Buildings (Xiyang Lou), *les palais européens du Yuen-ming-yuen*, or simply the Chinese Versailles, spreads across the northern end of the Eternal Spring Garden. This was the most extraordinary garden project taken on by Qianlong. To be sure, China had adopted foreign architecture long before this time. It was no later than the Tang Dynasty that central Asia made its impact on Chinese architecture. Under the Eurasian Empire created by the Mongols, Christian influence appeared in the Yuan capital of Dadu, or present-day Beijing. And Western-style commercial buildings and private homes were built in Canton following the opening of the Canton system of trade in the seventeenth century, not to mention the presence of Portuguese architecture in Macau since the sixteenth century. But, beyond a doubt, Qianlong was the first Chinese ruler to accommodate any substantial European architecture in an imperial garden.



Overview of the European section. By Sylvia Lu Wong with reference to Jin Yufeng, "Yuanming Yuan Xiyanglou Pingxi" [An Analysis of the European Buildings in the Yuanming Yuan], YMYJ 1984, 3:22-23).
欧式建筑区总览。陆善仪参考金毓丰《圆明园西洋楼评析》（载《圆明园》，第3期，22–23页）绘制。

The European section, with many of its buildings based on Baroque models, was constructed on a 65-acre strip of land, 750 meters long and 70 meters wide (Jin Yufeng 1984,22). A recent survey shows that Maurice Adam's figures, 300 meters long and 100 meters wide (1936, 15, cf. 16–36), were inaccurate. The design followed European models closely. European materials, such as huge columns, marble balustrades, and glass windows were used extensively. But an oriental touch to the occidental architecture was also unmistakable, as seen in the red-tinted brick walls, colorful *liuli* tiles, Chinese-style ornamentation and decoration, Taihu rocks, and bamboo pavilions (Jin Yufeng 1984, 21).

Qianlong's interest in constructing this Western-style palatial garden was first inspired by his fascination with exotic European fountains that appeared in pictures presumablypresented by one of the Jesuits. Fountains are an ancient Western pleasure that became exceedingly popular in seventeenth-century France and Italy. To be sure, there were already a few fountains in the original Yuanming Yuan, such as the Sounds of Wood and Water, but none had great magnitude.

It is possible that the Italian and French Jesuit fathers at the Qianlong court tried to impress the emperor with great Western fountains. The emperor asked Father Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766, Lang Shining in Chinese), a Milano-born Jesuit artist who arrived in China in 1715 at the age of twenty-seven, to draw pictures of Italian and French palaces and fountains to be built in the Eternal Spring Garden. Castiglione submitted to Qianlong designs of a "fa

scinating kind of Baroque, reminiscent of the style of Borromini” (Beurdeley
1971, 5, 11, 45, 59, 66–67). He then solicited assistance from Father Michel
Benoît (1715–1774, Jiang Youren in Chinese), who had been in China since
1744. Thanks to his knowl-edge of mathematics and hydraulics, Benoît was a
ble to present a model fountain to the Qing emperor. The delighted Qianlong
quickly authorized the Jesuits to begin.

To accommodate fountains, however, required gigantic Baroque-style pa
lace buildings. Neither Castiglione nor Benoît was a professional architect; ne
vertheless, they successfully transformed some models into a series of Europe
an palatial structures in the Eternal Spring Garden. A number of European ex
perts were consulted in the process: Father Jean-Denis Attiret , Ignatius Sicke
lpart (1708–1780), and the architect Ferdinando Moggi (?). In addition, the b
otanist Pierre d’Incarville (1706–1757) helped draw the garden setting, and F
ather Gilles Thebault (1703–1766) manufactured the steel railing designed by
Castiglione. For completing the project, these foreign missionaries were give
n freedom of travel inside the garden. They worked diligently regardless of “t
he heat, the rain, the wind and the blazing sun of the dog days” (Beurdeley 19
71, 68). As for information, they mainly relied on engravings in some of the b
ooks they brought from Europe or borrowed from three Christian institutes in
Beijing.

In the process, a large number of Chinese architects, engineers, and mas
ons, though unfamiliar with foreign architecture, also contributed to the succe
ssful completion of the project under the guidance of two Jesuit fathers. It is t
ruly remarkable that a handful of European amateurs did their job and satisfie
d the Chinese emperor’s new interest. [33] Modern Western experts may not fu
lly approve or appreciate the results, but it seems quite extraordinary that the
European architecture was well adapted in the Chinese imperial garden. Indee
d, the Le Notre Palace, in an attempt to mix Europe with China, appears to ha
ve no negative effect on the unity of the Yuanming Yuan as a whole. The pric
e tag for this enor-mous construction project was surely high, but money pose
d no problem when Qianlong’s purses, both privy and public, were quite full
(Cai Shenzhi n.d., 123–127; Jin Yufeng 1984,24; Goto Sueo 1942, 117–132).

According to Benoît, when the first Western-style buildings facing a lak
e were in shape in 1747, “the emperor was very happy with the work” (*L’Em*

pereur parut très satisfait). [34] The two-story Chamber for Gathering Water (Xushui Lou) was in a paved courtyard. The central building soon acquired a pair of glazed pavilions on both sides joined by a long curvedcorridor. Qianlo ng was particularly pleased with the dynamic and pulsating look of the Baroq ue-style architecture. He could watch the large and colorful fountain with fou rteen sprinklers in front of the main building from either side of the two pavil ions. Inside the pavilion, he could enjoy the performance of exotic music fro m Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, "the overture of the music of the Wester n Section." This first phase of the European section was officially completed in 1751, and the emperor named this first enclosure of Western structures the Symmetric and Amazing Pleasure (Xieqi Qu) (Jin Yufeng 1984,21; cf. Beurd eley 1971, 70, and Sun Ruoyi 1998, 17).

Westward from here stood the Peacock Cage (Yangque Long), or the avi ary for peacocks and exotic birds. Besides the wrought iron door with a jigsa w pattern, the cage's walls were covered with paintings of boats and pheasant s. To the east of the Peacock Cage rose a highly decorated gate in the center o f a half-moon wall enclosing a carved white marble fountain. Further north to ward the end of the courtyard was the Entrance of the Flower Garden (Huayu an Men), which led into a large Maze (Migong).

The maze was a European concept. One of the earliest mazes was near L ake Moeris in Egypt. It was the tomb designed by King Amenenhat III in the twenty-third century B.C. Mazes appeared as garden ornaments in late fifteen th century, when they became a regular element in the villa gardens in Renais sance Italy. By the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, few large Europea n gardens lacked a maze.

The maze in the Eternal Spring Garden was symmetrical on a central nor th-south axis. Nearly perfectly rectangular, it was surrounded by five-foot hig h walls made of carved gray bricks, which were surrounded by slender pines. The pines, it seems, were planted before the construction of the walls around them. A moat surrounding the walls was crossed by bridges, one on each of t he four sides, leading to the maze's four entrances. The principal structure wa s a central, south-facing octagonal kiosk, rising from a platform with circular stairs to dominate the courtyard. A secondary structure to the north was a whi te marble chamber, which overlooked the maze and housed mechanical singi

ng birds, or a large music box, which had been brought to China by a certain European to amuse the Qing emperor. Both structures bear explicit European characteristics in design and carving. Outside the walls, a small wayside pavilion sat on a hill further to the north.

Within the maze, there were nine perfect circles of various sizes, representing the "six-sided world"—top, bottom, four sides, plus past, present, and future. A planter was placed at each corner of a square—the Chinese symbol for the earth—in the central portion of the maze. The north and south gates were aligned on the north-south axis, which bisected the main structures and the courtyard. In general, the maze from the front entrance to the back door had three layers: the flower garden gate, a bridge over a stream, and the interior entrance to the maze. [35]

It was a memorable event for Qianlong to celebrate the colorful Moon Festival, the fifteenth day of the eighth month in the lunar calendar, in the maze, where he witnessed ten thousand lanterns, known as the "yellow flower lanterns" (Huanghua Deng), displayed in different formations. Court maids in rows carried the lanterns, flitting like countless fireflies. Then the imperial consorts and distinguished guests entered the maze and struggled through the dead ends, detours, and intersecting multiple routes in order to reach the emperor, who sat on his throne at the center of the maze. When they triumphantly arrived, the emperor delightfully showered them with candies and fruits and laughed loudly. After sunset, yellow flower lanterns lit the dark sky and flashed like countless gold stars (*YMYZ* 1984, 63; Adam 1936, 27–28).

It took another eight years to finish the second phase of the European section in time to celebrate Qianlong's fiftieth birthday. In 1759, a new crescent-shaped palatial building with marble balustrudes enclosed by a moat and standing east from the Peacock Cage was completed and named the Square Outlook (Fangwai Guan), or the Belvedere. The bronze outdoor stairways stretched downward from the second floor of the building. Two 4-foot-tall stone tablets with Arabic inscriptions were placed in its main hall. Although both tablets are lost, rubbings of them still exist.

In April 1760, when General Zhaohui returned from the successful Turkestan campaign, he brought back a beautiful Aksu woman, better known as the Fragrant Lady (Xiangfei), for His Majesty. The lady took residence here an

d renamed the palace in which she lived the Muslim Mosque (Qingzhen Si). She and her fellow religionists routinely worshipped here every Friday. [36] The mosque's front door faced a marble bridge with ostentatious balustrades, which crossed a moat and led to a pleasant little garden called Bamboo Pavilion (Zhu Ting). This 1770 pavilion was connected to another pavilion by covered walks and decorated with colorful glass and shells (Adam 1936,29–30; Tong 1981, 71–80).

Moving eastward, beyond a curtain of trees rose a large palatial building fronted by a fountain. Known as the Calm Sea Hall (Haiyan Tang), this enclosure was officially designated no later than the spring of 1781 (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1560). Despite its Baroque details, the architectural layout of the main hall was instantly reminiscent of the Court of Honor at Versailles (Beurdeley 1971, 68). It housed a vast reservoir with goldfish under a large glass ceiling, 180 square meters, and was named the Sea of Tin (Xi Hai). Wire netting filled with grape vines surrounded the reservoir, and a large room on each side of the reservoir kept the hydraulic machines that pumped water for the fountains and cascades.

From the main facade of this gigantic structure, as the floor plan shows, stretched two broad, symmetrically winding staircases on each side of the main building, thus giving rise to a palatial impression. A pair of dolphin figure fountains on the second floor between the two staircases released water, which leaped down from one large carved marble block of the balustrade to another until it filled a basin below. Outside the staircases, a fountain sprang from the mouths of two stone lions leaping down to two stone basins. Each of the three stone basins had a fountain with fifty-four sprinkler heads. A large fountain spouted in the central pool, accompanied by a Chinese-style water clock (*louhu*)and surroundedby twelve bronze animal heads, namely, rat, bull, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, rooster, dog, and boar. These twelve animal heads with human bodies, six on each side of the pool, symbolized the twelve-year cycle of birth and represented every two-hour period in which the Chinese divide their day and night. [37] Hence, each animal figure spouted a stream of water to the pool one after the other every two hours. At high noon, all the animals' mouths spouted. Not surprisingly, Qianlong was most proud of this group of fountains (Adam 1936, 30–33; Jin Yufeng 1984, 22).

Further east of the Calm Sea Hall stood the awe-inspiring Great Fountains (Dashuifa), composed of pyramids, formal pools, fountain statues, and rock and shell ornamentation. The fountain in the main pool was in the shape of eleven animal figures: one deer and ten hounds. When streams of water spouted from all eleven animals at the same time, they created the impression that the deer was being chased by the hounds. An imperial throne standing on top of marble paving and below a beautiful canopy occupied the best possible position to capture the views of these fountains. Behind the throne, stood a large brick screen on which were mounted five marble panels with carvings of European weapons and from which two gateways extended from each side. The wall behind the screen separated the European section from the rest of the Eternal Spring Garden. The Great Fountains readily reminded the visiting Jesuits of the "*buffets d'eaux* "at Versailles and St. Cloud. The emperor was so proud of these great fountains that he commissioned two copper plate engravings of the fountains and presented them to the court, one in 1784 and the other in1785 (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1565).

North of the Great Fountain was the Great View of the Distant Seas (Yuanying Guan), completed no later than 1781 (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1567), sitting on a large, high terrace so as to avoid blocking views. This large brick building was decorated with carved marble around the doors and windows. A pair of elaborately carved marble pillars stood on either side of the main entrance. The Qianlong Emperor often used this building as a royal vacation home or resting place, where once were displayed the six Beauvais tapestries sent as gifts by Louis XVI of France in 1767. It once was the home of the Muslim concubine Xiangfei (Tong1991, 128). This marks the high point of the European section.

A triple gateway together with three triumphal arches resembling the Triumphal Arch in Paris stood at the center of the Western-Style Buildings or east of the Great View of the Distant Sea. The gateway led the way eastward to the tree-covered Perspective Hill (Xianfa Shan). The hill appeared to have different layers and steps when observed from a distance. The Qianlong Emperor reportedly enjoyed riding horses to the octagonal kiosk on the hill-top to admire the different views. The Lake Square (Fang He), actually rectangular in shape, was further down the hill to the east. Across the 167-meter-long lake to the east was an open-air art gallery, a totally different setting, named the Pe

rspective Pictures (Xianfa Hua), or the Perspective Wall (Xianfa Qiang), in which pictures of central Asian towns and sceneries were hung, five on each side. Obviously, the European perspective method was borrowed to help create an illusion of distance, a new pleasure for Chinese eyes (cf. Adam1936, 33–36; Malone 1934, 158; Tong 1981, 78–80).

Overall, the European section of the Eternal Spring Garden exhibited the features of Western architecture and design of various sorts with the exception of the roofs, which were covered with Chinese yellow, blue, or green tiles. The Symmetric and Amazing Pleasure, the Square Outlook, and the Calm Sea Hall represent three short vertical axes and divide the long horizontal axis into sections. Glass windows, plank floors, handrails, lawns, flower terraces, the short glazed brick walls, clocks, hanging lamps, oil paintings and numerous decorative accessories all manifested the Western characteristics, so much so that the borrowed “*xiyang bolang* ”(Western plan) entered into the “Construction Proposal of the Yuanming Yuan” (Yuanming Yuan Gongcheng Zaofa) to become a technical term (Tong 1991,129; Sun 1998, 31–33).

These European buildings naturally required compatible interior designs, such as a profusion of superfluous ornaments and decoration with European furnitures, clocks, pictures, and mechanic toys. Notably, the set of Gobelins tapestries, with full-length portraits of French beauties, and the magnificent pierglass, which were gifts from Louis XV in 1767 were placed here (Sullivan 1973, 67–68). Nevertheless, a compromise with the Chinese taste in interior design was still inevitable. For instance, the large nude figures, which commonly accompany fountains in Europe, were culturally impermissable. Besides, Qing emperors generally were not accustomed to stay or rest in a totally strange setting.

The limitation of Qianlong’s borrowed taste for Western architecture and garden arts did not end here. The emperor’s cultural background also did not allow him to understand the importance of the mechanization of the universe with mathematic precision as demonstrated in Baroque architecture. His Majesty had no way of knowing that the analytical geometry setting industrialization in motion would eventually make it possible for European armies to invade China and leave the Yuanming Yuan in ruins. In the end, the European section served no more than as another pleasant environment in which he could s

troll, rest, entertain, and assemble treasures of European arts. It became an appropriate casket for the emperor’s “*cabinet de curiosites* ”(Perazzoli-t’Serstevens 1988, 10).

Thus construction, whether of such enormous units as the European section or for improving old structures in various parts of the Yuanming Yuan, continued relentlessly after the designation of the Forty Views.

More New Additions

Following the completion of the Eternal Spring Garden, Qianlong added more structures in the original Yuanming Yuan. Two principal projects deserve close attention. First, in 1762, taking the opportunity to remodel the All-Season Library (Siyi Shuwu) sitting at the north shore of the Sea of Blessing, the emperor deliberately recreated in his imperial garden the Yu Yuan owned by Chen family at Haining in Zhejiang Province (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 326).

Qianlong had visited the Yu Yuan repeatedly during his well-publicized southern tours and brought back its blueprint. When the remodeling was complete, the scene was renamed the Wave-Pacifying Garden (Anlan Yuan) by the emperor, a reminder of the severeflooding problem he had witnessed on the Zhejiang coast (see Qianlong’s notes in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1376). The name, though devoid of artistic elegance, was a good way for the ruler to express his sincere concern about the flooding. Moreover, Qianlong argued that the remodeling saved money, like “killing two birds with one stone” (*yiju liangde*), because he believed he had transformed something old, which was due for repair, into a new garden that could also remind him of the plight on the coast (Yu Minzhong 1985,3:1366). But, in fact, Qianlong did not save any money. He insisted on following exactly the model of the Yu Yuan, which required expensive structural changes. In addition, he requested new additions to accommodate an architectural group, which included the Catching Evening Sunlight Chamber (Lanxia Lou) behind the main hall, the Quick Glance Pavilion (Feidi Ting) on a man-made hill, and the Classics-Worshipping Studio (Zuojing Guan) behind the hill. In the end, the Wave-Pacifying Garden was composed of no fewer than ten integrated sections of scenic structures (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1367–1368).

The fantastic rumor that Qianlong was actually born as a Chen boy was not accidental. The emperor showed unusual interest in the Yu Yuan. He paid frequent visits to the Chen family. On the record, he even remarked, “I often confuse the All-Season Library in the imperial garden with the Yu Yuan in Haining” (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1367). The rumor at last galvanized an unverifed popular story that the Grand Secretariat Chen Shiguan’s wife and Yongzheng’s empress each gave birth to a child on the same day, and the empress secretly exchanged her baby girl for Chen’s baby boy. Eventually aware of his roots, the emperor not only showed kindness to the family but also brought the family garden back to the Yuanming Yuan to make himself feel close to home (see Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang 1985, 131–132). This popular story, however, is groundless.

Qianlong also set out to build the largest library in the Yuanming Yuan beginning in1774. The Library of Literary Sources (Wenyuan Ge) on the north side of the Sounds of Water and Wood was constructed to accommodate a set of the *Complete Collection of the Four Treasures* (*Siku Quanshu*). Initiated by the emperor in 1772, this monumental collection involved editing, appraising, and reproducing all of the finest Chinese books in four principal catagories: Confucian classics (*jing*),history (*shi*),philosophy (*zi*),and literature (*ji*).Many “undesirable books,” from the Qing point of view, were not included. Perhaps the most ambitious literary project of Qing China, it took more than twenty-two years and thousands of literary workers, including 3 editors-in-chief, 160 assistant editors, 368 staff members, and 2,000 calligraphers, to produce seven manuscript collections in elegant calligraphy of 3,457 titles in 6,752 cases, accompanied by an annotated catalog of over ten thousand titles. The third manuscript copy, completed in 1783, was placed in the Library of Literary Sources under specific instructions by the Qianlong Emperor (Guy 1987; but please note that some of his dates and numbers are erroneous.). This library should not be confused with the Wenyuan Ge library in the Forbidden City, which housed the chief set of the Siku books.

Given his strong interest in literary works and in patronizing literature and the arts, it is not surprising that Qianlong kept a complete set of the *Four Treasures* in his most precious imperial garden. He personally wrote as many horizontal tablets and verticalparallel phrases for the great library as he possibly could. Tablets and couplets, which could be found in various other places o

f the garden, were considered indispensable parts of the garden arts (cf. *YMYJ* 1981, 1:47–53). In 1774, upon the completion of the library, the emperor inscribed an essay on a marble monument. It was placed in a kiosk east of the main library building for permanent display (cited in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1360–1361; Anonymous 1981, 95; see also Qianlong's notes in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1301; cf. Liu Jiaju1987, 1–30).

The architecture of the Library of Literary Sources followed the model of the 210–year-old Single Heaven Library (Tianyi Ge) of the distinguished Fan family at Ningbo in the Province of Zhejiang (Luo Zhaoping 1993, 1–14). Fan Qin first built the library in 1561 in a walled family garden. The library hall's "column grid," according to an on-site measurement conducted in October 1989, "measures about 23.0 m. wide by 11.0 m. deep on center" (Liu 1997, 135). Gardens and libraries had served as symbols of wealth and prestige ever since Ming China.

Once the model of private library was chosen, it was inevitably made more suited to palatial decorum. Qianlong chose the model, as he himself put it, because Fan's library was the greatest of all libraries (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1360). Although the facade and details were identical to Fan's, Qianlong's library was twice as large and was taller, with three decks. The central area of the lowest deck housed the Confucian classics, together with the annotated catalog and the huge set of the *General Collection of Books* (*Tushu Jicheng*); the middle deck comprised the history section; and the upper deck was reserved for philosophical works and literary anthologies. Four distinct colors—green, red, white, and black—marked the different sections of books for easy identification. On the ground floor, the front corridors with balustrades faced a wide open space for entry. Inside the entrance, a stairway led to the upstairs collections. The library was, after all, tailor-made to accommodate bookcases and yield sufficient open space.

The environment around the library was also meticulously managed. A viewing terrace in front of the main building overlooked a rectangular pool 50 meters long and 23 meters wide containing numerous goldfish. At the center of the pool stood a 10-meter-tall rock sculpture named the Splendid Summit (Lingfeng), pierced with many holes (Cai Shenzhi n.d., 134). The pool was designed not only to contrast with the library building and nearby rockery but al

so to serve as a water reservoir in case of fire. No trees were planted anywhere near the main building in order to keep insects and ants away (cf. *YMYZ* 1984, 189–196).

As early as 1774, Qianlong integrated into the Yuanming Yuan the Variegated Spring Garden (Qichun Yuan), which was originally the Grand Secretary Fu Heng’s garden residence (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 197). The emperor also annexed two smaller neighboring gardens, namely, the Spring Pleasure Garden (Chunxi Yuan) and the Loving Spring Garden (Xichun Yuan). Hence, at one time, Qianlong’s Yuanming Yuan consisted of five gardens in the neighborhood of three hills, namely, the Longevity Hills (Wanshou Shan), the Jade Spring Hills (Yuquan Shan), and the Fragrant Hills (Xiang Shan).

In 1750, in honor of his mother’s sixtieth birthday, Qianlong built a birthday temple (*shousi*)at Mt. Weng, which he renamed the Longevity Hills. He also redirected water from the Jade Spring Hill to fill the West Lake (which had been renamed the Kunming Lake) to create a subsidiary garden called the Pure Ripple Garden (Qingyi Yuan) (Cai Shenzhi n.d., 127; cf. *YMYJ* 1981, 1:21).

The continuous growth of the Yuanming Yuan did not end with the death of Qianlong in 1799. His immediate successor, the Jiaqing Emperor, continued the endless repairs and remodeling of the Yuanming Yuan. Most noticeably, Jiaqing renovated the Grand Palace Gate, the Main Audience Hall, the Wave-Pacifying Garden, the Wall of Sravasti, the All-Happy Garden, and the Eternal Sunshine Hall (Yangri Tang). He also added some new structures, such as the Smoky Rain Chamber (Yanyu Lou), the Spreading Spring Hall (Fuchun Tang), and a new rice field at the northern end of the Yuanming Yuan, which he named the Mindful-Ploughing Villa (Xinggeng Bieshu) (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 190, 197).

The Variegated Spring Garden

The Jiaqing Emperor gave the highest priority to the Variegated Spring Garden (Qichun Yuan), which originally was a collection of many small gardens. Officially integrated into the Yuanming Yuan administration in 1772, it was further expanded by Jiaqing to draw water from the Wanquan River. Eve

ntually, Jiaqing designated Thirty (Best) Views in the Variegated Spring Garden. This construction, as usual, required a great deal of money; for example, the construction in the single year of 1809 of 173 units of halls, rooms, and chambers; 260 corridors; 6 pavilions; and 2 decorated archways cost 328,775.331 taels of silver. [38]

The landscape design of the Variegated Spring Garden generally falls into two major sections, east and west, each containing bridges and lakes, large and small, and scenic islets. The east section, with the Grand Palace Gate (Da’gongmen) and the Inner Palace Gate (Er’gongmen) to the rear, faced northward toward the largest compound of the garden, approximately 300 meters deep. It consisted of several structures. The Sunshine Court (Yinghui Dian) was the principal hall. The Hall of Harmony (Zhonghe Tang) connected with the Sunshine Court by way of two corridors to yield a large courtyard. The Spreading Spring Hall (Fuchun Tang) contained the composite living quarters of the dowager empresses and imperial concubines. The Rear Court (Hou Dian) and the Admiring Moon Chamber (Langyue Lou) were situated at the end of the compound.

It seems that a major purpose for Jiaqing’s incorporation of the Variegated Spring Garden into the Imperial Garden was to find new accommodations for the imperial ladies, as Kangxi’s Changchun Yuan had deteriorated with time. (Today, the only remnant of Changchun Yuan is a small boundary tablet near Peking University.) Indeed, upon the completion of the Variegated Spring Garden, Jiaqing welcomed his mother, the Empress Dowager Xiaoyi, and his younger brother, Prince Qing, to live there (Huang Jun 1979, 2:433).

Looking north from the Variegated Spring Garden, one could observe a magnificent lake view, with the Phoenix Isle (Fenglin Zhou) in the middle and a uniquely designed Fairy Terrace (Xianren Chenglu Tai) on the west of another isle. To the west of this major section, in the midst of an open lake, stood an isolated, neat, square islet on which the Blue Shadow Kiosk (Jianbi Ting) was located (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 197–198).

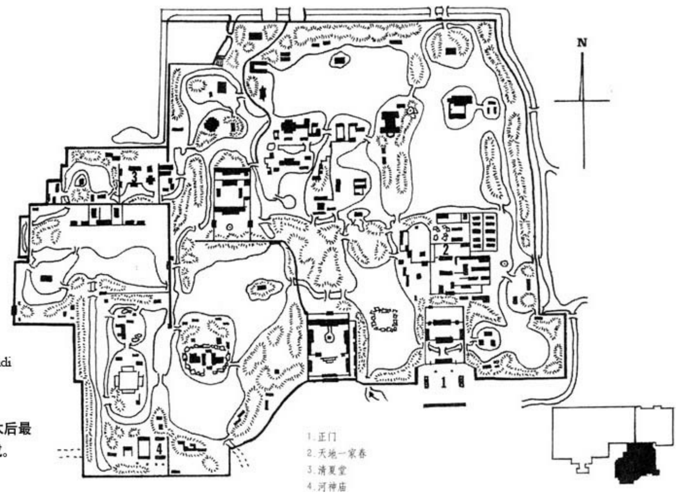
The geometric center of the Variegated Spring Garden was composed of three principal structures, the Spring Watery Chapel (Chunze Zhai), the Winter Room (Shengdong Shi), and the Sleeping Cloud Gallery (Woyun Xuan). They were constructed on a south-north axis without any sense of monotony be

cause they are separated artistically by two water spaces, different in size and shape, together with the elegant All-Season Library to the west. Looking southward from the Winter Room, the Sleeping Cloud Gallery could be seen sitting on a tiny isle and creating a dramatic view. Further south from the gallery was a large plot of hilly land, about fifteen acres. On top of any one of the 5-to-6-meter-high hills, lake views could be enjoyed on both sides. South of this hilly land stood the secluded rectangular compound of a Lama Buddhist temple called the Temple of Enlightenment (Zhengjue Si), which occupied a lot 150 by 80 square meters. It was composed of three main layers of court for worshipping Buddha with a separate front door opening to the south. [39]

On the west side of the Variegated Spring Garden was the Cool Summer Hall (QingxiaTang), together with a pavilion and corridors, built on the 6.6-acre Phoenix Isle and surrounded by walls. The main hall faced a terrace with a small lake to the south. South of the lake were low rock hills. This complex, which included various pleasant elements, such as a lake, hill, pavilion, house, and corridors, made an ideal summer home.

Lookingsouthward from here, one could see the Pure Mind Hall (Chengxin Tang) sitting on an islet surrounded by a lake and the All-Green Gallery (Lvman Xuan) and the Joyous Hall (Changhe Tang) built on two connected isles in another, rectangular, lake. A long narrow bank split the rectangular lake into two sections, and on the southern end of the bank stood the high-rising Streaking Void Kiosk (Lingxu Ting), echoing the Fairy Terrace to the north. This southwest section of the garden yielded several small islets dotting wide open water space to underline the natural beauty and man-made structures. [40]

With the completion of the Variegated Spring Garden, the greater Yuanming Yuan came of age. The Yuanming Yuan became known as the “Three Gardens of the Yuanming Yuan,” namely, the original Yuanming Yuan, the Eternal Spring Garden, and the Variegated Spring Garden, or the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden.



Qichun Yuan (Variegated Spring Garden) showing four best-known scenes. Tiandi Yijiachun (Family of Spring Between Heaven and the Earth) was the favorite residence of the Empress Dowager Cixi. Plan by Sylvia Lu Wong with reference to the map in YMYJ 1981, 1. 绮春园有四大胜景，“天地一家春”是慈禧太后最喜欢的住处。陆善仪参考《圆明园》第1期122—123页之间附图绘制而成。

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[2] Elfland refers to Penglai, the legendary fairyland at the east seas. One of the earliest authors to write about the legendary Penglai is Wang Jia, in the third century A.D., in Shiyiji (A Book of Forgotten Events) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), pp. 223–224.

[3] Eventhough the existence of the Xia Dynasty has been established by archaeologists, its “historicity” remains in doubt among scientific historians for the lack of contemporary written records. The Jade Terrace was recorded in later sources.

[4] The character “you” first appears on oracle-bone inscriptions (cf. Luo 1912). Its meaning in ancient Chinese classics is often defined as “a place where animals are kept.” Hence, it originally referred to a zoo. Not until after the founding of the Chinese Empire in 221 B.C. was you renamed yuan, or yuanyou. Sima Qian, the Grand Historian of the Han, standardized the term in his Shiji, and yuanyou has since been identified as imperial garden.

[5] The Confucian classic Shijing (Book of Poetry) refers to “marvelous tower” as “divine terrace” (lingtai) and the “marvelous park” as “divine menagerie” (lingyou) (Legge 1935, 4:456, 457).

[6] Sima Qian writes: “He (the first emperor) had places constructed in the Shanglin Garden (the Upper Woods) south of the River Wei. The front palace, Epang, built first, was five hundred feet from east to west, and five hundred feet from south to north. The terraces above could seat ten thousand and below there was room for a banner fifty feet in height” (Szuma Chien [Sima Qian] 1979, 179; Sima Qian 1975, 1:256). The rebel leader Xiang Yu burned down this gigantic imperial garden. “[Xiang] set fire to the Ch’in [Qin] palaces. The conflagration raged for three whole months” (Szuma Chien 1979, 221; Sima Qian 1975, 1:315). The legend of Epang was further exaggerated by the Tang poet Du Mu, who in his famous “Lamenting the Epang Palace” asserts that “For building the Epang Palace, trees on the Sichuan hills were all gone. The Palace covered more than three hundred square li (thirty square miles), hiding from the Sun in the sky, facing Mt. Li in the north, and turning westward to the capital Xianyang. Two rivers ran through the palaces where stood a chamber every five feet and a pavilion every ten feet....In a single day and within the same Palace, the weather appeared not the same” (Du Mu 1978, 1). Epang Palace itself, however, is not a fiction. Archaeologists have located its ruin site near present-day Xian. The grounds cover about one mile from north to south (Meng Yanan 1993, 6–7).

[7] The noticeable exception was that of Liang Ji, the vicious grand official, who misused his

power to build the huge Tu Yuan west of Luoyang. Its grandeur was comparable, if not superior, to an imperial garden (cf. Fan Ye 1965, 5:1182).

[8] The Han historian Ban Gu, in his History of the Former Han Dynasty, described Jianzhang as the main palace in a huge complex of palaces, and Taiye situated north of Jianzhang was a large lake, on which stood many isles called “fairy hills” (shenshan) (Ban Gu 1962, 4:12445).

[9] The most noticeable example was that of Shi Chong (A.D. 249–A.D. 300). As a result of its assistance in founding the Jin Dynasty in 265, the Shi family obtained almost unlimited power and prestige. Shi Chong followed his father to serve in the highest offices in the government and developed a strong passion for accumulating wealth. His famous Golden Valley Garden (Jingu Yuan) constructed in a scenic neighborhood of Luoyang was magnificent. In fact, the name was given to the garden because the Golden Valley River actually ran through it. Before his fall, Shi Chong often entertained famous scholars and literary figures such as Pan Yue and Lu Ji in the garden. He also invited beautiful women to live in the garden such as the legendary Lady Lv Zhu (the Green Pearl).

[10] The art of landscape painting emerged during the period of the Southern Dynasties, stemming in part from the rise of Neo-Daoism after the collapse of the Han Empire and the subsequent sociopolitical chaos and in part from the inspiration of the attractive southern landscape. The genre matured during the Tang Period. The landscape gardens fashioned during the same period of disunity can be described, as a recent writer put it, as “three dimensional landscape painting” (Huang Changmei 1986, 57). Perhaps not so incidentally, genuine landscape poetry also began at this time, with the work of such poets as Xie Lingyun (385–433) and Tao Yuanming (372–427) (cf. Qian Zonglian 1983, 205–206). Landscape poetry may be considered the verbal expression of the painting and the garden.

[11] Li Jie’s book was reprinted in 1974, and the modern architect Liang Sicheng illuminated the text with annotations. For a Western sinologist’s analysis of this work, see Paul Demieville, “Le Ying-tsa-fa-che,” *Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême Orient* , (1925): pp. 213–264.

[12] The book has two useful new annotated editions in Chinese (Ji Cheng 1983, 1987) in addition to the recent English translation entitled The Craft of Gardens by Alison Hardie (Ji Cheng 1988). All three editions provide significant illumination of Ji’s original texts.

[13] The recent garden scholar Chen Congzhou has made some very thoughtful general remarks on the Chinese conceptions of garden making, which are worthwhile to study (Chen Congzhou 1980, 1–16).

[14] For useful descriptions of the subject in English, see Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China, Vols. 2–3, 4.1; S. Rossbach, Fengshui: the Chinese Art of Placement; S. Skinner, The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui; and Ernest J. Eitel, Feng-shui: the Science of Sacred Landscape in Old China.

[15] For Peng Yigang, concealment and revelation generally reflect differences between Chinese and Western cultures. While Chinese emphasize concealment, Westerners stress revelation. The art of concealment was fully developed in Chinese garden-making (1986, 23).

[16] An archive source dated 1838 shows that the director of the Imperial Household Sanhe reported to the Qianlong Emperor concerning the cost of repairing the imperial barge named Flying Dragon (Feilong). The repair cost amounted to 9,238.6 taels of silver plus 713.82 taels for decorating

and painting (*YMYA* 1991, 1:46–47).

[17] The vast architectural complex called the Nine Continents in Peace, situated on the central islet of the nine islets, is one of the largest man-made structural units in the Yuanming Yuan. It served as His Majesty's main court before the completion of the Main Audience Hall. On these ruins, the Communists buried their fallen comrades in 1929. The tomb is visible to this day.

[18] The Qianlong Emperor wrote a large number of poems during his long life. His "imperial poems" (*yuzhi shi*) in twenty-eight "boxes" (*han*), 42,500 entries, are still in the possession of the palace museum in Shenyang. In 1976, the palace museum in Taipei published *Qing Gaozong Yuzhi Shiwen Quanji* (*The Complete Collection of Qianlong's Essays and Poems*). For a good edition of selected Qianlong poems, see Sun Piren and Bu Weiyi, comps. 1987. For a poem attributed specifically to the Yuanming Yuan, see Sun and Bu 1987, 26.

[19] Swastika House is one of numerous structures whose configuration is based on symbols, the folding thread-bound book, or such Chinese characters as *tian* (farm fields), *gong* (work), and *kou* (mouth).

[20] This cove is representative of those Yuanming Yuan structures designed and created on the basis of famous legends. It is an attempt to materialize an abstract mythology so as to increase excitement. Note that Wuling is the name of the place from where the legendary fisherman originally came.

[21] The so-called *huabiao* are tall ornamental columns erected in front of palaces and tombs. Several of the original columns from the Yuanming Yuan's Ancestor's Shrine can be found on the campus of the present-day Peking University.

[22] Incidentally, this rural scene is truly a village at the present time.

[23] History records that in the spring of A.D. 353 the great calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303–379) and forty-two of his friends gathered at Kuaiji's Orchid Pavilion in east Zhejiang Province. Qianlong recreated here the scene of this famous gathering. His Majesty's 1779 inscription for this scene on a stone screen was taken away from the ruins in 1917 to the park later known as Sun Yat-sen Park in Beijing (Zhao Guanghua 1981, 1:58). Qianlong's Orchid Pavilion, like Wang Xizhi's, was originally rectangular in shape; however, as the archive sources show, it was later rebuilt as an octagonal pavilion. A hexagonal thatched pavilion and a four-cornered bamboo pavilion were also added (*YMYA* 1991, 2:970).

[24] The Pleasant Gallery (Ruyi Guan) was specifically of service to foreign dignitaries.

[25] Li Sixun's fame in painting was recorded in the official history of the Tang Dynasty (*Jiu Tangshu* 1975, 7:2346).

[26] Attiret 1982, 16–17.

[27] The Qianlong Emperor initiated this monumental library project in 1772. Altogether, seven manuscript libraries of nearly thirty-six thousand titles were completed. Only three libraries have survived civil war and foreign invasion (Wu Zhefu 1987, 22–24). For a balanced study of this project, including its dark side, see Guy 1987.

[28] Chunhua refers to the era from 990 to 994 during which a large number of famous inscribed stone tablets had been collected. Qianlong wrote an essay on the gallery (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1381) and printed four hundred rubbings as gifts to the censors and mandarins above the second rank (Jiao Xiong 1984, 14).

[29] Qianlong inscribed a stone tablet that read “I love this cool cave” (*aici qingliang dong*) and placed it in one of the stone caves. While the inscribed tablet has been preserved to this day, nowhere can we locate any of the caves (cf. He Chongyi and Zeng Zhaofen 1991, 124).

[30] Thanks to its location at the middle of a lake, the Mind-Opening Isle was spared from the burning of 1860. But it was finally devastated in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

[31] Its original name was the Hibiscus (Furong) (Cai Shenzhi n.d., 134). Today this piece of rock stands in Beijing’s Sun Yat-sen Park.

[32] See Qianlong’s poem with commentary in *YMYJ* 1983, 2:54–65.

[33] Due to their huge size and solid materials, these Baroque buildings comprised most, if not all, of the visible remnants and ruins of the burned and destroyed Yuanming Yuan. Perhaps for this reason, many scholars, such as the following, wrongly equate the European section as the Yuanming Yuan: “the British burnt to the ground the Yuanming Yuan—the exquisite summer palace in the Peking suburbs built for Qianlong’s pleasure using the plans of Jesuit architects” (Spence 1990, 181).

[34] Benoît gave his account of his work in *Lettres édifiantes* , 13:469. Refer also to Cecil and Michel Beurdeley (1971) and Maurice Adam (1936, 21–22).

[35] This maze reappears on the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan. This author saw it during his 1992 visit.

[36] Xiangfei is a subject of intense and persistent controversy. Largely because the name cannot be found in any of the official documents of the Qing Dynasty, professional historians, including the eminent Qing history authority Meng Sen, believe that Xiangfei and Rongfei, another Muslim woman from Chinese Turkestan, were really the same person (1965). But Jiang Longzhao, a playwright in Taiwan, challenges this long-standing view by presenting, among other evidence, a portrait of Xiangfei in martial attire drawn by Father Castiglione, which he dug out from TaiPei’s Palace Museum. A number of scholars, however, still contest its authenticity. For a comprehensive coverage of this controversy, see the two-volume anthology edited by Jiang Longzhao (1989, 1992). The Beurdeleys believe that Xiangfei was the widow of the governor of Yarkand, who was killed in battle against Qianlong’s expeditionary forces (1971, 71).

[37] The latest count indicates that seven of the twelve animal heads, the rat, the bull, the tiger, the hare, the horse, the monkey, and the boar, have survived to this day (Sun Ruoyi 1998, 73).

[38] This figure, which is derived from the archival source of the Imperial Household and “the Construction Proposals of the Yuanming Yuan” (Yuanming Yuan Xianxing Zeli), should be accurate (*YMYA* 1991, 2:983–1055).

[39] According to He Chongyi and Zeng Zhaofen, this compound and its structure remained standing in the early 1950s. Beyond doubt, out of more than one hundred architectural complexes in the

Yuanming Yuan, this was the only one that survived the century-long persistent deterioration (1991, 134–135).

[40] My description of the Variegated Spring Garden here is based on my study of the garden's three available maps with reference to Wu Zhenyu (1983, 197) and Bai Rixin (1983, 22–25).

第一部 建筑

缘始

在讨论圆明园这个中国有史以来最雄伟的园林兴起之前，首先让我们概述一下中国传统的园林艺术。园林设计和营造建构是中国传统文化的精髓部分之一。生活在美丽而风貌不同的特殊山水之中，中国人在过去三千年来发展出具有特色的园林美学。一般来说，中国艺术家，无论是诗人、画家或园林设计者，都效法自然，并推崇那种全然天人和谐的感觉。

众所周知，中国的诗与画有非常密切的关联。现代的学者经常引用苏东坡（1037—1101）赞扬唐代艺术家兼诗人王维（701—761）的作品时所得出的评语：诗中有画，画中有诗。可以肯定的是，虽然诗与画都有各自的标准和形式，但两者共有一个广受欢迎的主题，就是强调山水之美以及包含于其中的微妙情感。这种密切的关联性也存在于诗和庭园之间，著名的中国园林学家陈从周就把理想的园林视作优美的诗词。[6]

同样的关联性也存在于山水画和园林设计之间。举例来说，中国画家和园林设计者都遵循一个引人联想的基本法则：呈现漂浮的远山、远树以及悬于天际的船只。在中国园林史中，有不少园林的设计就是依据著名的山水画来建造的。当代建筑学家彭一刚就正确地指出，中国绘画为中国园林的建筑风格定了调。[7]

当然，中国的山水画家除了深深地被田野的宽广辽阔而触发灵感之外，也极受水墨山水画和诗词所呈现之自然美的影响。可以肯定地说，绘画和诗词两者为中国传统园林艺术的概念化提供了特别优美的意境。园林跟诗词和绘画一样，是艺术、抒情和风景的一部分，许多庭园设计者本身也是够格的画家和诗人，所以他们很自然地为园林环境注入一种建构形式，这种建构形式自然流露出画与诗的气质。这就是为什么够水准的传统中国园林会被认为好像是一幅徐徐展开的画卷。中国园林虽由人工建造，但整体景观构成表现出像自然界一样地自然。既然园林建筑跟周围风景和谐一致是中国园林设计的必要条件，把人为建筑添置在风景中就需要巧夺天工，将建筑与自然交融为一体。

相对于欧洲文艺复兴时期呈几何形式的庭园，中国园林艺术崇尚没

有束缚的美，强调自由形式、持续流动和意想不到的曲折变化，然而拟真的自然环境却又是人为的创造。辽阔的自然可以被浓缩在山水模式之中，需要的只是“咫尺创寰宇”或会聚成“乾坤在一盆”。具备峰顶、绝壁、沟壑、峡谷、溪涧和瀑布的假山是中国园林的基本，虽然18世纪的英国庭园也呈田园风貌，但中国这种“象征性的表现主义”跟欧洲的写实主义传统还是有所不同。

一般来说，传统的中国园林可以区分为四个不同范畴，就是一般大众休闲的风景公园、宗教团体的寺院园林、由文士拥有的宅第庭园和最为悠久而壮观的皇家园林（或帝王宫苑）。

翻阅一下有关中国历史上的帝王宫苑的资料，很快就得出三个共同特点。第一，它们极其宏伟，被圈入皇家园林的都是最好的风景，有庞大的建筑群，表现出让人敬畏的气派和天子至尊的威严。冠冕堂皇是帝王宫苑最基本的艺术特征。第二，园林建筑追求奢华、雄伟和壮丽的外观，给人一种超华丽建筑的印象。第三，它们根据神话题材来设计，如蓬莱仙山上的琼楼玉宇，来表达长生不老世界里的愉悦和梦幻。[8] 圆明园就是中国园林设计史中前所未有最壮观的帝王宫苑。

帝王宫苑的兴起

中国历史上很早就有帝王宫苑。中国的统治者跟全世界的帝王一样，都喜欢享乐，他们运用丰富的资源，在正式的宫殿内外为自己建造华丽的庭园和壮观的园林。中国早期的帝王宫苑跟国家的形成几乎是同步出现，早在半传说时期的夏朝（公元前2033?—前1562?），君王桀就曾经建造十分奢侈的玉台供自己享乐。[9] 商朝（公元前1562?—前1066?）遗址挖掘到的甲骨文，证明了给君王享乐的狩猎场曾经存在。商王拥有不同的享乐场所，地点都坐落于王城里或附近的地方。从商朝到秦帝国在公元前221年统一中原期间，中国君王通常在远离王室宫殿的地方，寻找引人入胜的空间，以求欣赏景物之美，并建造提供休憩和暂住的苑囿。[10] 大部分苑囿是由高台、花圃、鱼池、鸟笼、兽栏和舒适房舍组成，许多设置逐渐转化成乡间别墅，被称为“离宫别院”。这种享乐场所的其他名称还包括灵台、灵沼和灵囿，这些名词都出现在《诗经》里，指的是周王的宫苑。[11]

秦始皇（在位期间公元前221—前210）征服中原期间，曾依照被他灭掉的六国宫殿样式，建造美轮美奂的宫殿。最后他在渭河沿岸所盖的

宫殿数量绝不少于300座，当中最宏伟壮观的宫苑就是上林苑。它位于渭水南岸，距离帝国首都咸阳大约5英里，面向渭河。上林苑是由高台、池沼、苑囿、林地以及传说中的阿房宫所组成。[12]根据清代学者的研究，阿房宫是非常庞大的宫殿群，看过去就像一座“城”，这座显赫的上林苑被接下来的汉朝继续扩建。

到了汉朝，许多苑囿都转化成宫苑，由园地、宫殿、庙宇、池塘和湖泽组成。公元前104年，汉武帝（在位期间公元前140—前87）又盖了12座富丽堂皇的宫苑供自己享乐，其中最宏伟壮丽的是建章宫，耸立在太液池南边，池中点缀着许多假山，营造出“仙境”的气氛。[13]美丽的风景围绕着人工建筑，就成为后来建造帝王宫苑的基本元素。汉代的帝王宫苑虽然早已消失，却为后世壮观的宫苑提供了典范。[14]

皇室和大臣的私人园林也在汉代兴起。显然，有钱有势者已经具备足够的能力来追随皇帝，建立一座供自己享乐的园林，不过一般在气势上远不如皇园壮观。[15]从汉代在公元2世纪式微，直到中华帝国在公元6世纪再度复兴的这段期间，政治中心已经由长安转移到洛阳，新的帝王宫苑和私人园林也就在洛阳相当兴盛。在帝王宫苑当中，最负盛名的是由魏明帝（在位期间公元227—239）建造的芳林园。明帝十分热衷这项工程，他调动几千名工人，在官员和专家的帮助下，在洛阳东北方建造这座园林。他命人挖出一个名叫苍龙海的巨大湖泊，并竖立一座名为景阳山的假山，这些石材都是直接从遥远的太行山上运送过来。[16]

晋武帝（在位期间公元265—290）大力修复这座帝王宫苑。中国在这段长期分裂的时代中，由于同时并存好几个皇朝，因此帝王宫苑在平城（今日的大同附近）、龙城（今日的辽宁）、建康（今日的南京）等地方都可以找到。随着中国富裕的世家大族在这个时候兴起，私人园林也到处兴盛，有些私人园林的壮观程度更足以跟帝王宫苑相匹敌。[17]这个时期的另一个特色，就是在富庶的长江三角洲有各式各样的文士庭园，虽然不是很壮观，但这些庭园都以幽雅为目标，来表达文人向往宁静和朴素的田园生活，这是对当时乱世的一种共同心理反射。逃避现实和自然主义的融合激发出所谓山水园林的兴起，与由来已久的山水画和诗歌相呼应。[18]这种含有自然主义的山水园林或庄园是由流水、池泽、沟壑、巨岩、幽谷、树阴和假山组成，再与亭台楼阁合为一体。整个人工创作再配合周围的自然景色，就成为建造帝王宫苑的基本要求。

中国在公元7世纪初再度统一，隋朝（公元581—618）在渭河南岸

建立新都大兴城时，把整个大兴城的北边划为皇家的宫苑。隋炀帝在历史上以荒淫奢侈闻名，即位不久就在以园林和花卉闻名的洛阳辟建雄伟壮观的西苑。西苑是根据神话设计的，由三座人工岛构成，每一座人工岛上都盖了大量亭台殿阁，延伸成十六院，没有一处景点不和自然风景协调一致。西苑里主要湖泊的直径就达十余里（大约3英里）。根据史书记载，这座巨大的宫苑可以容纳隋炀帝及其庞大的侍从队伍，其中还包括上千名歌姬。隋炀帝后来又在江南建造了许多宫苑。后代的历史学家描述隋炀帝好恶无常，从来不会满足于自己已经拥有的种种享受。[19] 他终日贪恋享乐，被批评是隋朝速亡的原因。

大唐（公元618—907）的统一使中华帝国再度恢复活力，其惊人的财富和权势把山水画和园林设计的审美标准提升至更高层次。大明宫是唐代建造的皇家宫苑当中最为壮观的一座，它在公元634年落成，包含三十余幢建筑物，由优美建筑、精致装饰和广大的湖泊与树林组成。近年挖掘到的含元殿遗址只是整座大明宫当中的一幢建筑，由东向西长75.9米，由北向南长41.3米，仅从这幢建筑就可以想象整座大明宫有多雄伟了。

园林艺术的成熟

除了巨大的帝王宫苑之外，唐代的文士庭园也十分兴盛，例如柳宗元（公元773—819）把荒野改变成享乐的庭园，包含了湖光山色与楼台别馆。唐朝大诗人王维在辋川拥有的别业（庄园别墅），里面就有山石、蜿蜒的湖泊、竹室、柳林、花圃和船埠，是诗人享受作诗之乐和招待朋友的好地方。另一个享誉盛名的诗人白居易被江西庐山（匡庐）的美景所吸引，于公元817年的春天在这里盖好他的草堂。[20] 除了欣赏美景之外，这些私人庭园也是文士辞官或失意时退隐的地方，他们通过山水体现自己的情感，也借山水抒发他们的情怀。不管怎样，在这个中国诗歌的黄金时期，唐代知名的诗人学者都热衷在郊野以其艺术巧思打造自己的庭园。他们通常会用漂亮的书法写出具有诗意的名字来设计自己的庭园、厅堂、别馆，以提高优美典雅的效果，后来帝王宫苑的设计者也采用这些文人的情趣。另外，唐代接触到中亚和西南亚的外来文化，园林也明显受到外国的影响，像冷水循环的装置、希腊风格的柱子以及在建筑和石牌楼中运用圆拱技术。[21]

由于吸收了禅宗的影响，山水园林在宋代（公元960—1279）达到

美学的巅峰。山林、流水、树木和花卉的自然之美给禅修者感应以至于达到禅悟，并修证形而上的禅宗境界。因而在美景之中找到禅寺并不让人讶异，实际上禅寺本身就是一座山水园林，禅宗的美学、意境和愉悦无可避免地注入园林艺术之中。诚如任晓红所说，禅宗有助于提升私人庭园，并影响到中国园林的特色。[22] 除了有高雅情趣添加其中，拜技术进步之赐，建筑物的修建也已经达至高度成熟。上层阶级的整体富裕、先进的技术和艺术家的品位，都促进了园林建筑的迅速发展。所有精英阶层都热衷于建造自己的庭园，在园里欣赏人工打造的山林水泽和花卉之美，也可以邀请客人一起享受美酒、佳乐和诗意。这些私人庭园的传统功能一直延续到近代之前的明清时期。

在这种背景之下，没有人会对帝王宫苑的雄伟壮观和奢侈程度感到惊讶。公元962年，宋代的开国皇帝在首都开封的东北方依照洛阳的宫殿和园林样式，营造一座壮丽的花园城市。除修复宜春苑和玉津园这两座老旧园林外，皇室又继续在公元966年和980年盖了琼林苑和金明池两座新的帝王宫苑，这些宫苑到公元12世纪初还一直存在。每年春天，宋代的皇帝得意洋洋地率领侍从亲自开放琼林苑和金明池这两座壮观的宫苑给民众游赏，直到皇帝在冬天离开才关闭宫苑。[23]

宋代最好的帝王宫苑也许是宋徽宗在1117年修建的著名的艮岳，它山周直径达6.4公里，中有巨池。虽然宋徽宗是个平庸的皇帝，却是一个天才艺术家，书法字画都属一流。他把自己的艺术感发挥在众多的亭台楼阁、长廊台观以及宫苑里珍贵的树木、花卉和竹林上。为了让艮岳永垂不朽，他要求从南方运送大量体积巨大的太湖石。取得这些石头的代价非常高昂，不但需要庞大的人力将这些非常沉重的石头一路运到开封，而且花石纲所经大运河沿岸的众多桥梁和灌溉系统因为运送太湖石而被损毁。[24] 很多历史学家相信，引起民怨的花石纲是导致北宋灭亡的原因之一。不过，艮岳及其伟大的艺术创作，特别是山丘、湖泽、奇石、树林、花卉和人工建筑的鲜明布局，基本上为数个世纪后的圆明园树立了一个令人赞叹的先例，唯一显著的差别，就是圆明园没有像艮岳那么大规模的动物园。

与宋朝并存的契丹辽朝和女真金朝统治了中国北方几个世纪之久，他们的统治者在今天的北京四周建造了许多优美的庄园别墅。后来蒙古人建立元朝，以北京作为他们的大都。虽然蒙古的皇帝和亲王都不是杰出的园林建造者，但是有人认为山水画达到最辉煌的时代是在元朝，而且毫无疑问地对后来的园林设计与营造产生了正面的影响。像赵孟（12

54—1322）这类卓越的艺术家因为将绘画技巧转化成园林设计而赢得赞誉。[25] 在这个时期，北京作为蒙古人在中国的政治中心，几乎所有的帝王宫苑都建造在北京近郊。后来的明朝皇帝，特别是永乐帝（在位期间1403—1424），在北京重新修复并扩建元朝皇帝的大内，即后来的紫禁城，并建成宫后苑，即今天仍然存在的御花园。明代在北京西北郊区陆续建造了很多园林，这里也就是日后圆明园落成的地方。

从公元14世纪到18世纪的明清时期，正当许多皇帝和亲王都在北京的西北近郊建造了很多优美园林的同时，私人庭园的营造，特别在中国南方，也有很大进展，如在苏州、杭州、南京和扬州等著名城市，可以发现大量富丽堂皇的庄园别墅。尽管这些私人拥有庭园的规模普遍比皇家的宫苑来得小，但也有例外，18世纪中国大学者兼诗人袁枚拥有的随园就是一个佳例。他这座位于南京的园林由38座人工建筑组成，包括他的主书房、画室以及24座不同的别馆。[26]

更重要的是，明清时期的南方园林设计更具巧思。南方园林从整体上来说展现了更精致的美学品位，从个体的建筑中则表现出优美与典雅。尤其这段时期的富有的苏州士绅创造了中国古典园林的最佳典范。根据当代著名建筑学家刘敦桢的见解，“南方的私人庭园是最具代表性的范本”[27] 。稍后我们将可以看到，南方庭园的精髓深受乾隆皇帝的高度赞赏，他在18世纪扩建圆明园和建造承德避暑山庄的时候，就参照了许多南方的景致和建筑。

我们至少应提到两位传统的中国园林设计者：李诫和计成，他们在营造园林的悠久历史上有非常大的影响力。这两位都值得我们重视，因为他们的见解对于圆明园的设计和建造有不容置疑的贡献。李诫是宋代建筑师，在1103年出版了极具价值的著作《营造法式》。这本书有非常多的插图说明，十分仔细地讲解设计和营造的方法，提到怎样建造拱桥和运用水来美化园林，并将琉璃瓦的使用标准化，这一点就成为宫殿、厅堂、楼阁、别馆、凉亭、楼台和回廊的特色。“琉璃”一词源自梵文“vaidurya”，琉璃首先从西南亚传入中国，经过五百年才成为基本的建筑材料。可以确定是由何周率先制成绿色的琉璃瓦，然后唐代的工匠继续采用他的技术，生产出举世闻名的“唐三彩”，通常是黄色、蓝色和紫色。[28]

计成是公元17世纪来自江苏省吴江县的学者，写出为人称颂的《园冶》。在他这部划时代的论著里，第一卷就包括了序言、相地、立基、兴造论和屋宇等篇，第二卷的精华在栏杆篇，而第三卷的篇章则讨论如

何制造门窗、墙垣，选石和掇山。全书共一万字，并附带两百张插图来解释中国风格的标准园林，特别论述山水园林跟个别景致的精巧组合。它强调创作“主景”来区分每一座园林和使人工建筑与周围环境协调的重要性。[29] 目前一致认为，李诫和计成的著作，通过协调明末清初小山丘、湖泽、建筑物和庭院建造以及花草树木的种植，帮助提升了中国园林艺术的水准。

园林艺术最伟大的综合体

如果说明清园林综合了传统中国的园林艺术，圆明园则可谓综合了明清园林的成果。事实上，兴建圆明园的时代，中国园林艺术早已成熟。这个时候正好是清朝的鼎盛期，帑藏充实与专业技术的炉火纯青让清朝得以创造出不管在风格上还是在壮观上都无与伦比的帝王宫苑。整体而言，圆明园是建筑在平坦的土地上，它是一座集离宫别苑、景色环绕、园林美化、人造山石以及庭院、庙堂、书院、藏书阁等不同功能于一身的多个建筑群的综合体。所有人工建筑都根据传统复合庭院的南北走向的形式，而东西走向联结的建筑就比较少。圆明园秀丽的园林景色，是由白色的墙、黑灰色的瓦、粟棕色的柱子、栏杆、吊饰、小山丘、湖泽、花卉、树丛等所组成。在园里有几百个漂亮的景点，其中有四十个最佳的景点是由乾隆皇帝亲自选定的。他精挑细选出绝佳的景观之后，为每处景点拟定一个优雅的名称并题诗解说缘由。乾隆皇帝还指示宫廷画师为这四十景作画，成为一套画集，这些画册在圆明园的劫难中幸存了下来，并闻名世界。[30]

鉴于圆明园的面积、多样性和复杂性，圆明园几乎囊括了适用于园林的所有建筑形式。主要的建筑形式大致有以下几种：

一、堂，即在圆明园建筑里的主殿或者在特定景点附近的主建筑，通常都是依照天子格局朝向南方，前面有宽阔的空间。一般来说，中国的殿堂是以圆木柱建成，挑高、宽敞和开放，以观赏四周的风景。

圆明园里著名的殿堂数不胜数，包括绮春园的清夏堂和长春园里最大的欧式建筑海晏堂。在这座帝王宫苑里，最引人注目的肯定是正大光明殿，那是根据紫禁城里面原来的主殿复制出来的。

二、亭，它的本意就是中途在此停留的意思，是设计给人在游园的时候作为休憩和欣赏美景之用。计成对此表示：“亭无固定形式。”但不管是哪一种形式的设计（包括方形、圆形、六角形、椭圆形、八角形、

扇形、梅花形状等），亭的每一面都是开放的，以呈现最大的视野。因此，亭通常坐落在景色最好的地方，特别在山顶、林阴之间和水岸边，且亭之大小和形式都是配合周遭的环境，这绝非偶然。从圆明园里众多的景点来看，园里的亭子不计其数，形状和设计各异，举例来说，五竹亭是其中最为珍奇的亭子之一。

三、台，即高耸没有屋顶的平台，由一堆石头或厚木板所打造。台多建筑在精挑细选的地点上，主要是要让游人可以欣赏远方和近处的景色。一般来说，台位于高地或湖边。圆明园里邻近皇家起居室的环湖九岛上的牡丹台就最为著名，因为皇室的三朝天子——祖父康熙、父亲雍正和儿子乾隆——曾经在这里会聚一堂而传为佳话。

四、楼，一般来说高两层，呈长方形，坐落在山丘和湖畔之间，透过开放式的窗户来捕捉自然美景。虽然楼的建筑在圆明园内非常普遍，但乾隆皇帝特别喜欢著名的四十景之一的“染霞楼”。

五、阁，即四面具有开放式窗户的多楼层建筑，包括圆明园里主要藏书室文源阁在内的许多藏书楼建筑都被称为“阁”并不足为奇。

六、榭，建筑在景点处，如水畔或花圃间，以便于“借”景。由于许多台榭都盖在水边，因此通常被称作“水榭”。在圆明园里最大湖泊福海的周边，就有非常多的水榭，像福海南端“澡身浴德”里的澄渊榭。

七、园廊，是既长且通风的走道和回廊，连接各个景点之间的干道和支线，让走路的人不受天气变化的影响。回廊有很多的类型，以外形来区分的话就包括直长形、波浪形和蜿蜒形；若以功能来区分的话，包括开放式、两层式、依山起伏式和水畔回廊等。双排回廊是两条回廊贴在一起，中间由一堵装有花格窗的墙划分开来，给人有层次和意想不到的感觉，虽然一般园林很少采用，但在圆明园里却随处可见。

八、轩，参照中国古代马车的样式，看来宽广高挑，所以被称作“车轩”，它们盖在既高且阔的空地上来取得最好的视野。最非凡独特的轩要算是长春园里的淳化轩，那里是乾隆皇帝用来展示他珍藏的著名《钦定重刻淳化阁帖》石刻的地方。

九、斋，是给人在一个清静的环境下，独自闭门来自我反省或沉思用的，有点像欧洲的教堂气氛，那里可以让人寻找心灵上的慰藉和宁静。规模小的书房或藏书室也可以称为书斋，让园林的主人可以独自看书和写作。再者，斋在中国的传统里，是祭祀者在拜神或祭祖之前，在禁止吃肉、饮酒和敦伦时期暂住的地方。清朝的皇帝就经常使用圆明园里

的斋，作为私底下自我反省以及祭拜之用。

十、房，是一个包含起居室和睡房的私人住处。有些在圆明园里的山房就非常之大，例如四十景里的“接秀山房”。

十一、舫，是为了欣赏美景和嬉戏而建造。最有名的陆舟是石舫，起初建在清漪园里的昆明湖上，如今是颐和园里游客喜爱的景点之一。

十二、馆，是非正式的住处，通常是作为阅读和艺术创作的地方。在长春园里，乾隆皇帝就盖了一座引人注目和十分有趣的玉玲珑馆，它坐落在岛上，以曲桥相连。

在圆明园里各式各样的建筑之中，没有一个个体是孤立的，而是结合各种亭台、楼阁或一群复杂和不规则的不同建筑和庭院，呈现出整体园林的雄伟面貌。事实上，四十景里的每一个景观都是混合了各种不同的建筑风格。

此外，在圆明园里还可以找到非常多的三种很基本的中国风格建筑。首先是桥，它区隔也同时连接各个景点，是园林中连接大面积的水泽和复杂水道的一种基本元素，在圆明园中也不例外。桥可以以各种精巧的风格延伸园中的景致，既有横跨狭窄水道的“之”字型的石桥，又有可以让小船通行的高层大理石圆拱桥。曲桥通常是建在贴近水面的地方，让游人可以欣赏水中畅游的鱼和漂浮的睡莲——显然，桥也可以有揭示附近景色的衬托作用。利用湖石给黄石堆砌出来的石板桥作为栏栅是较为常见的。至于木桥，虽然很少在小型的私人庭园里看到，但在圆明园里却非常之多。

第二是墙。几乎每一座中国园林都有墙围绕，在庞大的圆明园里，墙更是伸展好几英里长。园林里墙的建筑，或由石头或由砖块打造，因不同的用途而设计，并以花卉、雀鸟和神话等艺术雕刻来装饰。在圆明园里最大的墙是舍卫城，围成一个单独的大院区，引人注目地坐落在圆明园本园的东北角上。

第三是塔。这是佛教的建筑，几乎是任何具规模的庞大园林——包括圆明园在内——不可或缺的元素。塔增添了宗教的意义和美学的价值。另外，圆明园里还建造了许多石舟和牌楼，这在一般园林里是十分罕见的。

圆明园的整体设计很有创意地融合中国的自然景观与生活方式、富有艺术感的工艺、美学品位和园艺技术。包括对比、陪衬、外观、相对

空间、深度排列和相对位置的布局等构思，全都应用在这个伟大园林的筹划当中。每一部分的建造都巧妙地和灵活地配合北京西边的地形和环境。即使是道路、流水和湖泽，都以花卉、树丛、动物和石头来美化。景物的安排通常是高度复杂以提升层次感，让人不可能一眼就看透全部景色。

大致来说，圆明园的建筑采用了三种主要的技术性元素来创造整体，那就是“因”、“借”和“堆”。“因”就是有创意地让园林融合它的自然背景，像地形和地貌的特色，让园林成为一个整体。“因”取得好，可以帮助借用周遭远近的景色。借景的意念也反映出独特的中国美学品位和世界观，即：园林是整个宇宙不可或缺的部分，而园林周围的自然美景也是其景观的一部分。唐代诗人杜甫对这个理念就有很好的阐释：“窗含西岭千秋雪，门泊东吴万里船。”[31] 西岭雪和东吴船就成为诗人宅第的借景。圆明园坐落在北京西北景色宜人的地方，被三座优美的山丘所围绕，有很多景致可以借取。按照借景的条件，圆明园充分运用了分景（从不同方位撷取不同的景观）和隔景（在园林中再划分出小的庭园）的技巧，容我们在下文讨论。

至于堆景的手法，就是让建筑物之间互相配合来强调彼此的匀称。所有这些元素都涉及安排、组织、创作以至于扩展空间的技巧，因此需要十分谨慎地安排布局、理水、叠山、建筑和花木。[32] 尽管有纲领，但没有常规，包括计成在内的中国园林设计者都强调要有创意地应用这些规则的重要性。

传统的技巧和技术益之以想象力，通过仿造再现著名神话、伟大画作、空中楼阁、名寺古刹和独特的书房，为圆明园营造出一百多个不同的景点。在这座壮丽的帝王宫苑里有大量各式各样的花卉和树木，定然让此园也堪称一座非同凡响的植物园林。树种的选择和花卉的安排也是整体设计的一部分，给周围的景色衬托出漂亮的效果。早在1725年，雍正皇帝就曾经要内务府把缅甸进贡的植物栽种在圆明园之内。[33]

圆明园的设计者在营造山丘、溪流、湖泊和数不清的建筑物美化园林之前，就十分了解这座园林的整体景观及其周围的环境。当设计者猎取南方名园一些让人赞叹的美景时，决意要营造一种新鲜而更为优雅的外观。即使由乾隆皇帝建造的有明显特色的欧式建筑和园林，都十分有技巧地跟其他景观融合在一起，因此没有破坏园林整体的和谐。圆明园的整个外观同时表现出田园生活的优美与皇帝权力的威严，标示和强调大一统的中国政治文化。

水代表平静和安宁，是任何形式的中国园林都不可或缺的一个元素。一个讲究的池塘很少是工整的几何图形，必须要营造出清幽的气氛，让住在园林里的人感到欣悦。圆明园更特别以“水景园”著称，全园布满了大大小小的湖泊，彼此之间又由水道网络和蜿蜒的河道相连接。根据圆明园的地图，所有呈现出来的建筑物都是处在小岛上或被假山、台观、石岗、花树和灌木等包围而划分出来的区域中。根据中国园林设计的传统，设计出来的水域一定要呈现出在自然环境里的湖泽、溪流、沟壑和瀑布的外形与特色，因为在营造园林的理论当中，效法自然是最基本的法则。

不论何种形式的水域都会提供引人入胜的景观，与四周的山丘、丛林和殿堂形成对照。毋庸赘言，在圆明园里有充足的水资源提供饮用水的需要以及用来调节气温和灌溉植物。圆明园的湖泊分出很多条支流和水道来互相连接，成为运载人和物品的方便渠道。

圆明园这个伟大的帝王宫苑，是由假山、风景、池塘和水道结合宫殿、楼阁、庙堂而成的庞大建筑创作，聚集了数以百计的 小庭园和景点。在这个广大的空间里，景点与景点之间是由宛曲的道路和溪流以富有艺术感的方式连接起来。事实上，被特别命名的景观都包含了一个独立但相连的园林建筑群。巨大的面积、壮丽的建筑、精致的内部设计、大量无价的古董和文化遗迹让这座园林无可匹敌。

乾隆皇帝在位期间，圆明园达到它的巅峰期，这个时候它由五座园林组成，即圆明园本园、长春园、绮春园、熙春园（亦称作清华园）和近春园。这就是北京西北郊相当著名的“三山五园”。不过，熙春园和近春园在公元19世纪的时候被赏赐给亲王，后来又成为清华大学和北京大学的校区。

圆明园最重要的设计师都是雷氏家族的成员。雷氏家族有好几代人担任圆明园的官职，持续没完没了的修缮和营造新建筑的工作。雷发达是清朝开国之初第一个在建筑专业上赢得广泛肯定的设计师，他为康熙皇帝在紫禁城内重建太和殿之后就取得了官位。他的儿子雷金玉在设计和建造康熙的畅春园上表现出可以跟父亲媲美的家族遗传才能，他亦因此而获得七品的官衔和圆明园内的永久职务，成为内务府的一员。康熙皇帝十分喜欢他，曾亲自为他祝贺七十大寿。

雷金玉的子孙继续成为圆明园重要的建筑师和营造者。雷家三兄弟：家玮、家瑞和家玺曾伴随乾隆皇帝游江南以研究和模仿江南的庭园，

然后在圆明园里重新建造。因此雷氏家族成员以其制作出优秀建筑样式的才能，而赢得“样式雷”这个外号。今存数以百计的雷氏样式，呈现出精良的设计和细致的工艺，给我们提供一个极为有用的指引，去了解这座曾经辉煌一时的宫苑。[34]

雷氏一家长久以来都是皇帝御用的建筑师。皇帝想在这里加装天花板或在那里添置走廊，通常都会通过宫苑的总管把需求传达给雷家；有时也会通过太监来通传。例如在1859年3月8日，王总管传达圣旨要求“所有新添盖平台殿宇俱油饰绿色”[35]。

雷氏家族一代又一代在园林营造方面的熟练技艺赢得了清廷的赞许。他们植根于传统中国文化的技术，通过熟悉的象征，来强调至高无上的帝王思想和表现出天下归一的美感——天、地、人的大融合，反映了自然景致和人工创作的凝聚。他们毫无疑问采纳了儒家阐释人世的思考。很多宫殿的建筑，包括内部的装潢，确实都遵从《周礼》里儒家所引用的观点，那就是强调庄重和威严。然而，园林的目的既然是用来享乐，在园林的设计里就不能太过注重儒家的教条。在圆明园里，除了堂而皇之的正大光明殿表现出儒家的庄严之外，其他许多建筑，特别是在长春园里的建筑，大都呈现道教式的愉悦与悠闲。在长春园里的“海岳开襟”尤其表现出异常的脱俗和活泼。不过，道教的宇宙观所编织出来的天人关系网络，即使不比儒家的宇宙观更为和谐，至少也跟儒家一样重视和谐的关系。事实上，道教没有约束的自然之美的艺术建构，结合仿效仙境或重塑神话世界的人造建筑，也同样能表达出整个大一统帝国的和谐。圆明园里虽包含了伊斯兰清真寺和欧洲巴洛克的建筑，但其独特的风格并没有破坏整个帝王宫苑的和谐。

圆明园的设计者也将在中国广泛使用的风水考虑在内。实际上，一千多年来风水影响中国民间生活的各个层面。即使受过良好教育的文士也经常根据风水的准则来处理家务事，尤其在祖坟和房屋的营建上更是如此。他们相信选择建筑的地点必须经过风水师的认可，否则会给住在这里的人和他们的后代带来可怕的灾难。畏惧灾难和追求昌隆都让风水师成为极有用的专家。既然一个完全符合风水准则的好地方将会为住在那里的人带来财富、健康和快乐，一千多年来中国人想当然地认为选择在“吉地”盖房子，不管以何种方式，一定可以确保平安。虽然不管是什么朝代，中华帝国的政府从来都没有承认风水的正统地位，但他们实际上都认可这个习俗。直到今天，中国人仍然会尽力让他们的居所符合风水的基本准则。[36]

尽管风水具有迷信的性质，但它强调世间上阴阳流动的微妙平衡，就十分符合中国传统里天人合一的观念。风水师通常会帮人寻找幽静的墓穴或既宜人又漂亮的住址。有趣的是，著名的科学史家李约瑟（1900—1995）亦发现风水具有“显著的美学成分”。当李约瑟重游他年轻时极为仰慕的凡尔赛宫的庭院和公园时，忽然有一种“落寞感”。之所以如此，是因为他曾游历过中国的颐和园等多个园林，让他深信像凡尔赛宫那样呈现几何图形的庭园，不免在“限制和束缚自然，而非顺应自然”[37]。

圆明园作为中国园林建筑艺术的集大成者，不可能忽略风水的重要性。其实，清朝的统治者十分认真地对待风水以求带来好运和益处。例如在1724年，内务府请来山东济南府德平县知县张钟子等人查看圆明园风水。他检视了许多建筑的方位，特别从外形、山水、爻象等方面来分析这座宫苑的形胜，以诊断吉凶。[38]

北京西北部的海淀区域在清朝开国很久以前就已被选为营建宫苑的好地方。从空中拍摄的照片里可以看到，这个地区的自然地势和轮廓显得柔和平坦，几乎没有与自然不和谐的恶劣地形。不过，在这片平原的西边，有十来座绵延的山脉和溪流，这就是广为人知的西山。在西山稍偏北之处就是玉泉山，也就是圆明园取得新鲜用水的地方。紧接着的香山，明代学者称其山脊为“青龙皮”[39]。瓮山耸立在海淀西边大约5里（约1.5英里）的地方，它的独特之处是优美的曲线像一只瓮，并因而得名。这两片山脉交错就像男女结合般调和。这些都是风水堪舆学上所显示的兴隆象征。

圆明园占据这个地区内一个最好的地点，整体布局的安排特别地和谐。在这座帝王宫苑里的众多假山，大概是刻意根据堪舆学的理论而建造。四十景彩绘展现得很清楚：各景点的人工建筑位于一处幽僻之所，也正是较高的“青龙”与较低的“白虎”二条山脉会聚之处。就某种意义上来说，每一处景点都符合风水上的吉兆。

这座帝王宫苑的风水看起来好得无可挑剔。即使最后遭遇到被焚毁的灾难，亦没有人对它最终的命运想当事后诸葛亮或归咎于风水不好。不过，也有微词，很有意思。根据一位清代学者的说法，在1839年，道光皇帝在圆明园的二宫门外拆掉一座拱形桥，以方便他观看骑射。这位学者引用一个风水师的话说，一条河需要有一座桥就像瞄准目标的弓，在去掉这座桥后就象征失去目标的弓，成为军事衰弱的凶兆。中国随后遭逢鸦片战争之惨败，让这位学者觉得那风水师的预言竟似变成了事实

。[40]

圆明园的布局

圆明园由非常壮丽的建筑工程所组成，是清朝所创造的帝王御园。它代表了中国文化传统的最高成就以及中国园林艺术的巅峰。

营造圆明园的地点是在玉泉山山脚下有丰沛活水的平原上，靠近今天北京西北边的海淀区。来自玉泉的水被形容为清凉干净，有云："明月夜映清光圆"，即喻为"月光下的珍珠"[41]。丰沛的泉水使得海淀和邻近的地区地下水充足。事实上，"淀"的意思就是"会聚水的地方"。更何况，这里的地形可以让一座壮观的宫苑把美学的效果发挥到登峰造极。非常出色的现代中国建筑师梁思成曾评论说，圆明园会聚山丘湖泊，结合殿堂、亭台楼阁和其他建筑结构的设计精华。虽然圆明园注重对称和平衡，但梁氏进一步说，圆明园的设计更能依照地形来强调变化，并以活泼的造型来发挥独树一帜的风格。虽然在梁氏的慧眼里，圆明园也许因过多的人工雕琢而破坏了美丽的形胜，但其具有生命的创意仍然是毋庸置疑的。[42]

最近更有学者有鉴于圆明园在广大湖区和高耸的西山之麓有巧夺天工的布局，而称之为"万园之园"。[43]其实由于周遭环境非常之好，早在13世纪元朝的时候就已经有一些优美的庄园在这里出现。到了16世纪，天然美景让这个地区十分具有吸引力，明代的武清侯李伟就因此得到灵感建造了十分著名的清华园，被喻为"京国第一名园"。不久之后，著名书法家米万钟也在这里建造同负盛名的勺园，取"海淀一勺"之意。根据北京大学教授侯仁之的说法，这两座享有盛誉的园林于明清易代之际遭遇到荒废的命运。[44]

清代的统治者在海淀又新建许多宫苑。根据三张可用的地图显示，圆明园里的巨大湖泊是由运河网络和蜿蜒的水道所连接起来的。从鸟瞰的角度来看，所有在圆明园内的建筑都坐落在小岛上或是被假山、台榭、花石、树丛和灌木包围起来的单独区域中。那些被特别命名的"景"是由一组既独立又聚在一起的小庭园所构成。根据当时英国人对这座巨大园林的观察，它"包含一大群各式各样优雅精致的小建筑"。[45]

在1737年，也就是乾隆在位的第二年，他传旨要著名的宫廷御用画家郎世宁、唐岱、孙佑、沈源、张万邦、丁观鹏把圆明园恭绘在绢本上，完成之后就挂在清辉阁的北壁上。清辉阁在"九州"中央的皇帝寝宫的

西侧。它的建筑样式是单纯的长方形，配上工匠在梁柱上雕刻的精致的图形和装潢，与周围的风景和建筑十分相宜。此阁有一个非常显著的悬挑部分，既让里面的人不受恶劣天气的影响，又有细致的涂漆以保护它不易腐朽。它的直角和轴心对称又显示出庄严的式样。这里是皇帝和他的侍臣作诗、绘画和欣赏风景等雅兴之用的去处。[46]

著名的圆明园四十景是于1744年完成和命名的，其中有十二景是乾隆于1736年登基之后才建造出来的。虽然雍正完成四十景当中的大部分，但乾隆继续大肆翻修所有名景。温文尔雅的乾隆对四十景中的每一景均给予一个讲究的名称，并有一首题咏的诗作，后来辑成《圆明园四十景图咏》。与文人雅士们在其私人园子中所为一样，乾隆皇帝也为他的宫苑景点选取优雅的名字和富有诗意的主题，来呈现独创景物如画般的形象。而且，这位自负的皇帝授命宫廷御用画家沈源和唐岱以及书法家汪由敦绘制两册长2.6英尺（约79厘米）、宽2.35英尺（约72厘米）的绢本彩绘，以呈现出所有四十景之令人叹为观止的风貌。

这套题诗彩绘被法国人在1860年的第二次鸦片战争中掠走，随后被发现收藏在法国巴黎的国家国书馆里。法国在1983年向中方赠送一套复制的彩色原图仿样。[47]至于由孙祜和沈源签章的同一个绢本彩绘的木刻版，则早在20世纪20年代就印制出版了。[48]

圆明园内的各个景点均可经由变化多端的路径抵达，这些路径刻意铺成多变的拐弯和蜿蜒状，[49]可能有风水的因素在里面——大概是认为邪灵只能直线走动，以至于会被蜿蜒的走道所阻挡。不过，拐弯和蜿蜒也是产生惊喜的要素。一条狭窄、曲折和幽暗的山路，看来会把游人带向尽头，但不久却会有一个豁然开朗的空间迎接他们；突然之间，他们会被雅洁的树丛、蓝天白云、飞禽、奇花异草和从高地涌出流水注入池塘等景象带来惊喜；顷刻之间，他们甚至可感受到远山吹来清柔的风。因此，曲折的路径可提升游人的兴致，去欣赏从一个点到另一个点连续呈现的景观。这种令人惊喜的因素阐释了“藏”跟“露”结合的艺术。在长春园北端的欧式建筑看上去像被墙垣和山丘藏于一角，在中式建筑群遮掩下，只有从远处才看得见高高的屋顶。但“藏”不是简单地用来传达“西式建筑无以破坏这个重要园林的和谐”，它也是用来制造惊喜的效果。

不同于散文或诗词里使用完全隐藏的技巧，“藏”的意义在园林里是要带出一个由隐至显、既保留又含蓄的表现，因此展开的景观不能一眼

就看到底。[50] 一个英国人在18世纪末参观过圆明园之后，就曾经记录下“藏”的效果，说是“在圆明园里的飞檐是要表现出建筑的雄伟印象，特别是从远处的树丛间窥看”[51] 。

除了路径之外，连接这座园林几乎每一个角落的运河网络，在动线上也起了相同的效果。有非常之多的游船和水艇在园里穿梭。历代清帝都喜爱泛舟水上游园。为了提高船队的运作，圆明园雇用船工、船库管理员和船只维修员的数目日渐增加。他们在园里居住和工作之后，就成了园林里的船户，成为侍候皇帝和皇家的众多侍从的一部分。[52]

圆明园本园的景观结构

这座帝王宫苑在福海完工之前的本园布局是正方形。它由三个主要的人工建筑群所组成，即行政建筑、皇家居住区和乡村景色的综合体，沿着中轴线由南往北伸展，另外还有非常之多的小区，遍布在这座巨大的宫苑之中。

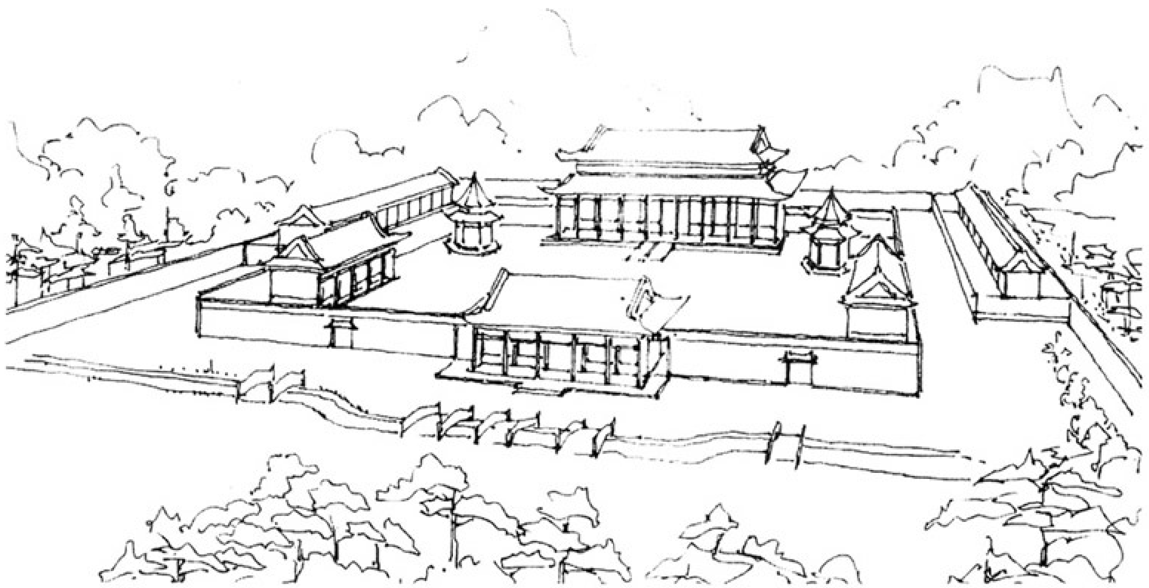
主要的入口处朝南的大宫门，是园里18个主要宫门的其中一个。在这道宫门的顶端挂着一幅木制匾额，刻有“圆明园”这三个由康熙亲笔书写的大字。在大宫门前面的中央是五楹宽的一大排房间，作为几乎所有主要政府部门（包括内阁、六部、翰林院、宗人府）的官员办公的地方。越过这道宫门就是二宫门或者叫“出入贤良门”，由在拱桥上跨过护城河的一对镀金龙守护着，在入口的两侧有供来人候旨的房间，这里也是皇帝每年校阅军队与比试射艺的地方。[53]

正大光明殿坐落在二宫门里的正中央位置，其名意谓伟大统治者之胸襟开阔。这部分的建筑是完全依照紫禁城里的主殿太和殿复制而成。这座主殿的外观以油漆和镀金来装饰，在层层交叠的屋檐下有铁丝织成的网来阻止飞鸟接近。

殿堂高129英尺（约39米），宽63英尺（约19米），有七根直径为2.9英尺（约84厘米）的原木柱子竖立在4英尺（约1.2米）高的圆形石墩上，在殿堂内有雍正皇帝御笔亲书的一副对联匀称地挂在两侧。由三级石阶登上石灰砖的地面，上面铺满约2英尺（60厘米）长、3英寸（8厘米）厚的方形大理石。主殿前面是一个开放式的庭院，两侧各有一座偏殿，而主殿的后方有一座石山像巨大的玉竹笔直竖立。这座殿堂是皇帝用来接见他的官员和外国贵宾以及摆设宴会的地方——特别是为皇帝寿辰等特别节庆而举办盛宴，也是进行科举殿试的场所。一般来说，这个

行政区以院墙围闭，形成很大一片禁区，正大光明殿是这个区的最主要结构。从里面看出去，可以欣赏到林阴如盖和花卉霏红叠紫等宜人景色。随着这座帝王宫苑的政治地位上升，这座主殿堂后来也需要增加两翼。东翼是给军机大臣每天处理政事的办公地方，而西翼就用作候旨的厢房。[54] 在乾隆皇帝的四十景里，这是他命名的第一处景观。

Zhengda Guangming Dian (Main Audience Hall). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
正大光明殿。王绰和郁欣白绘制。



往正大光明殿的东边走去，就是勤政殿，这是由许多殿堂组成的一个大庭院，富春楼在后面，芳碧丛在前面，中间夹着保和殿与太和正殿三楹。勤政殿是清代皇帝接见臣工、审阅奏章和简单用膳的地方，作用跟紫禁城里的乾清宫一样。在这个主要听政室内龙座后面的大屏风上，写了“无逸”两个大字，意思是勉励不要纵情逸乐。[55] 自雍正之后，这个地方就成为清朝皇帝用来处理国家大事的听政场所，乾隆给这个景点命名为“勤政亲贤”。

在这个听政场所的后面越过前湖，就是皇帝寝宫所在的“九州”，由九个小岛组成，围绕着200平方英尺（约19平方米）大的后湖，以桥连接。[56] 这个所谓的“九州”，明显出自儒家的《尚书》，指古代中国所了解的世界。雍正皇帝给这个地方命名为“九州”，是希望表示整个帝国是在四海之内，并象征天下和平与繁荣。我不认为雍正或乾隆以“九州清晏”作为“九州”的缩影是皇家宫苑的“落日余晖”。王毅误以为将无限的空间压缩在一隅是要把“芥子纳须弥”，[57] 象征帝王宏伟气象的丧失

。其实，创造“壶中天地”乃是非凡的艺术。这种设计不仅不会丧失宏伟的观瞻，正好符合帝王的远大世界观，也是中国园林艺术里最重要的美学内涵，让小小的人工建筑去表现无边际的大自然，不仅是天地的一部分，更是宇宙的一部分。

事实上，虽然许多经典的中国园林是划定有限的范围，但都有清晰的意图去创造无限空间的感觉。塑造宽敞空间的意象是园林艺术的基本精髓。压缩的效果若能从小见大，因近及远，乃是一种精巧的手艺。在圆明园里的“九州”恰好是这座雄伟的帝王宫苑之重要中心，象征着完整的中国世界，这种雄伟而非狭小的感觉正是经由象征主义传达出来的。

在“九州”南北轴线上的岛屿，容纳了三座由北向南排列的建筑群，分别是七楹宽的“九州清晏”、奉三无私殿和五楹宽的圆明园殿，面向前湖。这三座宫殿排列在大宫门的中轴线上。在这三大宫殿的东边矗立着“天地一家春”和“承恩堂”。承恩堂是后宫嫔妃的住所；在三大殿的西边是有名的清辉阁，在1737年到1860年之间，圆明园四十景的绢本彩绘就是挂在这里的北壁上。皇帝的寝宫夹在两个小湖的中间，也位于这个巨大的院落里，乾隆名之为“九州清晏”。[58] 从这个命名看得出乾隆皇帝希望在小宇宙里一窥天下。

在“九州”里的皇帝寝宫和后宫都是禁地，不过欧洲传教士王致诚神甫还是得以亲眼目睹。他发现这里“有所有可以想象到的美丽事物，像家具、装饰、绘画……（这里）有最珍贵的各种各样的木料、中国和日本的漆器、古代的陶瓷花瓶、丝绸和金丝银缕——所有这一切全都会聚在这里。艺术和高雅的品位为自然的美景锦上添花”[59]。1860年，当欧洲的侵略者抢掠这座宫殿时，一位英国军官看到这座皇家起居住所“墙上有很大的壁龛，帘帐垂盖，铺满丝绸垫子，用作睡床，一个倾斜的平台让皇帝可以走上去”。这个不列颠军官还看到枕头下“一条丝质手帕上，用朱砂笔记载着各种关于‘野蛮人’的介绍”；靠近床的桌子上有“一些烟斗和其他中式奢侈品”[60]。这个描述至少反映出咸丰时代皇帝起居室的摆设。

在“九州”上的第二个岛矗立着有名的牡丹台，后来乾隆把这处景观命名为“镂月开云”。它的主殿是用珍贵的楠木所建造，铺上华丽的金绿二色砖瓦，营造出金碧辉煌的外观。在这座主殿后面堂皇气派的楼座称为“御兰芬”。再往后是宽广的建筑综合体，中间是纪恩堂，往西走是养素书屋，往东走是栖云楼，[61] 这个景观的中心主题是牡丹。宋代大哲学家周敦颐称这种特别的花象征富贵和殊荣，康熙在他的宫苑里识别出

90种不同品种的牡丹。[62] 每一次牡丹花盛开的季节——通常是晚春时分，数以千计的花朵怒放，清朝的皇帝会亲临牡丹台去欣赏以庞大青松为背景的有如华丽锦绣般的风景，所以乾隆把牡丹台作为他最喜欢作诗的地方一点都不会让人感到意外。[63]

其余围成一圈的“九州”七岛是这样排列的：在后湖的东北角是“天然图画”，这也是坐落在这里的主建筑之名，位于正中，有左右两翼，西边包含了一阁一楼，而东边就包括了五福堂。在这个景观的前面，伸展出一个很大的庭院，它的特色是在竹林的中间有非常多的桐树。

从五福堂出来后，从一条平直的小桥上跨越小溪，就会抵达“碧桐书院”。它的主建筑朝南，包含了三楹宽的前宅、五楹宽的主殿和五楹宽的后殿。梧桐树整齐种植在院子四周，绿阴张盖，宅院显得好像被藏了起来。据说乾隆很爱到这里来聆听雨声，以激发他写诗的灵感。从“碧桐书院”往西走就是“慈云普护”，在它后方是独一无二的钟楼，再稍微往西一点，是一座三楹宽的主前院叫做“欢喜佛场”，面对后湖并朝向南方。在“慈云普护”北面的道士庐旁边是三层楼高的楼阁，里面供奉观音大士和关帝圣君。从“慈云普护”这座主殿往东走就是一座龙王殿，是用来供奉圆明园里名叫昭福的龙王。“慈云普护”这个名字很明显地是要保佑所有生灵的意思。[64]

离开这个有宗教味之地，通过一条石桥往西走，就到了“上下天光”。它的主建筑是眺望后湖的两层阁楼，乃是依照洞庭湖上著名的岳阳楼复制而来。这座楼的两侧延伸至两边的狭岸，就像垂虹驾湖，其中还建造了一座八角形的凉亭。在这座楼的后面是一座叫做“平安院”的小型庭院。这里是“九州”在西南方转往名为“杏花春馆”小岛的地方。

这座别馆是由杏花村、春雨轩、翠微堂、抑斋和镜水斋所组成，这组景观是由雍正下令建造，在乾隆时将之美化，并命名为四十景之一。乾隆喜欢在杏花盛开的晚春时节来到这里，他以“春深花发，烂然如霞”来形容这里的景色。[65]

“杏花春馆”所在的小岛是由碧澜桥连接到“坦坦荡荡”，“坦坦荡荡”的前院建筑有三个部分：素心堂在中间，知鱼亭在东北，双佳斋在西北。前院建筑的后面是“光风霁月”。这组景观的独特之处是有一个方形的鱼池，此池最得乾隆的欢心。他在诗里就引用庄子的话：“鲦鱼出游从容，是鱼之乐也。”[66] 在这个景观的南方，可以见到名为“茹古涵今”的小岛坐落在后湖的西南角，并由多座桥梁连接到主要的居住宅院和“长

春仙馆”。所有楼座、殿堂、画室都建造成很大的四方形，由许多宜人的回廊连接。乾隆在给这个景观命名的时候，曾引用唐代大诗人杜甫的诗句“不薄今人爱古人”[67]。有人认为，“九州”之岛的景观是四十景当中最漂亮的。

跨越“九州”往西走就是字楼，乾隆命之为“万方安和”，房子建于湖上，成字状。[68]由于房子是用坚固的砖块建成并有水环绕，所以冬暖夏凉，乾隆皇帝在此曾被秋月下字漂浮水面上下对映的金色倒影所吸引，这个金色倒影被称为“佛光普照”。其他外观具有宗教意义的风光景点，包括最著名的“月地云居”，由矮红墙和翠松包围环绕，隐藏在一个大操场的北端。其主建筑前方，面临一条小溪，后方依靠一座小山丘，这是皇室成员念经拜佛的理想之处。[69]

在字楼的北方正好是桃花坞，这个景观让人想起公元4世纪诗人陶潜（公元372—427）——即陶渊明——所虚构出来的著名传奇。在这个传奇里，有一个渔夫迷路后，发现一个叫做桃花源的世外天堂，在那里生活的人十分快乐，对外界一无所知。这个渔夫回到家之后讲述他的经历，但他再也找不到这个桃花源。这个失落的桃花源从此就赋予中国文人一个传奇乐土的乌托邦想法。圆明园里的桃花坞包含了一系列的殿堂和楼座。位于东北端的殿堂称为“桃源深处”，是雍正所建造，他非常欣赏巧妙的设计，并亲自为每一个楼阁的牌匾题写称号。乾隆为这个坞另取名为“武陵春色”，并把它选为四十景之一。[70]

大校场坐落在圆明园本园的西南角，设有一个检阅台和一大片平地，可供军队操练，乾隆命名为“山高水长”。越过“月地云居”来到西北角，是乾隆在1742年花了60万两白银完成的“鸿慈永祜”，主建筑叫做“安佑宫”，处在山径尽头正中，朝向南方。[71]

不同于许多圆明园内其他建筑，“鸿慈永祜”的建筑材料主要是石头和大理石。离大门有一段距离的地方，可以看到在牌坊前有两对华表[72]，顶部是淡黄色的琉璃瓦和檐。每一柱华表都有20英尺（约6米）高，彼此之间有大约100英尺（约305米）的距离，这些华表的四周有四个大理石护栏和一只石兽以及雕饰了龙、云和火焰的台柱。五条平行的大理石桥梁跨越护城河之后，就是三座用作屏饰的牌坊，坐落在宫门之前。每一座桥梁都有两只大约174厘米高的石麒麟（一种象征吉祥的中国独角兽），坐镇在98厘米高的石台上。[73]宫门通往主殿堂的淡红色外城高墙，上方是黄色琉璃瓦的屋顶，至于内城墙也是红色，配上黄色琉璃

瓦的屋顶。庭院里面的空间是用来等候觐见的地方。主宫门建在富丽堂皇的大理石平台上，可扶护栏拾级而上。另有一对桥梁横跨一条护城河。在宽广的庭院两侧是供宾客留宿的房间，院中有一对很大的香炉和两座有叠檐的亭子。主殿坐落在一个很大的大理石平台上，有五级石阶可拾级而上，石阶由青铜兽守护。位于中间精雕细琢的龙雕石阶，只有皇帝才能行走。乾隆命名为“鸿慈永祜”。

在此殿堂的内部，乾隆摆放了雍正和康熙的画像和牌位，以表达他对已经故去的父祖的追思。在乾隆死后，他自己的画像和牌位也由他的继位人摆放在这里以便纪念和供奉。清朝皇族非常重视这座殿堂；不过在园林当中建筑这样的大型宗庙，极为罕见。[74]

在“鸿慈永祜”的东边是“汇芳书院”。它由以下的建筑群组成：抒藻轩在前方，涵远斋在后方，随安室在西边，倬云楼在东边。从“汇芳书院”再往东走就是眉月轩，南面有一座名叫“断桥残雪”的露天建筑，处于一个凉亭和楼阁之间，约有三楹宽。[75] 这座断桥是由数十种不同形式的碎石建造出来，残存的部分桥身仍然可以在今天的遗址中看到。

在“汇芳书院”的下方是宗教建筑群，仿照北京著名的喇嘛寺庙雍和宫而建造，包含三个部分：西边是两排七楹宽的楼阁，由两道门廊连接；三排七楹宽的楼阁坐落在中间；东边是由三座具佛教风格庭院组成的瑞应宫。乾隆给这个佛教大院命名为“日天琳宇”。[76]

在宗教建筑群的东边是最大的景点，占地约12英亩（约73亩），颇有一些华丽的建筑，包括以九根柱子作为主要屋架的建筑，四周有山丘和小溪围绕。这个景点的特色是在浅水上漂浮着大量的莲花，对中国文人来说，宋代大儒周敦颐（号濂溪）曾写出为人赞扬的《爱莲说》，文章以莲花来比喻君子。乾隆很欣赏这篇文章，因此给这个景点命名为“濂溪乐处”，以显示他愿意厕身于许多有修养的君子当中。

根据文献上记载的路线再继续往东走，我们就会看到“水木明瑟”，那里有西式的水车把水引入室中。泠泠的水声附和着瑟瑟的木声，可以帮助皇帝达到仁与智的至高境界。[77]

在圆明园本园的北端附近有几处乡野的景色，雍正皇帝首先在园林里开辟农地，来提醒他自己有数以亿万的子民是过着农村的日常生活。皇帝陛下可以从凉亭上观察到农务是如何进行的。除稻田外，他后来又增设了养蚕场和织染坊。早在公元3世纪和4世纪的魏晋时期，中国的文人就透过整体园林的宏观设计与花卉和叠石的微观布置，来不断尝试寻

找他们自我独特的个性。有一些文人想表达他们非凡的抱负，另有一些人则想展现出他们纯洁、崇高或孤傲的个性。个性与品位长久以来被视为园林和园主的灵魂。雍正十分注意他的责任，勤奋政务和关怀人民的福祉。他有意在自己心爱的御园里建造农地景象，就是要表现出他关心子民以及强调他的仁政。皇帝很明显利用这个主题作政治宣言，来表示他是一个广大农业人口的正直的统治者，同时表现自己追求儒家的道德理想。

乾隆给五个乡野景点取名。紧贴在“水木明瑟”东南方，坐落着一幢外观呈巨大的中国象形文字“田”的房子，乾隆称之为“澹泊宁静”，旁边就是曙光楼。另外还有四个乡野景点：“多稼如云”附有几间小房子和一大片稻田；“映水兰香”是由稻田、织坊和鱼塘所组成；“鱼跃鸢飞”包含了几幢被溪流环绕的村舍；原名为“课农轩”的“北远山村”，拥有几排位于一条窄河两岸小而雅致的楼阁和宅第。[78]

在“北远山村”的东边冒出“坐石临流”，其中复制了一座位于浙江绍兴的著名的兰亭。兰亭是东晋大书法家王羲之（公元321—379）的庄园，他在里面与名士朋友结伴饮酒、练习书法和作诗。当他们在户外吟诗的时候，会坐在石上并把他们的酒杯放在旁边的小溪里，看哪一只杯子会浮在溪上顺流而下。[79] 亦有诗人之资的乾隆乐于重现王羲之的雅兴。其他用来充实这个景点的建筑包括清音阁和同乐园，后者是乾隆经常用膳的地方。紧贴这座兰亭和园林的是“曲院风荷”，乃是参照杭州西湖著名的莲花景而建，九孔桥则把这个巨大的长方形湖泊一分为二。3英里（约4.8公里）长的左岸也是仿照西湖著名的苏堤而建。[80] 这些景观都是乾隆下江南之后引入圆明园的。

“西峰秀色”坐落在圆明园本园的东北角，它是一座华丽的楼阁，特别为了雍正皇帝欣赏日落而设计。它的设计是要把壮观的日落山景带入轩爽明敞的西窗内，是“借景”技巧最佳的例子。事实上，正如雍正诗中所示，这个设计正是借取江西庐山著名的日落景色。[81] 在这座观景楼的东边是名为“涵远斋”的巨大建筑，四周玉兰树环绕，当花朵盛放之时，到处飘香。在这座礼堂的东北方是宜人的“花港观鱼”，用来观赏溪中无数的金鱼。在附近山脚处就是“三仙洞”，这是足以容纳两百人的宽广空间。[82] 乾隆把此景也列入他的四十景之内。

现在让我们再把视线转到圆明园宫门的东南边，就会发现有一座名叫“洞天深处”的幽静的小小园林。它是皇族学塾的园区，由几排藏于竹

林中的教室和宿舍所组成，杂植有兰花和松树。雍正和乾隆仍然是皇子的时候，就曾经在这里上过学。[83]

宫门的另一边就是“长春仙馆”，乾隆还是皇太子的时候就住在这里很多年。馆前有三楹宽的建筑，后面就是五楹宽的主建筑名叫“绿阴轩”，再往西走就是楼座、画室、礼堂、殿堂和厢房。在乾隆由皇太子弘历登基为皇帝后，他就让自己敬爱的母亲以此处为膳寝之所。[84]

环福海景色

兴建圆明园第二阶段的建筑，向东延伸至园内最大的湖，即著名的福海。这个方形湖每一边的长度大约是700米，它留给人们的印象是辽阔、宽广的湖面以及开放的感觉。由石壁支撑出来的湖岸构成碎裂的峭壁，那里有台阶通往半月形的露台，接着通向一条两旁布满盛开花朵与树木的林阴大道。在湖边周围的开放空间是日落之后观赏烟火的理想场所，每当烟火发射到黑暗的天际时，缤纷的色彩与形态万千的灯笼挂在数不清的建筑顶上。乾隆很喜欢在月圆之夜，坐在湖边观赏。据经常陪伴乾隆泛舟的法兰西传教士王致诚估计，环湖一周差不多是5英里（约8公里），并且认为这个湖是整个乐园中最漂亮的。[85]这个估算结果显然是王致诚的印象而非精准的测量，但毫无疑问的是，能营造出这种广阔的感觉是艺术上的一大成功。雍正皇帝首先把这个湖叫成“海”，就是要刻意达到夸张的目的。

“蓬莱洲”就在湖的中央，是仿唐代大艺术家李思训（公元651—716）笔下的神话所设计。自中国山水画从六朝萌芽以来，他跟吴道子一样，也是最有成就的山水画画家之一。[86]这一作画技巧给了山水画法一个三度空间的视野。蓬莱洲的设计者显然有周围地形和视野的考量，所以整个风景和建筑很巧妙地融合在景观四周的环境里。乾隆为四十景取名的时候，就把这座蓬莱洲命名为“蓬岛瑶台”。

蓬莱洲高出水面大约6英尺（约1.8米），由三个小岛组成，中间最大的一座岛名叫“仙人承露台”。这座台观的地形是正方形，总共有12座美观的楼阁，主要是北边的镜中阁、东边的畅襟楼和在西边用来进行佛教或道教仪式的“极乐世界”。位于东南边的小岛叫做“瀛海仙山”，位于西北边的另一个小岛就是“北岛玉宇”。“蓬岛瑶台”这座大院有四面，每一面都可以一览湖上缤纷楼阁的闪耀倒影，让整个视野看来非常壮丽。每一幢人工建筑在雾山之中若隐若现，以符合神话中的景象。传教士王

致诚完全陶醉在这一情境当中，他把瑶台比作湖上一块巨石，身置其中，“个中美妙与滋味无法用语言来表达”。他又说：

> 从这里你可以见到，所有宫殿以适当的距离遍布在这个福海沿岸的周围；所有山丘都伸展到此；所有溪流会聚在一起，不是溪水流向这里，就是这里的水流向溪涧；所有桥梁不是在溪头就是在溪尾；所有凉亭和壮观的牌楼装点着这些桥梁；所有种植出来的树丛是用来区隔和装饰不同的宫殿，并避免住在里面的人会互相被窥视。[87]

这座蓬莱洲只有坐船才能到达，雍正就经常带领他喜欢的皇族和官员在湖上泛舟。他的龙船建造得非常华丽。皇帝的龙船后面常有30艘船跟着前进。乾隆更喜爱泛舟的乐趣，他于每年的端午节在这里举办盛大的龙舟竞赛。[88] 王致诚有幸常陪伴皇帝在蓬莱洲欣赏这个特别的庆典。他看到许多华贵而光鲜的船只在湖上,功用各异：“有时候是用作休憩；有时候用来垂钓；有时候用作对阵、战斗及其他消遣。”[89] 在1860年的夏天，咸丰皇帝最后一次享受在湖中泛舟之乐，因为在四个月之后，外国的侵略军就摧毁了他的御园。[90]

在福海周围，最令人印象深刻的是乾隆皇帝在1740年完成的“方壶胜境”。此景坐落在湖的东北角，前面是迎薰亭，乃“方壶胜境”的主建筑，是一对配上金色琉璃瓦的楼阁——东边的那一座是锦绮楼，西边的一座是翡翠楼，就像一双臂膀往外伸展。在这两座楼阁的后面由装饰华丽的大门和庭院圈出一个非常大的空间，庭院内布满了松树、玉兰花、一般的树木和焚香炉。在圈地的前方是一座鲜艳的殿堂，夹在东面的紫霞楼和西面的碧云楼之间。

围绕着这个小区的是琼华楼，夹在千祥殿和万福阁的中间。在这个小区的东边是蕊珠宫，宫的南面是一座船坞和龙王庙。在“方壶胜境”内多幢建筑物的梁柱都被漆上暗红色并以绿色、白色和蓝色来衬托，将白色大理石同蓝色的湖水鲜明地区分开来。

“方壶胜境”西边是从杭州西湖借景而来的“三潭印月”，在水面上会产生三个月亮的影子，这个景观的整体设计明显地具有道教的神秘气息。事实上，从乾隆自己的描述可知，其本意是在陆上创造一方人间仙境，便无须寻求秦始皇求而未得的海外天堂。[91]

从“方壶胜境”往西走就是“平湖秋月”，是另一个从杭州西湖复制而来的景观。乾隆皇帝复制这个景观是因为他要在八月中旬清朗的月圆之

夜欣赏湖上明亮的金色倒影。若皇帝离此往西走，他就会进入位于福海西北角的“廓然大公”。这个景点包括了也是叫“廓然大公”的七楹宽主建筑以及环秀山房、双鹤斋、临湖楼和一个大池塘。在福海南端的西岸建有“澡身浴德”，内中有一座三楹宽朝东的澄渊榭，两侧分别是“含清晖”和“涵妙识”。位于澄渊榭北边的第一座建筑是环顾福海的“望瀛洲”，然后见到的是“深柳读书堂”。[92]

在福海的南岸有一个很大的景观叫做“夹镜鸣琴”，乾隆取材自李白（号青莲居士）的诗，把两个紧邻一起的湖泊形容为一对镜子。[93] 的确，大湖在一边，而小的内湖则在另一边，中间长而狭窄的堤岸将这一人工创造的景观一分为二。主建筑是一座鲜艳的凉亭，坐落在长而直的湖堤上。湖堤两端连接着两个小岛，因而在堤后围出一个水面。凉亭在两边水面的倒影产生出极佳的景色。在凉亭南面跨越一道水面的地方高耸着聚远楼。从南面看过去，笔直的岸边看起来就像被U形的堤岸弄弯曲了。

岸东边的小岛有一座悬瀑假山，在附近的广育宫和南面的凝祥殿都可以听到琮的瀑布声。广育宫东边的山上有一口著名的钟，是从杭州西湖附近南屏山上著名南屏晚钟复制而来。这口钟完全依照原物的形状和大小所制造。[94] 根据一则传奇的故事，当这口复制钟第一次安放在这里的时候，它的声音没有预期的洪亮，但圆明园里有一个机灵的年轻工匠，在钟的旁边挖了一口很深的井，这个布局提高了声音的共鸣。之后，乾隆即使在“九州”的寝宫内，也能清晰地听到钟声。[95]

在福海的东南角是一个名为“别有洞天”的景观，主建筑有五楹宽，周围环绕着一个“绝尘器”的庄墅建筑群，包括了相当著名的纳翠楼、水木清华以及时赏斋。[96] 在福海的东岸是被乾隆命名为“接秀山房”的几座馆舍，主要的建筑差不多有三楹宽，紧接着下面的览翠亭和上面的寻云楼，以及后方的澄练楼和怡然书屋。“接秀山房”背后依山，隔岸临湖，这里日出时的浮雾和日落西山时的昏影，是最为乾隆所欣赏的。[97]

福海东岸的北端有一群湖畔房舍名为“涵虚朗鉴”，这个优雅的名字也是它的主建筑的名字。跟其他被命名的景点一样，此景也引用唐诗里的典故，把清澄的湖比喻成明澈的镜子以自我反省。这个景观还包括了一座名为“雷峰夕照”的楼座，上面挂有写着“涵虚朗鉴”的牌匾。楼座之西北可见一座叫做“惠如春”的四方形建筑，以及位于东北边与之相连的寻云榭和贻兰亭。[98]

环绕着福海这个大湖的所有景点，在虚实之中产生了迷人的诗意。“实”指的是建筑实体，而“虚”则来自思想，衍生并创造了真实。不过，在中国园林艺术里的“虚”不是完全抽象，而是园林营造学里捉摸不定、含蓄以及有所保留的要素。如果“实”是看得见的形式，“虚”则是模模糊糊的内涵。因此在寻找想象中的景色时，实与虚的交互作用是任何中国园林设计者所必须具备的认识论。从这个观点来看，被特别命名的圆明园四十景，给这种交互作用提供了一个最好的例证。

王致诚神甫是在完成四十景取名前一年就来到圆明园，他看到“一片阔地上的众多雅致可爱的房舍”，还有“20英尺至60英尺（约6米至18米）高的山丘”，自然而然形成许多“村落”。这些村落在王致诚的笔下应该就是那些被命名的景点。他还看到许多“清溪”流向或大或小的湖泊里，并且在运河当中有一艘壮观的大船，“78英尺（约24米）长，24英尺（约7米）宽，上面有非常华丽的楼座”。还有“不同的殿堂、开闭的门廊、花圃、园林和瀑布——统而观之，赏心悦目”，让他印象深刻。他估计组成四十景的建筑群超过两百幢，如此雅致的地方不曾在欧洲见过。他认为圆明园绝对是“真正的人间天堂”[99]。

圆明园的扩充

乾隆皇帝在1744年，从圆明园里选出一系列多彩多姿的景点命名为四十景后，曾经认为他的御园工程已经完成。但事实上，乾隆要建造更多园子的热情才刚刚开始，除了承德避暑山庄和扬州瘦西湖之外，他大大扩充了圆明园，最后形成数十个小园林和独立的景观。虽然每一个景点都有其独特的风格和主题，但并没有因此而损害全园的整体性。一个景区跟另一个景区重叠，而重叠处又从一个景区半开放、半闭合地递进到另一个景区，因此产生出不断连续和结合的印象。很明显地，当皇帝难以自制、无法停止无休止的园林建筑，没有人敢制止他；而更重要的是，乾隆在位时帝国仍然相当富裕，足以满足或合理化他对园林的追求。

长春园的兴建

1749年标志着圆明园大扩充的开始，就在这一年圆明园向东边开拓了1059英亩（约6428亩）的土地，建成后取名长春园，因乾隆童年时曾长期住在"长春仙馆"。

这座巨大的别馆完全根据蓝图建造，成为园林历史上最包罗万象和最奢华的单件工程。乾隆说需要一个退位后的居所，因为他希望在85岁也就是登基满60年的时候逊位。不过，长春园在1751年完工时，距乾隆退位的日子还有四十多年，从完工的那一年开始到乾隆退位，长春园就成为圆明园内极重要的部分。既然这座别具风格的园林是为了皇帝退位而建造，所以整个设计是强调享乐。那些迷人的、带有道家色彩的建筑群在圆明园本园极少见，而多见之于长春园。

如果说圆明园本身是一座水景园，那长春园就更配得上水景园这个名称了。它的设计以很大的活水空间为主，利用水的空间区分为许多不同形状的小岛和沙洲，彼此之间由多座桥梁和堤岸互相连接。里面的建筑由水磨村东边一大片开阔土地上的含经堂和淡怀堂开始。这里靠近圆明园的东门，即著名的明春门。为了让长春园看来像一座帝王宫苑，堂皇的前门有五楹宽，还有一对麒麟竖立在汉白玉的座台上。与圆明园本园的前门一样，[100] 长春园里的宫门外也都有两翼的官署。不过，这座堂皇的宫门很少使用，因为明春门就直接连接圆明园里的东西两个区域

，从明春门穿行对皇帝和他的侍从来说较为方便。

从这个前门往前踏进院内，立即进入眼前的是九楹宽的淡怀堂及其双排侧殿，南长河就在正殿的后面。在这座殿堂的西边就是一座差不多有40米长的十孔石桥，即跨越南长河的长春桥。过了此桥就是一座位于中央的岛，乃长春园内最大的岛，上面有很大的庭院建筑，可以比拟“九州清晏”的规模，几乎占整个长春园的一成面积。庭院内的一双主建筑是南面的含经堂和北面的蕴真斋。这个建筑群被青山和缤纷花丛所包围，创造出一个安宁的环境，其中东、南和西三个方向都有一片色彩鲜艳的牌楼，每座牌楼都夹处于矮墙之间。含经堂是一片巨型的建筑群，由大大小小共480座建筑所组成，包括了厨房、仓库、厢房和走廊，分明是皇帝在长春园里的寝宫。乾隆视之为他休憩、阅读、诵经念佛、祈求安宁以及繁忙一天后沉思的理想所在。[101]

蕴真斋的前面则由一对以汉白玉雕出的石狮子镇守着，并且在两侧各连接着一排厢房。1773年乾隆在这里放置了《四库全书荟要》，是煌煌巨著《四库全书》的浓缩版本，因此这座书斋亦被称作“味腴书屋”。这座雅致的小型藏书楼在1860年，跟圆明园内用来保存《四库全书》的文源阁一起灰飞烟灭了。[102]

含经堂和蕴真斋由一座巨大的庭院分隔开来，乾隆在庭院内建造了独一无二的淳化轩来摆放最珍贵的碑刻，许多碑刻都放在连接这两座主建筑的长廊墙壁上展示。这些珍藏的碑刻，都是一流名家的手迹，通常是供临摹的对象，很明显地是为了取悦乾隆，因为他自己本身也是十分有素养的书法家。[103]

长春园内这座最大的中央岛两侧有两座小岛，在西侧的岛上建立了思永斋，它是一座巨大的、有各式各样建筑的庭院，连接着东侧的“小有天”。它的主建筑也叫思永斋，五楹宽，两翼走廊面对开阔的大湖，并连接到一座三楹宽的殿堂，其中有许多厅房展示大量无价的青铜古器。这座殿堂的北边面对着远风楼，再往北走就是八角形的游廊，配上精雕的白色栏杆，游廊通向一座有八角形金鱼池塘的庭院。[104] 为了展示精心布局的匀称，在中央岛的东侧也有一座相对应的建筑叫做“玉玲珑馆”。这座玉玲珑馆的平面图显示出两个由走廊连接的迥异建筑：东边是自然的造型设计，西边则是长条形的设计。东边的住处包含了一个巨大的曲线形状的大理石浴池，乃特别为乾隆沐浴而建造。在这座复合建筑的东南边建筑了一座非凡的、被环山包围的映清斋，其中几幢建筑之

间都由长而蜿蜒的游廊所连接。[105]

中央岛上有三座主建筑，分别是含经堂、淳化轩和蕴真斋，南北轴向，跨越大湖到一个让人印象深刻的高耸岛屿。这座岛另有个建筑群，包括了南面的翠交轩、爱山楼和北面的泽兰堂。在泽兰堂的西侧竖立着几座颇有特色的庙宇，特别是法慧寺，寺中有73.5英尺（约22米）高、以鲜艳琉璃瓦建造的宝塔，高大的塔楼坐落在巨大的汉白玉台阶上。在殿堂和楼阁之间以庭院与走廊连接。[106]还有一些格外用心的设计让人工打造出来的背景看来浑然天成：石桥、洞穴、椅子乃至于人造瀑布都可以在周围种满松树的斜坡上找到。[107]由于这个地方的位置高，所以能鸟瞰整座长春园。

长春园内最壮观的建筑应是“海岳开襟”，坐落在中央岛西边的长方形湖泽里的一个圆岛上，外观金碧辉煌。整座复合建筑坐落在两层的圆形台阶上，下面一层的台阶直径大约有80米长，周边由汉白玉的栏杆围着，无论哪一个方向都很靠近水边；上面一层的台阶直径大约是70米长，在台阶上竖立了一座三层的四方形的亭子，亭顶配有黄色的琉璃瓦。其外观与紫禁城中的天坛相似，而在此处则有如一幢灿烂的建筑坐落在巨型玉碗上。这里有许多精美的建筑，仿如隐于各种各样的石榴树间。从远处观看，这些建筑就像空中楼阁，近看又像是一个仙境。[108]每当5月花开的时候，花海就产生红白锦绣般的迷人景色。在亭子的东边是一面巨大的池塘，池塘的周边垂柳环绕，到了夏天，池中布满盛放的莲花。[109]

由“海岳开襟”的东边跨过一条狭窄的水道，就是长山岛仙人台，是一座大约350米长、20米宽的方砖建筑，几乎是两层楼的高度，且有玉雕楼梯通往仙人台。到处都是百日红、芳香的夹竹桃、石榴树、木槿、棕榈和松树，特别是白皮松更密集种植，树阴张盖。在这个仙人台的顶端建有一座十字形的凉亭，配有金铜色的亭顶和黄色的琉璃瓦，亭内有一尊巨大的观音像，旁边伴有12个小雕像。在凉亭的周围，山丘南北两面离地的花坛中种满大朵的牡丹，在春天里形成一片美丽的景观。

由“海岳开襟”的西边跨过一条水道就是漂亮的“流香渚”，它的外观是金色柱子、叠檐和四角的凉亭，竖立在一座周围有雕饰栏杆的汉白玉台阶上。在凉亭的外面种了非常多的石榴树，在5月盛开的时节里，构成一幅红白相间的花色刺绣。在凉亭东边的湖面上布满看似一望无际的莲花，而岛上的整个布局平添鲜明的道家仙境的感觉。[110]显而易见，

流香渚与“海岳开襟”和长山岛仙人台形成东西轴向，按照近代园林建筑师的看法，这足可以代表这座帝王御园最巧夺天工的部分。现今能够看到圆明园地图让我们知道皇帝和他的侍从游走的大概路线。他们可能经过蜿蜒的路从福海东岸，通过分隔长春园和圆明园本园的明春门，就立即可以看到这个壮观的景象。

在长春园内还有许多其他的建筑，不少是乾隆多次下江南游历时，将具有魅力的园林和景点绘图仿制。乾隆遍访了著名的江南园林。事实上，他随时都带着工匠和艺术家，他们负责仿绘乾隆皇帝喜爱并打算于在建的长春园内重建的园林建筑。乾隆经常要求园林的设计者仿制整座江南园林。最后，至少有五座完整的江南园林在长春园内仿建（参见第四章）。

坐落在长春园东南角的如园，就是依照以假山和土石为特色的南京瞻园的样式来建造的，但它比瞻园还要大得多。如园的胜景位于东边，里面的大池塘把北边的殿堂和南边的楼阁划分开来。在池塘的东边耸起一座七米高的人造山丘，在山脚下的两侧有多座亭子，在台阶顶端一面可以看到长春园，而另一面能看到南边墙外的郊野景色。在台阶下是数以百计不同颜色的珍贵牡丹。在池塘的西边有很多石造假山与洞穴，在这座假山的顶端建造了清瑶榭，面对着含碧楼。一座六角形凉亭的南面可见惟绿轩，清瑶榭的北面是七楹宽的延清亭，亭西是含翠轩。从这座殿堂的凉台上北望，可以看到600米外的湖泊和山丘，因此这座小庭园虽然孤立在大范围之内，却进一步善用了“借景”的技巧。[111]

淡怀堂之旁有茜园，包含了朗润斋、湛景楼和菱香片，在空间、水泽、岸边以及1.2英亩（差不多100米长和50米宽）土地上的建筑等布局，在设计上很细致地采用了江南的技术。一条向东流的小河上，优雅讲究的拱桥、曲桥和三孔石桥各一横跨而过。以精巧假山山石组成的河岸，支撑了类似城门的建筑，加上水面上各种植物，予人一种愉悦的野趣。这座庭园里还有花圃、小树和数千条锦鲤在大池塘里游水。

在庭园里面，朗润斋的西边竖立了一块珍贵的秀绿湖石。乾隆在1752年从杭州荒废的南宋皇宫里取得这块石头，命名为“青莲朵”，并把它列为这座特别园林的八景之一。[112]乾隆皇帝十分喜爱这块石头，他写了至少四首诗来颂扬它，其中一首写道：

刻削英英陆地莲，
一举提示色空禅；

飞来鹫岭分明在，
幽赏翻因意歉然。[113]

“小有天”在思永斋的东北边，是乾隆于1751年探访汪之萼，参观杭州南屏著名的石园别墅后仿制而来，它是一座小巧紧凑的庭园，布满花卉、山丘、洞穴和人工瀑布。在长春园的东北角是狮子林，是根据最受赞誉的奇石园林苏州黄氏涉园所仿制而来，文献记载它是在1342年由天如禅师维则所设计，乾隆曾经在1762年出巡到这里。最受瞩目的元代艺术家倪瓒（1301—1374）为这座园林绘出非常美丽的画像后，更增添了它的名气。[114]

早在苏州黄氏涉园兴起之前，宋代学者叶梦得（1077—1148）已经在浙江省湖州的老家建造著名的石林。不过，既然石林早已消失无存，涉园当然成为乾隆建造石林的最佳模范。狮子林占地2.2英亩（约13亩），在西边布置非常之多的房舍，而东边布满许多奇石。人工建筑的部分包括了后面的养月亭、花骤馆以及向东通往石林的横碧轩。如同乾隆自己所说的，假山奇石是这座石林的重要主题，他亲下御旨从苏州召来最好的工匠把奇石堆叠成一座假山石林，务求跟苏州的狮子林一模一样。这项任务显已达成，因为乾隆看到长春园里的狮子林立即想起南巡所见。[115]

鉴园是一座被水环绕而自成一角的小型园林，位于如园北边经精心设计而成的紧凑区域，包含了许多大型人工建筑。有24间厢房的大殿往两侧延伸出许多回廊。两层楼高的藏书楼称为万源阁，是珍贵书刊、绘画和书法的收藏室。三楹宽的桐阴书屋有围着汉白玉栏杆的鱼池，在这鱼池北边的回廊可通往一个复合的建筑群，包括益寿轩、古月轩和自省斋，都具有江南园林的色彩。部分楼阁的倒影可以在长河上看到，乾隆因而很喜欢到这里来阅读、思考和冥想，更希望退位后能多在这里盘桓。

从鉴园越过长河，有一条山路通往映清斋，由几条走廊连接到几座楼阁。紧挨在鉴园后面的是一座船坞，作为许多园内舟艇之用。根据《大清会典》的记载，这些船都各自有一个优雅的名字，诸如“载月舫”、“飞云楼船”等。围绕在山丘之中，整个布局就给人隐秘和幽静的感觉。在映清斋的西北端越过一道曲桥是一个四面环山的湖，里面有一座大岛，岛上有精致的玉玲珑馆。[116]

江南的奇石是最好的，乾隆决意要取得个中上品。叠石造山作为一

种艺术形式，自中国园林建造之初，就已开始。跟西方或日本庭园里的石头和岩礁不同，中国的叠石造山往往是绘画、诗题或世外野趣的再创。经过水侵蚀作用而成的石灰岩，以深刻、陡峭和千奇百怪的形态而闻名。最好的石材来自太湖，名为“太湖石”，这些太湖石通常是白色、蓝色和青绿色三种，经过好几个世纪在湖底不断冲刷和洗涤之后，就呈现多孔、瘦削和奇形怪状，因此造型最好的太湖石是来自湖的最底层。潜入湖中并用粗重的绳子把太湖石捞起，是中国古代唯一能取得石头的方式。除了太湖石之外，至少还有15种其他类型的石头，通常是以最先发现的地点来命名。[117]

我们也可以注意到，布石艺术强调适当的陪衬才能展现出外形和线条，以便于跟周围的建筑和天然景色作对照。每一个园林的主人都万分热衷于优美的奇石，对他们所拥有的奇石都感到十分自豪。虽然有人追求巨大的奇石，也有人崇尚纤细，但他们都欣赏奇石的坚挺，并习惯给他们所拥有的奇石人格化，把自然的生命灌入冷冰冰的人为创造里。中国园林的爱好者通常将他们喜欢的奇石视为让人陶醉的伴侣，甚至是令人钦佩的豪杰。事实上，他们往往把感情一点点地注入他们所喜欢的奇石里。

明代作家张岱曾经在旷野上看到一块10英尺（约3米）高、20英尺（约6米）宽的白色石头，并觉得它“痴，痴妙”；他还看到一块8英尺（约2.4米）宽、15英尺（约4.6米）高的黑色石头，看来“瘦，瘦妙”。[118]同样地，清代学者梁章钜找出奇石的三种显著特性，分别是透、皱和瘦。宋徽宗十分纵情于奇石，竟甘冒引起民愤的危险也要从江南把许多珍贵但沉重的所谓“花岗岩”奇石，运往他在开封的宫苑，以至于使大运河上舟船拥挤不堪。[119]

把石料变为成功的假山，需要建造出酷似郊外野山的山丘。这就是为什么陈从周会说，很难在叠石时使其有沉重感与毫无雕琢痕迹，更难的是要使假山带有原始的淳朴。[120]淳朴的意义就是符合自然，看不出人工雕琢的痕迹或不自然的设置，奇石匠师李渔坚持认为，从一定的距离外观看，假山要宛如真山一样。[121]

假山的主要结构包括峰顶山脊、山涧沟壑、阶地小径、桥梁瀑布，所有这些都是强调无止境的变化、清晰的线条和三维空间的表现。[122]由于长春园占据一大片平坦的土地，假山在整个园林的规划中就特别重要。大规模清理湖里的淤泥，挖出来的大量的泥土和疏松的土壤，就用

来创造园内多达50座人造假山。山脊并不很高，大约只有10米到15米左右。广植树及整合假山与湖泽为一体，以尽量避免人为的痕迹。[123]

奇石和假山毫无疑问是中国园林不可或缺的元素。随着乾隆一次又一次南巡江南，带回来江南的艺术精华，在长春园内创造了大量的奇石和假山。不过，在长春园内建造江南式园林的过程当中，设计者于仿制之余力求创新，运用许多巧思去转变或提升原来的设计及其意涵。举例来说，从杭州寺院的景点仿制而来的“溪中鱼”主题，原先仅仅是表达佛家的慈悲，让鱼儿自由自在地在溪流里游水；而在长春园内的仿制品却把它扩大到与皇帝的仁慈精神相结合。更多时候，仿制的建筑之美反而胜过原来的设计。乾隆对他的园林成果非常满意，曾骄傲地自问：“何必更羡吴江？”他不再想念江南了，因为他不可思议地把许多漂亮的江南风光转移到他的皇家园林里了。[124] 事实上，跟圆明园本园的部分相比，长春园更像一座游乐园。长春园的布局和筹划莫不符合乾隆皇帝个人的品位，以满足他的喜好。

中国的凡尔赛宫

长春园里的欧式宫殿和园林称为“西洋楼”，亦称为中国的凡尔赛宫。它横跨长春园的北端，乃由乾隆所建最特殊的园林工程。在乾隆以前，中国很早就曾经采取外国的建筑方式，至迟在唐朝时，中亚就已经影响到中国的建筑。在蒙古人创立的欧亚帝国之下，基督教的影响已经出现在元朝的大都，即今天的北京。随着公元17世纪广东对外贸易体系的开始，西式的商业建筑和民宅也已经在广东建造，更不要说公元16世纪以来在澳门出现的葡萄牙式建筑。然而，乾隆无疑是第一个在帝王宫苑里容纳大量欧式建筑的中国统治者。

欧式宫殿的范围占地达65英亩（约395亩）之广，长约750米，宽约70米，许多建筑是以巴洛克风格为主。[125] 根据最新的勘查显示，早年莫里斯·亚当估算为300米长、100米宽的数字是不准确的。[126] 整个设计很认真地依据欧洲模式，包括巨柱、大理石栏杆和玻璃窗在内的欧式材料都被广泛地使用。不过，东方的特色在这座西式建筑里并没有消失，还是可以看到浅红色的砖墙、鲜艳的琉璃瓦、中式的装饰品和装潢、太湖石及竹亭等。

乾隆之所以有兴趣建造这座西式的壮丽园林，最先可能是被耶稣会教士献上的西方绘画中之奇特的欧式喷水池所吸引。喷水池是古代西方

的喜好，到了公元17世纪，在法国和意大利极受欢迎。当然，圆明园本园中（如“水木明瑟”）已经有几座喷水池，但都不够壮观。

很可能在乾隆宫廷内侍奉的意大利和法国耶稣会传教士尝试以壮观的西式喷水池来讨好乾隆。乾隆曾经要求郎世宁（1688—1766，米兰出生的耶稣会传教士兼画家，在他27岁那一年，即1715年，抵达中国）绘画意大利和法国式的宫殿与喷水池，让他在长春园内建造。郎世宁就呈给乾隆一幅迷人的巴洛克式建筑，让人想起布罗米尼设计的风格。[127]乾隆后来要求神甫蒋友仁（1715—1774，从1744年之后就一直留在中国）的帮助，所幸他具备数学和水力学的知识，让他能够为这位清朝皇帝完成喷水池的模型，满心喜悦的乾隆立即授权这两位传教士开始建造。

不过，要容纳多座喷水池需要巨大的巴洛克式宫殿建筑来配合，可是郎世宁跟蒋友仁都不是专业的建筑师。然而，他们却成功地把一系列的欧洲壮丽建筑转移到长春园内。参与建造的欧洲教士专家有王致诚、艾启蒙（1708—1780），还有建筑师利博明（生卒年不详）。植物学家戴卡维（1706—1757）帮助绘画这座园林的布局，神甫杨自新（1703—1766）制作由郎世宁设计的钢栏杆。为了完成这项工程，这些外国传教士被允许在园内自由行走。他们十分认真地工作，无视酷热、雨天、刮风和灼人的骄阳。[128]他们主要依赖他们从欧洲带来的书中的版画，或者向北京的三个基督教机构借阅书籍。

参与建造西洋楼的，还有大量的中国建筑师、工程师和石匠。他们虽然不熟悉外国建筑，但在两位耶稣会神甫的指导之下，为成功完成这项工程作出他们的贡献。真正了不起的是，几个欧洲的外行人完成了这项任务，并且满足了中国皇帝的趣味。[129]现代的西方专家也许并不完全认同或欣赏西洋楼的建筑，但这些欧式建筑能适合于这座中国帝王庭园，已是难能可贵。事实上，在混合欧式与中式风格上，勒诺特尔式宫殿对圆明园整体的一致性并无负面的影响。这项巨型建筑工程的造价肯定很高，但在乾隆时代无论是皇帝个人或整个国家的财力都相当殷实，所以钱财并不成问题。

根据蒋友仁的记述，当第一座面向湖泽的西式建筑于1747年建造出来时，乾隆对这座建筑非常满意。[130]两层高的蓄水楼位于铺好路面的庭园里，主楼的两侧由长而弯曲的连廊连接着两座镶了玻璃的附属建筑。乾隆特别喜欢巴洛克风格建筑那种具有动力和震撼的外观，他可以在两边任何一幢建筑内，观赏位于主楼前面、有14个喷水装置、巨大而鲜艳的喷水池。在附属建筑内，他则可以欣赏来自蒙古和中国回疆等地别

具风情的音乐演奏。西洋楼的第一阶段工程在1751年正式完成，乾隆把最先出现的这组西式建筑群命名为“谐奇趣”。[131]

从这里往西建造了养雀笼，以饲养孔雀和外国珍禽。在配有镂花锯图案的精美铁门旁边，笼的墙壁上画满小船和雉鸡。养雀笼的东边，在半月形的墙壁中央有高起的雕饰闸门，围着用汉白玉雕成的喷水池。再往北走至庭园的末端，就是可以通往大迷宫的花园门。

迷宫是欧洲的发明，其中一个最早期的迷宫就在埃及的米瑞斯湖旁边，它是公元前23世纪国王阿曼尼哈特三世设计出来的陵墓。在公元15世纪晚期，迷宫就成为园林的装饰，那个时候迷宫是文艺复兴时期意大利别墅园林里常用的元素。到了16世纪和17世纪，只有少数的大型欧洲园林是没有迷宫的。

长春园内的迷宫建在南北轴线的正中央，左右对称，是近乎完美的长方形，由5英尺（约1.5米）高的雕花灰砖墙所围，并由纤细的松树所环绕，那些松树看来应该是在砖墙建成之前就已经被栽种在那里了。迷宫的砖墙外面环以壕沟，沟上设桥，四面各一，连接着迷宫四面的入口。位于迷宫中央的主建筑是一座朝南的八角亭，筑在由弧形阶梯垫高的平台上以俯视这座庭园。在北边的副建筑是以汉白玉建造的楼阁，它俯瞰着迷宫，其中摆放着会唱歌的机械鸟，也就是大型的音乐盒，这是由一位欧洲人带到中国来献给清朝皇帝以讨其欢心的。凉亭楼阁的设计和雕刻都富有鲜明的欧洲特色。在迷宫墙外，有一座小型凉亭坐落在偏北的小山丘上。

在迷宫里面，有九个大小不同的正圆，代表着天地四方的六合世界以及过去、现在与未来。在迷宫的中央部分，每一个方形广场的四角都会放置一盆绿植，象征中国的世界观。南北两个闸门是依据南北轴线排列而成一行，把主建筑和庭院一分为二。一般来说，迷宫从前门进入到后门，有三个层次：花园的闸门、跨越小溪的桥和进入迷宫的内部入口。[132]

对于乾隆来说，每年农历八月十五日欢度中秋节是十分重要的事，他会在迷宫里看到上万个不同造型的灯笼，即著名的黄花灯。一排排的宫女手持灯笼，来回走动时就像数不清的萤火虫。皇帝坐在迷宫中的龙座上，然后皇帝的嫔妃和特别的宾客会进入迷宫，摸索着穿过迷宫中的死胡同、迂回的弯道和互相交叉的岔路来到皇帝的跟前。当他们成功抵达时，皇帝就会很高兴地赐给他们糕点果品并开怀大笑。在日落之后，

黄花灯就照亮黑暗的夜空，闪烁之间就像数不清的金色星星。[133]

完成欧洲部分的第二阶段工程后来又花了八年时间，刚好赶上庆祝乾隆的50岁生日。在养雀笼东边建起来的新月形宫殿建筑，由壕沟环绕，配有大理石栏杆，被命名为“方外观”，于1759年完工。铜制的户外阶梯从建筑的二楼往下延伸，两道刻上阿拉伯文字的4英尺（约1.2米）高石碑摆放在它的主殿堂上。虽然这两道石碑已经不见踪影，不过它们的拓本仍然被留存下来。

1760年4月，将军兆惠平定回疆凯旋的时候，把一名漂亮的回部女子带回京城献给乾隆，即著名的香妃。香妃就是住在这里，并把她居住的这座宫殿改名为“清真寺”，她和追随她身边的教徒们每个星期五都会在此做例行性的礼拜。[134]清真寺的前门面对着一座有精美栏杆的大理石桥，跨越一道壕沟并连接到一座名叫竹亭的雅致小花园。这座于1770年完成的凉亭以鲜艳的玻璃和贝壳作为装饰，并由隐秘的走道连接到另一座凉亭。[135]

往东边走，越过一道树丛，建有一座楼前置有喷水池的大型宫殿建筑，即著名的“海晏堂”，这座庭院的正式命名最迟不会晚于1781年的春天。[136]撇开它的巴洛克式建筑的细节不说，主殿堂的建筑布局马上让人联想到凡尔赛宫的“荣誉院”。[137]在巨大的玻璃天花板之下，设有一个180平方米、养了金鱼的巨大蓄水池，名为“锡海”。在水池的周围挂满葡萄藤的铁丝网，在这个水池的每一边都有一个大房间用来放置轧水机，为喷水池和小瀑布注送所需要的水。

根据蓝图的规划显示，从这座雄伟建筑的正门外面，也就是主建筑的两侧，延伸出两个宽广而对称的螺旋状阶梯，因此更增添华丽的效果。在这两个楼梯之间的二楼有两个海豚雕像的喷水池，流出的水会从大理石的导水台逐级叠落，注满最下面的石水池。在这两个阶梯的外边，两只石狮子从口中喷出水泉分别流向两个石水池里。三个石水池每个都对应一个含54喷头的喷水口。水池的中央有一座喷水台，除了有一个中国式的漏壶之外，周围还有12个青铜兽头，分别是鼠、牛、虎、兔、龙、蛇、马、羊、猴、鸡、狗和猪，这12个铜雕都是兽面人身，池左右各六，象征12年一个轮回的生肖，也代表每两个小时一个时辰，这是中国人用来划分昼夜的计时方式。[138]因此，每个时辰对应的兽口中都有泉水喷出，至正午则十二兽同时喷水。毫不奇怪，乾隆最为喜爱这组喷泉。

从海晏堂再往东边走，就是让人惊叹的“大水法”，它拥有许多金字塔结构、正式的水池以及由石头跟贝壳装饰而成的喷水池雕像。主池中的喷泉，外形是11只动物的雕像，包括1只鹿和10只猎犬。当水泉在同一时间从所有11只动物身上喷出时，就会形成这只鹿被其他猎犬追捕的效果。皇帝的龙座就放置在以大理石铺好的地上，覆盖着漂亮的遮篷，是观赏这些喷泉景象的最佳位置。在这个龙座的后面，竖立起一块很大的砖屏，由五块雕上欧式武器的大理石嵌板组成，从嵌板每一边延伸出两条通道。在砖屏后面的石墙就把这个欧式建筑区跟长春园的其他部分分隔出来。这个大水法立即让那些来华传道的耶稣会教士想到在凡尔赛宫和圣克鲁的水泉。乾隆对这些壮观的喷泉非常自豪，分别在1784年和1785年先后下令制作两块雕刻了这些喷泉的铜盘，向宫廷上下展示。[139]

在大水法的北面是“远瀛观”，它应该是在1781年以前建造完成，坐落在高台之上，以避免视野受到阻碍。这座巨大的砖制建筑物四周的门窗都以汉白玉雕刻装饰，在大门的两边各有一对精雕细琢的汉白玉柱子。乾隆皇帝常常把这幢建筑作为皇室度假的居处或休闲场所，这里曾经展示六张由法国国王路易十六在1767年送给乾隆作为礼物的博韦地毯，也一度是回部嫔妃香妃的住处，[140]它标示着这个欧式建筑群的最高峰。

在西洋楼建筑群的中央或远瀛观的东边，矗立着由三道凯旋门组成的三重门，外形类似巴黎的凯旋门，通往东边隐藏在树丛中的线法山。从远处看这座山，它会呈现不同的层次。据说乾隆皇帝喜欢骑马到山顶上的八角亭，欣赏不同的景色。沿着山的东面继续往下走，就是方河，它的外形其实是长方形。越过这个167米长的湖泽再往东，就是一座完全不同布局的开放式艺廊，叫做“线法画”或“线法墙”，在里面挂着绘有中亚城镇和风光的图画，每一面墙各挂有五幅画。很明显地可以看出，欧洲的透视画法已被借用来在这里产生远近的视觉效果，这成为中国人眼里的新喜好。[141]

整体来说，长春园的欧式建筑群展示出西方建筑的风貌以及除屋顶以外各种类型的设计，这些西式建筑的屋顶还是采用中国式的黄色、蓝色或绿色的瓦片。“谐奇趣”、“方外观”和“海晏堂”代表了三条垂直短轴线，把横向长轴线划分为几个部分。玻璃窗、地板、栏杆、草坪、花台、上釉的矮砖墙、时钟、挂灯、油画和大量装饰配件，全都具有明显的西方特征，以至于连西方的“蓝图”（Western plan）这一专有名词，也进

入了“圆明园工程造法”之中，译作“西洋拨浪”。[142]

这些欧式建筑自然需要相当的内部设计，例如大量奢侈的装饰和欧式家具、时钟、绘画和机械摆设等装潢。织有法国美女全身像的著名的“戈伯朗挂毯”和可照全身的长镜，是法国国王路易十五于1767年送给乾隆的礼物，都被摆放在这里。[143] 然而，内部设计仍须迁就中国的风俗。举例来说，欧洲的喷水池随处可见大型的裸体雕像，但在这里就因为文化因素而被禁止。另外，清朝的皇帝似乎并不习惯在完全陌生摆设的环境中逗留或休息。

乾隆借取西式建筑和园林艺术品位有所取舍，并不单止于此。皇帝的文化背景亦使他无法明白在巴洛克式建筑里所展现的数学领域的精确度以及机械化的重要性。乾隆皇帝无法得知，解析几何学正启动工业化的发展，将最终让欧洲的军队得以侵略中国，并把圆明园夷为废墟。到头来，欧式建筑群除了作为另一处享乐场所之外，并没有发挥其他的作用，它只是皇帝用来散心、休闲、娱乐和收藏欧洲艺术珍宝的场所，只不过是充当皇帝的百宝箱而已。

于是，无论是像西洋楼这种大型建筑群或是圆明园各部分的旧楼翻修，在圆明园四十景命名之后，此类工程一直无休止地持续着。

更多的扩建

长春园完工后，乾隆在圆明园本园内增添了更多的建设，其中有两项重大的工程值得特别注意。首先，在1762年趁着改建位于福海北岸的“四宜书屋”之机，乾隆皇帝特地把浙江省海宁陈家所拥有的隅园重新在他的宫苑里仿制建造出来。[144]

在他多次大张旗鼓的南巡期间，乾隆一再探访隅园，并带回它的蓝图。当这次改建工程完毕时，这个景观就被乾隆改名为“安澜园”，用来提醒他在浙江沿岸所目睹的严重洪水泛滥问题。[145] 这个名字尽管没有艺术性的雅致，却是统治者用来表达他关心水灾问题的较好方式。况且，乾隆辩称，改建是节省金钱一举两得之事，因为他认为自己是将本来就需要维修的旧地改造成一座新园，还可以提醒他浙江沿海的艰困。[146] 但事实上，乾隆并没有节省一分钱，由于他坚持要精确地依照隅园的式样建造，反而需要高昂的改造经费。此外，他还要求进行新的扩建来融合整个建筑群，包括了主殿堂后的揽霞楼、在人造假山上的飞睇亭和

假山后的经馆。最后，安澜园成为一个包括了不少于十个完整景观的建筑群。[147]

一个颇离奇的谣言相传，乾隆其实是陈家之后，这也不是空穴来风。他对隅园表现出非比寻常的兴趣，还经常探望陈家。据记载，他甚至曾经谈到自己常把圆明园内的“四宜书屋”误当作海宁的隅园。[148]这个谣传最后引发一个没有实据的通俗故事：内阁大学士陈世倌的妻子和雍正的皇后都在同一天生产，而皇后秘密地把她的女婴掉换成陈家的男婴。乾隆在最后得知自己的身世之后，不单对陈家关爱有加，而且还把陈家的庭园带回圆明园，让他有亲近老家的感觉。[149]不过，这个通俗故事没有任何可信的证据。

乾隆又于1774年开始在圆明园内建造最大的藏书馆，这就是文源阁，建造在“水木明瑟”的北边，以典藏整套《四库全书》。这部不朽之作由乾隆于1772年下诏开编，包含了经史子集四部，涉及编纂、鉴定和复写所有的经典中国书籍。根据清朝的立场，其中有许多“不合适”的书籍被排斥在外。这大概是中国清代最具雄心的文献工程，花了超过22年的时间和数千名人员，包括3名总纂、160名纂修官、368名职员和2000名誊录，收入3457种图书，装订成6752函，以漂亮的书法书写，一共抄出7部，还配有一万余种图书的书目提要（《四库全书总目提要》）。第三个手写本在1783年完成，在乾隆皇帝的特别指示之下收藏在文源阁里。[150]这座藏书楼跟紫禁城内放置首部《四库全书》的文渊阁不应混为一谈。

由于乾隆对文献和推动文学与艺术有强烈的兴趣，所以他把完整的《四库全书》保存在他最讲究的帝王宫苑里一点也不让人感到惊奇。他个人尽情为这座伟大的藏书楼写了许多匾额和对联。在圆明园内的其他地方可以发现很多匾额和对联，它们被视为园林艺术不可或缺的部分。在1774年文源阁完工之前，乾隆就御笔题写了一篇《文源阁记》刻于大理石碑上，矗立于文源阁主建筑东边的亭子里，以永久展示。[151]

文源阁的建筑是仿照浙江省宁波范氏有210年历史之久的天一阁所建造。范钦于1561年开始在家族园林院墙内建造天一阁。根据1989年10月在现场所作的测量，天一阁殿堂圆柱的“格架”有23米宽、11米深。[152]自明代以来，园林和藏书楼就成为财富和声望的象征。

选定私人藏书楼为建造式样后，也就无可避免地在建造上要使之更符合宫殿的规范。乾隆选择这个蓝本的原因，如他自己所言，是因为范

氏的藏书楼是所有藏书楼当中的巨擘。[153] 虽然文源阁的正面外观和细节之处都跟范家的天一阁相同，但乾隆把它的体积扩大到原来的两倍，也比原来的高，共有三层。在最底层的中央区域是放置经部以及书目提要和巨著《图书集成》；中间一层是收藏史部的典籍；而最上层是收藏子部和集部。各部分别用绿、红、白、黑四种不同的颜色标示以方便辨识。一楼附有栏杆的前廊面向开放空间，作为入口，在入口的内部有一条楼梯通往楼上的藏书。毕竟文源阁就像被定做出来的，刚好容纳这许多书盒，并有足够的开放空间。

文源阁的四周环境亦得到细心的管理，主建筑前面的景观台俯瞰着一座50米长、23米宽的长方形池塘，其中养了许多金鱼。在池塘的中央竖立着一座环孔众多的10米高岩石雕刻，名为“石玲峰”。这座池塘的设计不单是衬托文源阁的建筑和附近的假山奇石，而且也是用作救火的蓄水池。在主建筑的附近没有种植任何树木，以防虫蚁。[154]

早在1774年，乾隆就把原来是大学士傅恒的园林宅第绮春园整合到圆明园里，他又分别把春喜园和喜春园这两座邻近的小园林一起并入圆明园。[155] 因此一时间，乾隆的圆明园就在万寿山、玉泉山和香山这三座附近的山林之间，由五座园林所组合而成。

1750年，乾隆为了对母后六十大寿表示心意，就在瓮山建造了寿寺，后来他又把瓮山改名为万寿山，并且引玉泉山的水灌注西湖（后来这个湖被改名为昆明湖），以营造名为“清漪园”的附属园林。

1799年乾隆驾崩之后，圆明园不断扩大的工程并没有停止，他的继位者嘉庆皇帝继续给圆明园进行永无休止的维修和改建。非常引人注目的是，嘉庆修缮了大宫门、正大光明殿、安澜园、舍卫城、同乐园和养日堂。他亦增添了一些新的建筑，像烟雨楼、敷春堂和圆明园北端的新稻田——他把这里命名为“省耕别墅”。[156]

绮春园一瞥

嘉庆皇帝在园工上对绮春园最为青睐。此园原本是许多小型园林的集合体，在1772年正式整合至圆明园里，划一管理。嘉庆把万泉河的水引到绮春园来继续扩大它的规模。最后嘉庆在绮春园内列出了三十景。这种营造工程照样需要大量的金钱，例如光是1809年的营造工程，就包括173座殿堂、厢房和楼阁，260道走廊，6座亭子和2座装饰的牌楼，总

共耗资328775.331两白银。[157]

绮春园的设计规划可分东西两个主要部分，每一个部分都包含了大大小小的桥梁和湖泽以及小岛风景。东边部分的后方为大宫门和二宫门，北向面对着绮春园中最大的建筑群，差不多300米深，其中包含了好几座建筑。迎晖殿是主殿堂，中和堂由两道走廊连接着迎晖殿，形成一座巨大的庭院。敷春堂包含了多座供皇太后和嫔妃居住的起居院落，后殿和阆月楼就位于该建筑群的末端。

由于康熙的畅春园在这个时候已日渐凋零（今天，畅春园留下的唯一遗物是北京大学附近那块匾额），嘉庆把绮春园并入帝王宫苑里看来是为后妃们建造新的居所。事实上，当绮春园完工之时，嘉庆迎接他的母亲（皇太后孝仪）和他的弟弟庆亲王到里面居住。[158]

从绮春园往北看，可以看到秀丽的湖景——湖中央是凤麟洲，另一座岛西边有设计独特的仙人承露台。在开阔大湖的正中央，由这个重要部分往西有一座孤立而匀称的方形小岛，鉴碧亭就坐落在小岛上面。[159]

绮春园的几何中心是春泽斋、生冬室和卧云轩等三座重要的建筑，由一根南北轴线串联起来，丝毫不显单调，因为它们被两片大小不同和形状各异的水域以富有艺术感的方式划分开来，西边与“四宜书屋”连在一起。从生冬室往南看，可以见到卧云轩坐落在一座小小的岛上，展现生动的景观。从卧云轩再往南走就是一大片约有15英亩（约91亩）的山丘地。在任何一座5米到6米高的山丘顶端，都可以从两侧欣赏到湖景。山丘地的南面竖立着一座被隔开的长方形喇嘛寺院，被称为“正觉寺”，占地150×80平方米。它主要由三层庭院组成，用来拜佛，本身有独立对外的南门。[160]

在绮春园的西边是清夏堂，尚有亭台、游廊点缀，它建造在6.6英亩（约40亩）大的凤麟洲上，围以院墙。主殿堂朝南面对着伴随小湖的台阶，而小湖的南边是低矮的石山。这个建筑群包含了各种宜人的布置，包括湖泊、山丘、亭子、房屋和廊道，构成一座理想的夏居。

从这里往南看，可以见到澄心堂，它坐落在被湖泊包围的小岛上，绿满轩和畅和堂则坐落在被另一长方形湖泊包围的两座相连的小岛上。长而狭隘的岸边把长方形湖泊分为两个部分，在岸的南端有高耸的凌虚亭，对应着北面的仙人承露台。园林的这个西南区域营造了几个小岛，以点缀宽阔的水域，强调自然美和人工建筑。[161]

随着绮春园的完成，大圆明园终于成型，成为闻名的“圆明三园”，分别是原来的圆明园、长春园和绮春园（又称万春园）。

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[6] 陈从周：《说园》（*On Chinese Gardens* ），5页，上海，同济大学出版社，1994。

[7] 彭一刚：《中国古典园林分析》，7页，北京，中国建筑工业出版社，1988。

[8] 仙境即指蓬莱，是传说中位于东海的仙境。最早有关这个蓬莱神话的记载，见于公元3世纪东晋时的王嘉：《拾遗记》，223—224页，北京，中华书局，1981。

[9] 尽管夏朝的存在被考古学家拼凑出来，但由于缺乏夏朝当时的文字记载，所以它的“历史真实性”在严谨的历史学家当中还是疑问。瑶台只记载在后来的文献记录里。

[10] “苑”这个字最先出现在甲骨文里。它在中国古代经典里的意思，经常是指“蓄养动物的地方”。因此，它的原意可以作为“动物园”。直到中华帝国在公元前221年形成后，“苑”就改名为“园”或“苑囿”。汉代的大历史学家司马迁在他的著作《史记》里就把这个名词标准化，从此“苑囿”就被定义为“帝王宫苑”的意思。

[11] 《诗经》有云：“经始灵台，经之营之”；“王在灵囿，鹿攸伏”。

[12] 司马迁记载：“（始皇）乃营作朝宫渭南上林苑中。先作前殿阿房，东西五百步，南北五十丈，上可以坐万人，下可以建五丈旗。”义军领袖项羽烧毁这座壮丽的帝王宫苑，“烧秦宫室，火三月不灭。”阿房宫的传说被唐代诗人杜牧继续渲染，在他著名的《阿房宫赋》里评论：“蜀山兀，阿房出。覆压三百余里，隔离天日。骊山北构而西折，直走咸阳。二川溶溶，流入宫墙。五步一楼，十步一阁。……一日之内，一宫之间，而气候不齐。”不过，阿房宫本身并非捏造，考古学家在今天的西安附近找到它的遗址，覆盖的面积从北到南大概有1英里（1.61公里）。

[13] 参阅《古今图书集成》，卷97，546—547、523页。

[14] 汉代历史学家班固在他的《汉书》中形容建章宫在巨大的宫殿建筑群里是主殿，而太液是一座大湖，位于建章宫的北面，当中竖立了很多被称为仙山的小岛，称之为“神山”。参阅《汉书》，第4册，12445页，北京，中华书局，1962。

[15] 一个值得注意的例外，就是汉朝大奸臣梁冀“广开园囿、采土筑山……深林绝涧，有若自然……又多拓林苑，禁同王家……又起菟苑于河南城西，经数十里……数年乃成”。参阅《后汉书》，第5册，1182页，北京，中华书局，1985。

[16] 参阅陈寿：《三国志》，第3册，712页，北京，中华书局，1959。

[17] 最著名的例子就是石崇（公元249—300），由于石家辅助西晋于公元265年建立，因此几乎获得无限的权力和特权。石崇跟随他的父亲在政府里担任高官，并逐渐热衷于累积财富。他著名的金谷园非常雄伟，建造在洛阳附近的风景区。事实上，因为有一条金谷河流经这里，所以就用来给这座园林取名。在他失势之前，就经常招待像潘岳、陆机等著名学者和文士到园里来玩。他亦找来美人如传奇女子绿珠到园内居住。

[18] 山水画的艺术出现在南朝期间，除了部分原因可溯源自汉帝国崩溃和持续不断的社会政治动乱后造成玄学的兴起之外，另一部分原因是由具吸引力的江南山水所启发。山水画的形

式到了唐代已经成熟。近代学者指出，在同一个分裂时期里盛行的山水园林，可以形容为立体的山水画。真正的山水诗，包括谢灵运（公元385—433）和陶渊明（公元372—427）的诗作亦在这个时候开始，并非偶然。山水诗可以视为绘画和园林的文字表达。

[19] 参阅司马光：《资治通鉴》，第8册，5639页，台北，新象书局，1978。

[20] 参阅白居易：《白氏长庆集》，卷7，2页，北京，文学古籍刊印社，1955。

[21] Chuin Tung, "*F* oreign Influence in Chinese Architecture," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 6.5 (May 1938): 410—417.

[22] 参阅任晓红：《禅与中国园林》，44页，北京，商务印书馆，1994。

[23] 参阅叶梦得：《石林燕语》，4页，北京，中华书局，1984；孟元老：《东京梦华录注》，邓之成注释，189—190页，香港，商务印书馆，1961。

[24] 参阅《古今图书集成》，卷97，525—526页；James M. Hargett, " Huizong'*s* Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng," *Monumenta Serica* 38 (1988–1989): 1–6。

[25] 参阅孟亚男：《中国园林史》，139页，台北，文津出版社，1993。

[26] 参阅袁枚：《随园三十八种》，光绪壬辰印本，卷39，7—8页。

[27] 参阅《刘敦桢文集》，3页，北京，中国建筑工业出版社，1993。

[28] 李诫的著作于1974年重印，现代名建筑师梁思成曾为原文做解说。有关西方汉学家对这部书的分析，可参考戴密微（Paul Demieville）著作"Le Ying-tsa-fa che"（《营造法式》），载*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*，213—264页，1925。

[29] 这部著作除了有两个新的中文注释版本（1983, 1987）之外，最近由哈迪女士（Alison Hardie）翻译成英文，书名为*The Craft of Gardens* （1988）。这三个版本给计成的原文提供了重要的阐释。

[30] 旅法建筑师邱治平最近出版了法文版《圆明园》一书，其中将四十景全部套色精印，十分可观，参阅Che Bing Chiu, *Yuanming Yuan: Le Jardin de la Clarté Parfaite* (Paris: Les Éditions de L'*i* mprimeur, 2000)，第五章。

[31] 参阅《杜诗镜铨》，卷12，5页，台北，中华书局，1972。

[32] 现代的园林专家陈从周在中国园林营造的概念上作了一些发人深省的概论，值得学习。参阅陈从周：《园林谈丛》，1—6页，上海，上海文化出版社，1980。

[33] 中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，10—11页，上海，上海古籍出版社，1991。

[34] 参阅朱启钤辑：《样式雷世家考》，见舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，102—104页，北京，书目文献出版社，1984；单士元：《宫庭建筑23匠样式雷》，见《圆明园资料集》，95—101页。

[35] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1066页。

[36] 就这个题目作有效说明的英文著作，可参考李约瑟（Joseph Needham）的*Science and Civilization in China*，第二册至第三册；Rossbach, *Fengshui: The Chinese Art of Placement*; S. Skinner, *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-shui;* Ernest J. Eitel, *Feng-shui: The Science of Sacred Landscape in Old China* 也值得参考。

[37] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 2: History of Scientific Thought (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), p. 361.

[38] 详阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，6—7页。

[39] 参阅刘侗、于奕正：《帝京景物略》，296页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1980；顾祖禹：《读史方舆纪要》，第2册，476页，台北，新兴书局，1956。

[40] 姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，5页，北京，中华书局，1982。

[41] 参阅《帝京景物略》，297页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1980。

[42] 参阅《梁思成文集》，第3册，227—231页，北京，中国建筑工业出版社，1985。

[43] 参阅陈从周：《说园》，5页。

[44] 侯仁之：《圆明园》，见《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，99页，北京，文化艺术出版社，1991。

[45] Samuel H. Holmes, *The Journal of Mr. Samuel H. Holmes* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1798), p. 134.

[46] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1333—1334页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1985。

[47] 参阅《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，16页。

[48] 参阅程演生编：《圆明园考》，1页，上海，中华书局，1928。

[49] 参阅Jean Denis Attiret, *A Particular Account of the Emperor of China's Gardens Near Pekin*. Trans. Sir Harry Beaumont (London: Garland, 1982), p. 9.

[50] 彭一刚指出，一般来说"藏"和"露"反映出中国和西方文明的差异。中国强调"藏"，西方强调"露"。"藏"的艺术在中国园林的建造里充分发挥出来，参阅《中国古典园林分析》，23页。

[51] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1799), vol. 2, p. 114.

[52] 据1838年的大内档案记载，内务府总管三和向乾隆皇帝报告，有关维修名为飞龙的龙船所花的费用达9238.6两白银，再加713.82两作为装潢和上漆费用，参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，46—47页。

[53] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1325页。

[54] 同上书，第2册，1326页。

[55] 同上书，第2册，1330—1331页。另参阅中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，9页，北京，中国建筑工业出版社，1985。

[56] 这个庞大的建筑复合体就是“九州清晏”，在九个小岛里位于中央的一个小岛，是圆明园里最大的人工建筑之一。在正大光明殿还没有完成之前，它是作为御用的主殿。在这些遗址上，共产党于1929年曾把他们牺牲的同志埋葬在这里，到今天还可以看到他们的坟墓。

[57] 参阅王毅：《园林与中国文化》，177—181页，上海，上海人民出版社，1990。

[58] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1331—1332页；王威：《圆明园》，21页，台北，淑馨出版社，1992。

[59] Attiret, *A Particular Account* , p. 23.

[60] Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London: Smith, Elder, 1861), p. 298.

[61] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1336页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，13页。

[62] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，278页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1983。

[63] 乾隆皇帝在他漫长的岁月里曾经写下大量诗作。他的御制诗共28函，42500首，收藏在沈阳故宫博物馆里。在1976年，台北的故宫博物院出版了《清高宗御制诗文全集》。就挑选乾隆诗作的最佳版本，可以参阅孙丕任、卜维义合编：《乾隆诗选》，沈阳，春风文艺出版社，1987。其中特别选出有关圆明园的诗作。

[64] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1337—1340页。

[65] 同上书，第2册，1341页。

[66] 语见王先谦：《庄子集解》，108页，台北，世界书局，1972。

[67] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1341—1343页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，10—27页。

[68] 字型楼是众多象征建筑之一，其他或呈叠书状，或作田字状，工字状，或口字状，不一而定。

[69] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1347页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，37页。

[70] 这个桃花坞是圆明园建筑根据著名传奇而设计和建造的代表，试图把纯粹的神话具体表现出来。武陵就是出自传奇中的渔夫所来自地方的名字。参阅于敏中等编纂，《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1347—1348页。

[71] 参阅中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，39页。

[72] 所谓华表，即高耸而雕饰得很漂亮的柱子，竖立在皇宫或陵墓的前面。有几根原来属于圆明园内“鸿慈永祜”的华表，可以在今天北京大学的校园内找到。

[73] 参阅《圆明园》，第3期，133页，1984年12月。

[74] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1351—1353页；昭：《啸亭杂录》，391页，北京，中华书局，1980。

[75] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1354页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，41页。

[76] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1355页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，43页。

[77] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1362页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，49、 51页。

[78] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1341—1375页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，45、47、53、55、57页。

[79] 历史记载，在公元353年的春天，大书法家王羲之与42位朋友聚集在浙江省东边会稽山的兰亭。乾隆在这里重新建造这场著名盛会的景观，他于1779年为这个景观御笔题字的石碑，于1917年被人从圆明园的废墟中移往北京一个公园，即后来的中山公园。跟王羲之一样，乾隆的兰亭原来也是长方形，但是从收集的数据显示，后来被改建成八角形的凉亭，还加上一座六角形的草顶凉亭和四角的竹亭。

[80] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1376页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，80—83页。

[81] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1365页。

[82] 参阅《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1365—1366页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，59页。

[83] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1378页，乾隆诗句。

[84] 参阅《清史稿》，第14册，3862—3863页，北京，中华书局，1976。

[85] Attiret, *A Particular Account* , p. 16.

[86] 参阅《旧唐书》，第7册，2346页，北京，中华书局，1975。

[87] Attiret, *A Particular Account* , pp. 16–17.

[88] 参阅昭：《啸亭杂录》，378页。

[89] Attiret, *A Particular Account* , pp. 20–21.

[90] 参阅《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，11页。

[91] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1368—1369页；《圆明园》，第2期，50页，1983年9月。

[92] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1370—1371页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，64页。

[93] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1373页。

[94] 同上书，第3册，1372页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，74页。

[95] 彭哲愚、张宝章编：《颐和园圆明园的传说》，134—136页，石家庄，河北少年儿童出版社，1985。

[96] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1372页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，72页。

[97] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1371—1372页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，70页。

[98] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1372—1373页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，77页。

[99] Attiret, *A Particular Account* , pp. 7–8.

[100] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1379—1380页；程演生编：《圆明园考》，30页。

[101] 乾隆咏含经堂诗有云："高轩能却署，邃室亦生凉；味道研精义，随时爱景光。"参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1381—1382页。参阅焦雄：《长春园园林建筑》，载《圆明园》第3期，14页，1984年12月。

[102] 乾隆皇帝于1772年开始建造这座具有永久价值的藏书楼工程，并完成总共七座收藏将近36000册手稿的藏书楼，其中只有三座藏书楼在内战和外国入侵的情况下幸存下来。但是修编四库也有禁毁书籍的一面，可参考R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'en-lung Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987)。

[103] 淳化是公元990至994年的北宋年号，大量著名的碑刻都在这段时间内被收集在一起。乾隆以淳化轩为题写了一篇文章，并复制400份拓本作为礼物送给御史和二品大员以上的高官。

[104] 参阅赵光华：《长春园建筑及园林花木之一些资料》，载《圆明园》，第3期，2页，1984年12月。

[105] 参阅焦雄：《长春园园林建筑》，16—17、18—19页。

[106] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1386页。

[107] 乾隆在石碑上刻了"爱此清凉洞"，并把石碑放置在其中一个洞内。虽然这块石碑一直保存到今天，我们却已无法找到那些洞穴中任何一个的所在。

[108] 参阅赵光华：《长春园建筑及园林花木之一些资料》，3页。

[109] 虽因"海岳开襟"位于湖的中央，而逃过1860年焚毁的劫数，但最后还是于1900年在义

和团运动中被摧毁。另参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1385页。

[110] 乾隆有诗句曰："我之所戒在求仙，海岳寄兴属偶然。"参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1385—1386页。另参阅赵光华：《长春园建筑及园林花木之一些资料》，2—3页。

[111] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1390页；焦雄：《长春园园林建筑》，14—16页。

[112] 这块石头的原名为芙蓉石，今天这块石头竖立在北京的中山公园。参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，272页。

[113] 参阅朱家、李艳琴辑：《清·五朝〈御制集〉中的圆明园诗》，载《圆明园》，第2期，65页，1983年8月。

[114] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1387页；吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，198页；Liu Dunzhen, *Chinese Classical Gardens of Suzhou* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1993), p. 105。

[115] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1387—1389页。

[116] 同上书，第3册，1389页；赵光华：《长春园建筑及园林花木之一些资料》，4—5页；焦雄：《长春园园林建筑》，14页；蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，《英法联军史料》，见沈云龙主编：《近代中国史料丛刊续编》，第43辑，134页，台北，文海出版社。

[117] 参阅计成：《园冶》，218—238页，台北，金枫出版社，1987。

[118] 参阅张岱：《陶庵梦忆》，59页，杭州，西湖书社，1982。

[119] 参阅《宋史》，13684页，北京，中华书局，1977。

[120] 参阅陈从周：《说园》，16页。

[121] Liu Dunzhen, *Chinese Classical Gardens of Suzhou* , p. 34.

[122] 同上书， p. 36。

[123] 张家骥：《中国造园史》，167页，哈尔滨，黑龙江人民出版社，1986。

[124] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1387页。

[125] 金毓丰：《圆明园西洋楼评析》，载《圆明园》，第3期，22页，1984年12月。

[126] Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen l'Oeuvre Architecturale des Anciens Jésuites au XVIII Siècle.* Peiping: Imprimerie des Lazaristes.

[127] Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors* . Trans. Michael Bullock (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1971), pp. 5, 11, 45, 59, 66–67.

[128] 同上书， p. 68。

[129] 由于这些巴洛克式的欧式建筑体积庞大和材质坚固，尽管不是全部能够辨识，但它们大部分就是由仍然可见的遭焚毁后的圆明园残迹和废墟所组成。可能基于这个原因，许多学者包括以下的这一位，就错误地把这个欧式建筑的部分视为圆明园：“英国人烧毁了圆明园的庭园，这是一座在北京郊区的精美夏宫，是聘用耶稣会建筑师的规划来建造给乾隆享乐。”参阅Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* , p. 181.

[130] 蒋友仁把他的工作记录写在《书简集》（*Lettres édifiantes* ）里。参考Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione* 以及Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen* , pp. 21–22。

[131] 参阅孙若怡：《从圆明园西洋楼景区的建筑园林看中西文化交流与乾隆时期的精致文化》，17页，台北，“国立”师范大学历史研究所博士论文，1998。

[132] 笔者于1992年到圆明园游访的时候，看到这座迷宫已经在废墟上重新展现。

[133] 参阅中国羡编译：《长春园欧式建筑图释》，收入舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，63页。另参阅Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen* , pp. 27–28。

[134] 香妃是一个长久以来极受争议的人物。最主要是因为她的名字无法在任何清朝的官方档案中找出来，专业的历史学家包括著名的清史权威孟森，认为香妃和另一个来自中国回疆的回教女子容妃，事实上是同一个人。不过，台湾剧作家姜龙昭从台北故宫博物院收藏由郎世宁绘画的香妃戎装图等其他证据，来挑战这个一直维持到今天的观点，但有很多学者仍然争辩这个证据的可信性。对于这个争议的综合性领域，可以参考由姜龙昭辑录的《香妃考证》，台北，文史哲出版社，1989， 1992。Beurdeley等人则认为，香妃是叶尔羌大汗对抗乾隆远征军战死后所留下的遗孀，参阅Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione* , p. 71。

[135] Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen* , pp. 29–30；童寯：《北京长春园西洋建筑》，载《圆明园》，第1期，71—80页，1981年11月。

[136] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1560页。

[137] 参阅Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione* , p. 68。

[138] 根据最新的资料显示，在十二生肖当中，有鼠、牛、虎、兔、马、猴和猪等七个兽头至今犹存在于天壤间。

[139] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1565页。

[140] 童寯：《长春园西洋建筑》，见《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，128页。

[141] 参阅Adam, *Yuen Ming Yuen* , p. 33–36；Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch’ing Dynasty* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1934), p. 158；童寯：《北京长春园西洋建筑》，载《圆明园》，第1期，78—80页，1981年11月。

[142] 童寯：《长春园西洋建筑》，129页。

[143] 参阅Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art: From the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), pp. 67–68。

[144] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，326页。

[145] 引自于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1376页。

[146] 同上书，第3册，1366页。

[147] 同上书，第3册，1367—1368页。

[148] 同上书，第3册，1367页。

[149] 参阅彭哲愚、张宝章编：《颐和园圆明园的传说》，131—132页。

[150] 有关《四库全书》编纂的专著可参阅Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries* 。

[151] 碑文参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1360—1361页。参阅刘家驹：《从高宗纂辑四库全书与禁毁书籍》，载《大陆杂志》，75期，2—3号，1—30页，1987年2月。

[152] 参阅Cary Y. Liu于1999年的普林斯顿大学博士论文 "The Ch'*i* ng Dynasty Wen-yuan-ko Imperial Library: Architectural Symbology and the Ordering of Knowledge," p. 135。

[153] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1360页。

[154] 参阅《圆明园文源阁记实》，收入舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，189—196页。另参阅蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，134页。

[155] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，197页。

[156] 同上书，190、197页。

[157] 这些数字都取自大内档案和《圆明园现行则例》，应该很准确。参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，983—1055页。

[158] 参阅黄浚（秋岳）：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，433页，台北，联经出版事业公司，1979。

[159] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，197—198页。

[160] 根据何重义和曾昭奋的意见，这座院子和它的建筑一直留存到20世纪50年代初期。毫无疑问，在圆明园里超过一百座建筑物的建筑群中，在长达一个世纪持续不断的毁坏过程中，它是硕果仅存的建筑。参阅《绮春园概貌》，见《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，134—135页。

[161] 我在这里对绮春园的描述，是根据这座园林的三幅地图，并参考吴振《养吉斋丛录》197页和白日新《圆明长春绮春三园形象的探讨》（载《圆明园》，第2期，22—25页，1983年9月）所作的研究而来。

PART TWO HISTORY

Chapter 4 Rise

The history of the Yuanming Yuan began with Kangxi, the emperor of China from 1662 to 1722. He was the Son of Heaven and the ruler of the Celestial Empire, with Beijing as his imperial capital—the center of his imperial world. When he fully secured his immense power in the final decades of the seventeenth century, he had already refurbished many desolated gardens and parklands left behind by Qidan, Nvzhen, and Ming princes at the foot of the Western Hills in the northwest suburbs of Beijing. His first principal garden was the Joyful Spring Garden (Changchun Yuan), which in his own words was built on the basis of the desolated Pure Flowery Garden (Qinghua Yuan) originally owned by Marquis Li Wei of the Ming (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1268–1269). It was a very modest imperial garden, as the Koreans observed, in comparison to the Yuanming Yuan (*Yanxinglu Xuanji* 1961, 201). In 1720, the Russian ambassador had the opportunity to see the garden at the invitation of Kangxi. The Russians called it “Tzan-shu-yang.” They found an elegant court, rows of forest trees, the Hall of Audience, and many handsome royal apartments (Bell 1788, 6–7; cf. Sugimura Yūzō 1961, 217–218; Maurice Adam 1936, 1–2; Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1268–1285; *Yanxinglu Xuanji* 1961, 201, 320). In 1722, Kangxi passed away at the age of sixty-nine in this particular garden (Feng Erkang 1995, 58–59).

In 1709, taking *fengshui* into consideration, Kangxi selected a site on which to build a brand-new garden, soon to be named the Yuanming Yuan, approximately 500 to 600 meters north of his Joyful Spring Garden.[41] When the first phase of the Yuanming Yuan was completed, Kangxi graciously awarded it to his fourth son, Prince Yinzhen (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1321). The prince was the legitimate successor regardless of endless rumors to the contrary (Feng Erkang 1995, 64). He eventually succeeded his father to be the Yongzheng Emperor, and he made the Yuanming Yuan his principal imperial garden, leaving the Joyful Spring Garden to the Imperial Mother and her royal consorts. Yongzheng’s successors continued to use the Yuanming Yuan as the imperial garden, and it inevitably superseded Kangxi’s Joyful Spring Garden. But the Joyful Spring Garden as the home of dowager empresses remained for a long time to come a significant royal garden with impressive palatial gates, court

s, halls, chambers, galleries, libraries, docks, and even a make-believe “shopping street” (*maimaijie*). The Qianlong Emperor visited his mother here very often. In 1778 he built inside the garden the Mother’s Memorial Temple (Enmu Si) in her honor, parallel to the Enyou Temple that Yongzheng had built in honor of his father, Kangxi (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1274–1279). Not until the Jiaqing Emperor, who made the Variegated Spring Garden the home of the royal mothers, did the Joyful Spring Garden gradually fall into oblivion.

From a Prince Garden to the Imperial Garden

When Prince Yinzhen occupied the Yuanming Yuan soon after its completion in 1709, the garden was still modest in size. It was, however, not a renovation of a desolated Ming garden; rather, it was a new garden *par excellence* . According to the estimation of Zhou Weiquan, the Yuanming Yuan at its inception already covered the area between the Front Lake and the Rear Lake, about 91 acres. But Zhang Enyin has disputed this estimate by citing some poems composed by Prince Yinzhen that suggest that the garden had already extended beyond the Rear Lake, covering an area no less than 180 acres (Zhou Weiquan 1981, 31; Zhang Enyin 1986, 24). Whoever is right, the Yuanming Yuan upon its comple-tion was less than one-third of its full size. In any event, in 1722, the Yuanming Yuan had become magnificent enough for Prince Yinzhen to invite his aged father, Kangxi, and his youthful son, the future Qianlong Emperor, to the Peony Terrace to appreciate the flower blossoms (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1335; cf. *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 13).

After the prince became emperor in early 1723, construction to expand the Yuanming Yuan began. The official designation of the Yuanming Yuan as the prime imperial pleasance of the new emperor, however, was postponed due to the sudden death of the imperial mother. As a filial son, he had to observe a period of mourning. He thus suspended moving into the garden for pleasure living (*YMYA* 1991, 1:8). Not until August 27, 1725, did Yongzheng decide to end his mourning at the repeated petitions from high-ranking officials. On the lunar New Year’s Day in 1726, the emperor formally occupied the Yuanming Yuan. He rode on a gilded wagon with an entourage of eleven carriages and proceeded from Beijing to his imperial garden. To celebrate this occasion, the princes and grand officials presented three thousand lanterns to the thr

one (*YMYA* 1991, 1:15, 16; Wu Zhenyu 1983, 293).

Although Yongzheng returned to the Forbidden City after having spent only two days in the garden, he had already decided to make the garden not only his pleasure ground but also a workplace. He formally instructed the Boards of Personnel and War that “there is no difference to me whether to conduct routine state affairs in Beijing or in the Yuanming Yuan” (*YMYA* 1991, 1:17, 19, 32, 35). He reiterated the remark by adding a decree that from 1725 daily affairs would be conducted in the garden in the same manner as in the Forbidden City. Clearly, he wanted to make sure that his garden living would not hamper the routine business of the state. This shows the emperor’s sensitivity to possible criticism of his neglect of duty; indeed, he was somewhat defensive about his garden life. Not incidentally, he named his royal office in the Yuanming Yuan the Diligent Court.

The emperor meant what he said; however, at least in the outset, no official seemed to take serious matters seriously in the garden atmosphere. On January 20, 1726, when Yongzheng sat on his throne in the Diligent Court ready to hear reports, no one came forward. Visibly displeased, the emperor protested that garden living was not at all to neglect duty; on the contrary, so far as he was concerned, a better job could be done in such a comfortable and pleasant environment as the Yuanming Yuan. He warned with a threat that if they should continue to take things casually in the garden, he would consider it an objection of his presence in the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYA* 1991, 1:22).

Before long, both the emperor and his officials were accustomed to performing official duties in the imperial garden. Obviously lured by the attractiveness of the surroundings and natural setting, Yongzheng spent more and more time in the Yuanming Yuan. Returning to the Forbidden City from time to time as he had to, he became increasingly reluctant to leave the garden. He thereby started the tradition of regular garden living for Qing emperors (Cheng Yansheng 1928, 1a–3a).

After having decided to conduct official business in the garden, the Yongzheng Emperor completed an elegant stone-paved road lined with pretty willow trees between the Yuanming Yuan and Beijing, about six miles long in George Macartney’s estimation (Crammer-Byng 1962, 84; Mageerni 1916, 1:36). The stone road left the Forbidden City through the West Straight Gate (Xi

zhimen), crossed the moat over the Gaoliang Bridge, and finally turned northwest to Haidian before arriving at the gates of the Yuanming Yuan. [42] The road facilitated the emperor's frequent travels between the two places. Whenever the emperor arrived at the front gate of the Yuanming Yuan, Manchu princes, senior officials, scholar-attendants of the South Studio (Nan Shufang), and several rows of soldiers were supposed to line up to welcome and show respect.

Needless to say, the road also served numerous people, from officials to workmen, who were summoned to the garden from time to time. Normally, one had to begin at midnight in order to reach the imperial garden from the Forbidden City in time (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 245). Hence, regular travel between the two places was painful, especially for the senior officials of advanced age. Yongzheng was kind and gracious enough to exempt them from attending early morning meetings in the Yuanming Yuan. In winter, especially when the harsh cold wind was blowing down from Siberia, the emperor would excuse most officials, barring emergency, from coming to the Yuanming Yuan (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:19). By the twentieth year of Jiaqing, or 1815, the emperor permitted deputies to deliver memorials and high-ranking officials to report to the garden later in the day (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 245).

Historians generally consider Yongzheng to have been a frugal ruler; in regard to enlarging and beautifying the Yuanming Yuan, however, he was a big spender. As early as the beginning of 1724, his second year on the throne, he approved the plan to add more structures to the garden and authorized the purchase of wood materials (*YMYJ* 1981, 1:4, 6; Wang Wei 1992, 81). The construction initially met the desperate need to accommodate administrative functions, including the enormous Main Audience Hall and its annexes for attendants and guests. Accordingly, unlike ordinary Chinese gardens, which represented a retreat from the political world, the Yuanming Yuan emerged as the center of the political world. Prior to the completion of these administrative buildings, Yongzheng had set up his temporary royal office inside the royal living quarters on the Nine Continents, nine artificial islets forming a semicircle around the Front Lake and the Rear Lake. This indicates that no later than 1726, the fourth year of the Yongzheng reign, the structures on the Nine Continents were substantially completed (cf. Zhang Enyin 1991, 137).

In 1727, Yongzheng still found it necessary to justify his prolonged garden living, as he was sensitive to the moral concerns derived from the Confucian codes of conduct. He stated in a decree that he really needed a pleasant setting, referring to the Yuanming Yuan, to fulfill his duty as the ruler of the vast empire. Seemingly trying to prove that he meant what he said, the emperor not only required his officials to work harder in the garden but also redoubled his own effort to be as diligent as he possibly could (*YMYA* 1991, 1:22). Keeping himself alert, he hung inside the Main Audience Hall a large antithetical distich (*duilian*), which read:

> Taking Heaven’s heart as my own heart,
> I care about my people all the time;
> Taking people’s happiness as my own happiness,
> I should always be kind and cheerful. [43]

That was not all. On a screen behind his desk, two large Chinese characters were prominently displayed: *“wu yi”* (Don’t indulge in pleasure). He also inscribed on the walls of his garden office an essay, showing how serious his responsibility was to maintain peace and prosperity, how determined he was to uphold the empire, and how he knew that his responsibility to maintain the empire was no easier than his forefathers’ great enterprise of empire building (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1327–1331).

His reassurance was not empty words. Yongzheng spent long hours in his office reading government papers and talking to close advisors. Since there were so many issues waiting for his decision, as he himself noted, he could afford wasting no time while living in the garden even during the hot summer days. In fact, regardless of the season, the emperor rarely missed his office hours in the garden. On one occasion, so far as we know, he stayed in his office in the evening concentrating so hard that he was unaware of how late it had become. To record this experience, he composed a poem wishing the shining moon in the dark sky to witness of his vigilance (Zhu Jiajin and Li Yanqin, comps. 1983, 55).

Rather than for amusement, but actually to show his conscien-tiousness in a different way, Yongzheng created a large rice field at the northern end one of the Yuanming Yuan’s scenes to be named Bountiful Farms, or “Crops as Plentiful as Clouds” (Duojia Ruyun). Thus, Yongzheng expressed his moral c

oncern about the well-being of the vast peasant population by his daily observation of how the land was ploughed, the seeds were sowed, and the crops were harvested (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1356). In August 1729, he added a silkworm farm, which a head eunuch was appointed to supervise. Consequently, those who worked on the farm comprised the Silkworm Household (*canhu*),new members of the growing Garden Household (*yuanhu*),the men and women working in the garden. The silk production eventually led to the founding of a brocade and dye mill, situated at the foot of the Longevity Hills, where the workers could gain easy access to the chrysalises and minerals for the mill (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1018–1019).

Once the Yongzheng Emperor made the Yuanming Yuan his regular residence, security of the royal demesne had to be reinforced. In 1724, following Yongzheng's ascendancy, the original 620-man Green Battalion (*luying*),which included 180 cavalrymen and 440 infantrymen, was immediately increased to 1,000, which included 200 cavalrymen and 800 infantrymen (*YMYA* 1991, 1:18; 2:1643). In the spring of the following year, a practice ground for the troops was completed (Zhang Enyin 1991b, 136). Every soldier received 20 taels of silver as a bonus for taking up the prestigious duty to defend the imperial garden (*YMYA* 1991, 1:18).

As the Yuanming Yuan became more and more important, the security force known as the Yuanming Yuan Eight Banners eventually commanded 3,232 troops. All officers and soldiers in this force without exception were ethnic Manchus. They were carefully selected from trusted clans proficient in military skills. Before long, the standard size of this security force amounted to 3,256, with 136 officers and 3,120 men, under the command of two Manchu princes. For generations to come, these guardsmen were positioned around the Yuanming Yuan. Their responsibilities were mainly twofold: to secure the Yuanming Yuan in general and to assist the Imperial Body Guards to facilitate the smooth passage of the emperor and his entourage to and from the garden in particular. A normal day's training included horseback riding and archery practice. Occasionally, the emperor participated in the drills. The huge Drill Field, together with a tall review stand, situated at southwest side of the garden precisely for this purpose. A 1747 record shows that 2,328 additional barracks units were completed to accommodate more troops (*YMYA* 1991, 1:60–61; *Qingshigao* 1976, 14:3862–3863; *YMYZ* 1984, 240–262; Yu Minzhong 1985,

3:1349–1350).

Working hard in the Yuanming Yuan though he was, Yongzheng would surely not refrain from the pleasure of the magnificent garden. Particularly fond of boating on the Sea of Blessing, the largest lake in the garden, His Majesty often invited his guests, normally high-ranking officials and favorite consorts, to sail around the smooth lake visiting sites. His own dragon barge (*longzhou*)usually led a fleet of some thirty boats. After cruising, in the evening, an exciting fanfare always followed, particularly on festival days. His successor, the Qianlong Emperor, who grew up in this environment, liked lake cruising even more. Having the privilege of being on the emperor's guest list, Father Attiret once shared this pleasure of boating. He described an occasion where numerous boats on the lake, gilt and varnished, served different purposes: "sometimes, for taking the air; sometimes, for fishing; and sometimes, for jousts, and combats, and other diversions" (Attiret 1982, 20–21). It seems that the emperor and his entourage, while boating, simultaneously enjoyed many different activities on the lake.

The celebration of the spring Duanwu Festival, on the lunar calendar's fifth day of the fifth month, was the greatest annual event on the lake. The festival is in honor of the ancient patriotic poet Qu Yuan (340 B.C.–278 B.C.) who drowned himself in a river in order to awaken the conscience of his prince, the Duke of Chu. The dragon boat race, honored no later than the sixth century A.D., was understood to be searching for the drowning patriot (cf. Schneider 1980, 142–157). The Manchu monarch clearly observed the major activity of the Chinese festival day in the imperial garden. Boat racing on the Sea of Blessing was rarely missed, except on a bad rainy day. Normally, on this specific day, when both the emperor and his guests arrived at the Sea of Blessing, several colorful dragonhead boats started racing on the lake in the midst of loud drums and flying flags, much like the ordinary Chinese folk festivities throughout the country. When the excitement was over, both the host and his guests landed at the granite bank of the lake before ascending the steps to the half-moon terrace and heading home on a tree-lined boulevard embellished with colorful flowers (Zhaolian 1980, 378).

The lakeside was an excellent place to watch fireworks after sunset. Lighting up the dark sky, the fireworks shone on the colorful lanterns hung in var

ious patterns on the tops of numerous buildings. Qianlong was also fond of admiring the full moon beside the lake. A popular anecdote has it that on one midsummer night, when the emperor and his entourage were enjoying opera under the bright moonlight at Immortal Abode on the Fairy Terrace, sudden bursts of a loud noisy sound of frogs caused a great embarrassment. The clever minister Liu Yong (1714–1779), half-jokingly, begged the emperor to silence the frogs by decree. His Majesty agreed and let a eunuch proclaim his words by the lake. Miracu-lously, the frogs were instantly silent. Liu Yong quickly congratulated the emperor's awesome power and rushed to offer flattery. Before long, however, the frogs resumed their noisy sounds. The panicky officials and eunuchs desperately threw stones into the lake in the hope of scaring the frogs away (Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang 1985, 158).

It is said that Yongzheng particularly enjoyed watching the sunset-tinted peaks of the West Hills from his sumptuous chamber north of the Sea of Blessing (the scene was completed in July 1728). The surroundings reportedly made him feel open-minded and completely free from worry. Behind the chamber, the Hanyun Studio was lined by magnolia trees. The blossoms, as the court official Yu Minzhong (1714–1779) recorded, filled the air with fragrance (1985, 3:1366; cf. Wang Wei 1992, 83). After sunset on one of the Weaver days, the seventh day of the seventh month, Yongzheng came here and had a banquet with a group of royalty and court ladies, while observing the reunion of the Cowboy and the Weaver in the Milky Way (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1365–1366).

The Yongzheng Emperor also had a sentimental attachment to the Deep Vault of Heaven, a secluded area near the southeastern edge of the Yuanming Yuan, where he had spent much of his boyhood. He thus erected there an inscribed tablet to make it a monument. Later, a royal school with rows of classrooms and dormitories found a home at this scenic site. Qianlong, when he was still Prince Hongli, attended this school with other princes and remembered well that the quiet daytime and beautiful nights made him forget the time (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1378).

A strong earthquake suddenly hit the tranquil imperial pleasance in the autumn of 1730 (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:329). The beautiful garden, according to the testimony of a Jesuit father, was instantly "reduced to a piteous condition.

” When the ground was shaking on September 20, the Yongzheng Emperor fled to a dragon barge for safety, and he remained on his boat throughout the night. Fearful of aftershocks, he and his family lived in a large tent for a lengthy period of time. As late as October 5, His Majesty still received European priests in his tent (Malone 1934, 58). He was obviously humbled by the quake; like other Sons of Heaven before him, he considered it a serious warning from Heaven. Hence, he issued a decree seeking Heaven’s pardon and forgiveness. Repairing the damaged Yuanming Yuan was not so difficult, as the royal treasury remained immensely rich.

Yongzheng spent most of his remaining years in the Yuanming Yuan. He rarely left the garden. Overall, he had a wonderful time. His enjoyment and delight were expressed in one of his many poems:

My royal garden is always delightful
In rain or under sunshine.
When the Spring comes to my chamber
The gill fungus look so clean.
A few petals of the falling flowers
Awoke me from a noontime snooze.
The sound of fishermen, I hear.
Relaxed, I feel.
Sitting under a pine tree, I enjoy
The music of birds from the bamboo forest.
Alas! The gentle east wind which reads my mind
Bows green grass into gentle waves. [44]

His pleasures in the garden were myriad. He enjoyed watching sunrise and sunset around the beautiful surroundings, reading and writing in his elegant chambers, conversing with officials and relatives in halls or in studios, and entertaining guests in flower-blossom-filled courtyards (cited in Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1322). He died at the age of fifty-eight in the Yuanming Yuan on the third day of his illness in the autumn of 1735 (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:340; Wu Zhenyu 1983, 297). Yongzheng’s secretive court life and sudden death inevitably caused rumors. It has been suggested that the emperor was assassinated by Lv Siniang, the daughter of the prominent Ming loyalist Lv Liuliang (1629–1683) (for example, see Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang 1985, 115–120),

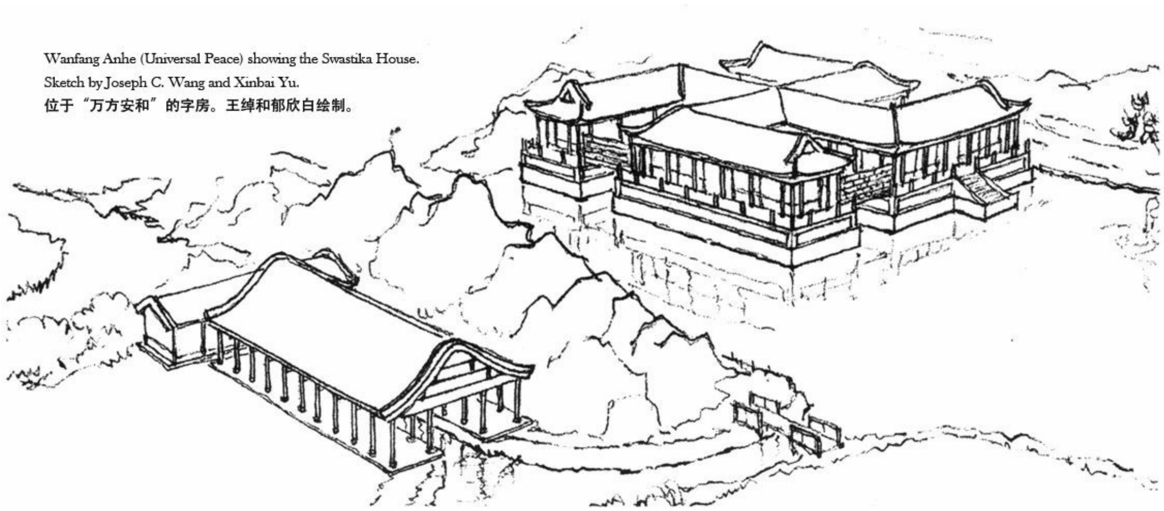
but more serious scholars find this fascinating story groundless. His sudden death was more likely caused by the misuse of drugs. It was no secret that Yongzheng had many Daoist alchemists, such as Zhang Taixu and Wang Dingqian, in the garden to manufacture drugs to cure his sickness (Feng Erkang 1995, 545, 548, 549).

The Golden Years

The crown prince Hongli's succession was never in dispute. The Yongzheng Emperor left behind in the Yuanming Yuan a copy of a concealed decree, which designated Hongli as his legitimate successor. After the posthumous decree had been announced, the prince ascended to the throne in the garden and then escorted the casket to the Forbidden City (Feng Erkang 1995, 553–554). As the Qianlong Emperor, he formally occupied the Yuanming Yuan in 1738 after having fulfilled the three-year mourning period (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:356). The young emperor had been born and raised in the Yuanming Yuan, where he was given the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall as his residence. When he was only six years old, he attended the memorable flower blossom party at the Peony Terrace on the Nine Continents together with his grandfather Kangxi and father Yongzheng. Years later, in 1722, the young prince again joined his grandfather and father to celebrate the lovely peony season in their beloved garden. These two gatherings of three generations of Manchu monarchs at the Yuanming Yuan's Peony Terrace were proudly recorded in the imperial annals. The Qianlong Emperor later erected on the spot a stone tablet inscribing the events with affection and gratitude to his forefathers, as well as a reminder that his was a great responsibility inherited from them (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1335–1337).

Qianlong continued to make the Yuanming Yuan the principal imperial garden and was most eager to expand it during his long reign (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1323–1324). No place in the garden meant more to him than the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall, where he spent his childhood. The hall was a huge compound consisting of a three-column-wide front building and a five-column-wide main building. Qianlong remembered when he sat in his study under the shadow of the tall evergreen trees with great pleasure. He spent many happy hours in his well-insulated warm room in winter and in an open-air pavilion ne

ar the hall during summer nights (cf. Qianlong’s poems as cited in *Yuanming Yuan Sishijing Tuyong* 1985, 28). Once he became the reigning emperor, he l et his beloved mother use this hall for the rest of her life.



Wanfang Anhe (Universal Peace) showing the Swastika House.
Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
位于“万方安和”的字房。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Like his father, Qianlong also attached deep sentiment to the Deep Vault of Heaven, where he spent his school years. As he vividly remembered, the m oonlight threw the bamboo shadows on the whitewashed walls in the midst of the elegant school buildings. The surrounding wood was filled with orchids a nd pine trees. He enjoyed reading books in the midst of the magic sounds of t he bamboo music (cited in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1378). Another memorable place for Qianlong was the Swastika House. It was built in 1727 on a solid br ick foundation surrounded by water, cool in summer and warm in winter (*YM YA* 1991, 2:1182). Qianlong was fascinated especially by the golden reflectio ns of the Swastika on the lake under an autumn moon, reminding him of the Buddha’s brilliance; he later renamed this scene the Universal Peace in honor of the Buddha’s blessing. Slightly north of here was situated the Peach-Bloss om Cove, a pleasant hideout for quiet moments.

In 1736, barely a month after he had ascended to the throne, Qianlong co mmissioned the court artists Castiglione, Tang Dai, and Shen Yuan, to draw a large atlas of the Yuanming Yuan. The collaborative drawing was completed in 1738 and hung on the northern wall of the Clear Sunshine Pavilion to the west side of the royal living quarters at the center of the Nine Continents (*YM YA* 1991, 2:1245).[45]

Drawing a picture of the entire Yuanming Yuan, however, did not mean

that the garden was complete. Qianlong seemed to have made up his mind to expand the garden ever more grandly very early on, but he was also sensitive to criticism for too much pleasure seeking. He ended all construction in 1740 in the aftermath of serious floods in West China at the request of the censor Liu Zao (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:366). As late as 1742, he still pledged not to undertake any additional garden projects (Yu Minzhong 1985, 2:1323). But by this time, the new and gigantic Ancestral Shrine, which cost more than 600,000 taels of silver, had already been completed. [46] Perhaps he could justify this particular project for filial reasons. Indeed, after its completion, to show his filial devotion, he paid frequent visits to the shrine. On the Qingming Festival, every fifth day of the fourth month of the lunar calendar, he personally performed the ceremony of ancestral worship in front of the memorial tablets of his forefathers. The other members of the royal family followed his lead. The event was well-described in his poem entitled "Paying a Visit to the Ancestral Shrine on the Memorial Day" ("Qingming Ri Baiye Anyou Gong"):

> Together with members of my family
> I pay tribute to the Shrine.
> Shadows of moving persons
> Confuse which is real and which is fantasy.
> I enjoy the mist in the air
> Which contains green willows near the bank.
> I feel no pity for the phoenix
> Who envies red peaches near the castle.
> I look in the distance from east to west
> At the tombs of my father and my grandfather.
> My soul and thoughts go with them
> I know how they feel. [47]

The completion of designating the Forty (Best) Views and their 200 structures in 1744 was a high mark in the history of the Yuanming Yuan. The delighted Qianlong ventured to write a poem for each of the impressionistic views drawn by the court artists Tang Dai and Shen Yuan. Indeed, the emperor expressed much of his satisfaction in living in his "paradise" in the form of poetry. He composed no less than 42,000 poems during his long life, of which many were written in the Yuanming Yuan.

The poetic visualized images may help us capture his sentiments derived from the changing seasons he observed in the garden. He liked to feel the fresh morning, following an overnight rain, at the front door of his hall in late spring. He sensed the spirit of the garden refreshed by the season’s blossoming trees and flowers. The morning breeze carried with it the delicate fragrance and scent of wildflowers. He was immensely fond of springtime. When the early summer arrived, he was aware that the long green shades had covered the courtyards and created countless artful shadows on the different floors. The summer heat with soft winds made him sleepy at noon. The returning swallows busily rebuilding their once abandoned homes reminded him that the summer was fading. This was the time to hear the sounds of cicadas coming from the willow trees, even though the noisy sounds were not particularly to his liking. He watched the autumn winds gradually turning the leaves in the woods and the hills into red or yellow to create an embroidery effect. The autumn was as agreeable as spring. He welcomed the warm sunshine by lifting the curtains of his south-side studio. Walking in the courtyard, he saw the pearly dew on the trees and the half-hiding fish in the ponds. The evening showers, quick and cool as he always sensed, made the Wutong trees wet and sparse. He admired the wonderful chrysanthemum bravely weathering frost in mid-September. He sometimes kept chrysanthemums and plums in a small greenhouse for a longer time. He fully confined himself to indoor activities during the deep winter. He often sat by the glass windows to watch the half-frozen waterways, a boundless blank view before him (Qianlong’s poems in *YMYJ* 1983, 2:57).

Just before completing the designation of the Forty Views, the Qianlong Emperor, who was sensitive to the Confucian ideal of frugal life, had pledged that he would not start any new garden projects. Actually, however, he soon started seemingly endless construction inside the imperial garden. Besides the emperor’s personal passion for garden beauty, two main reasons contributed to letting his passion prevail over his moral concerns. The first was that the empire during his reign had reached its peak and the imperial treasury was full enough to finance his indulgence (Sugimura Yūzō 1961, 218–223). Second, his repeated southern tours exposed to him the most attractive gardens and scenery in the lower Yangzi valley, thus tempting him to recreate in his own imperial garden the gentle southern scenes he liked the most.

Officially, the southern tours were to inspect his domain and the well-be

ing of the people; however, he missed no opportunity for sight-seeing. His first trip, stretching from February to May 1751, had ninety-two stops en route. He repeated similar tours in 1757, 1762, 1765, 1780, and 1784 to show his continuous fascination with the unique natural environment of the south and with the refined southern-style architecture, in particular the elegant Suzhou gardens. He had draftsmen and artists accompany him to copy southern wonders that he wanted to recreate in the Eternal Spring Garden. It was not uncommon that he brought back the blueprint of a complete garden and rebuilt it to scale at a particular site in his imperial pleasance. [48] Numerous gardens, structures, and scenes borrowed from the south were recreated in the Eternal Spring Garden, which was an integral part of the Yuanming Yuan. When Qianlong celebrated his eightieth grand birthday in 1790, the garden had fully grown into a glory of which the aged emperor was immensely proud. [49]

When Qianlong enjoyed his grand birthday gala in his imperial garden, the outside world had changed dramatically. The rising British commercial empire wanted to extend its trade to the “immobile” Celestial Empire. Cultural exclusiveness and lack of communication and understanding at last brought “two worlds in collision” (cf. Peyrefitte 1992).

The Macartney Mission

In 1792, London sent the senior diplomat Lord Macartney (1737–1806) to China for the expansion of trade in the name of honoring the Qianlong Emperor’s eightieth birthday. Regional officials in Guangdong, however, reported to the court that the king of England sent his envoy with “precious tribute” (*guizhong gongwu*)for the emperor’s birthday celebration (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 612–614). The mission was clearly taken by the Qing side as a tributary mission. Qianlong appointed the Salt Administrator Zhengrui, who began his career as an Imperial Household man in the Yuanming Yuan, to take care of the guests from afar (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 674, 692).

Macartney and his suite “prosecuted their journey towards the capital of China without fatigue and inconvenience.” The ambassador reached Beijing on August 21, 1793, and the arrival “was announced by the firing of guns; and refreshments were made ready for all the gentlemen, at a resting place within the gate.” Then the ambassador proceeded on a granite pavement to arrive a

t the town of Haidian on August 23. The Britons were assigned to a twelve-acre villa containing "a garden laid out in serpentine walks," and the "buildings in this place consisted of several separate pavilions, erected round small courts." The ambassador's lodging was obviously the Grand Elegant Garden (Hongya Yuan), or "Hoong-ya-yuen" in Staunton's account (Staunton 1799, 2:2, 19, 24, 29; Crammer-Byng 1962, 92), a distinguished guesthouse in the neighborhood of the Yuanming Yuan.

In the morning on August 24, the Imperial Household man Jin Jian arranged a tour for the guests to see the Main Audience Hall in the Yuanming Yuan. Samuel Holmes, a soldier of Macartney's guard, caught sight of the imperial garden, which "contained a vast variety of elegant little buildings" (Holmes 1798, 134). To show his interest in the mission, Qianlong also asked his favorite official Heshen (Ho-shen, 1750–1799), already a rising star in the imperial officialdom (Hummel 1975, 288–290), to look after the foreigners. According to Jin Jian and Yiling'a's report to the court, the lodging for the British had been thoroughly cleaned, sufficiently supplied with provisions, and fully secured by troops. The foreigners, they said, were content with the large and comfortable accommodations and plentiful food supply (*YMYA* 1991, 1:342–343, 350).

George Staunton also recounted Ambassador Macartney and the condition of his suite. The "apartments were handsome, and not ill-contrived," as Staunton put it, and "several of them were adorned with landscapes, painted in water-colours." The regret was that the guesthouse "wanted repairs for being empty for sometime" (1799, 2:24). Also, the presence of the security guards men made the Britons feel that they were denied the liberty of passing beyond the walls of the palatial garden, and they even took it as an insult and felt "in a state of honorable imprisonment" (Anderson 1795, 112). While the food was delicious, especially the northern Chinese-style noodles, the Britons complained about being placed in the "charming and delightful" woods farther from the heart of the Chinese capital (Peyrefitte 1992, 130; Mageerni 1916, 1:43–44). The ambassador and his advisors seemed unaware of the importance of the Yuanming Yuan as the center of Chinese political activity.

While Lord Macartney's lodging appeared handsome and comfortable, John Barrow, together with Dr. Dinwiddie and two mechanics, found their acc

ommodations shabby, filthy, miserable, and more fitting “for hogs than for human creatures.” In fact, they lived inside the Yuanming Yuan, “scarcely two hundred yards from the great hall of audience” (1805, 73). Apparently, they lived near the Audience Hall for the convenience of installing the presents that the ambassador had brought to the Qing emperor. It was entirely possible that the Chinese took them as less prestigious people and actually allotted them the servants’ apartment at the Inner Palace Gate. Each of the seventy-four English craftsmen and servants working in the Yuanming Yuan, however, was awarded ten taels of silver by the Imperial Household (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 570).

On August 26, the embassy was transferred to Beijing as Macartney requested; however, John Barrow, the ambassador’s personal secretary, together with the astronomer, James Dinwiddie, were left behind in the Yuanming Yuan in order to help in the slow process of assembling the gifts to the emperor. It was Qianlong’s wishes to display eight major pieces of the British tributes inside the Yuanming Yuan, and he would personally view them upon returning from Rehe (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 671; Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 139, 564, 568, 569). Macartney was also eager to show the British gifts in order to impress the Qing emperor and to facilitate the process of negotiation.

John Barrow thus lived in the Yuanming Yuan longer than any other Britons, but he found the imperial garden not really impressive. For him, the general appearance was being “broken into hill and dale, and diversified with wood and lawn.” The abundant canals, rivers, and large sheets of water “are neither trimmed, nor shorn, nor sloped like the glacis of a fortification, but have been thrown up with immense labour in an irregular and, as it were, fortuitous manner, so as to represent the free hand of nature.” In short, in his opinion, the Yuanming Yuan fell “very short of the fanciful and extravagant descriptions that Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardening.” Nevertheless, he still admired the “bold rocky promontories jutting into a lake, the pleasure-houses erected in particular spots, and the trees being placed according to their magnitudes” (Barrow 1805, 83).

Barrow also admitted that he had only made “little excursions” into the garden “by stealth,” because his pride made him extremely unwilling to be st

opped by a eunuch or an inferior officer. His miserable living condition plus anxiety over being "watched" might very well have affected his opinion that the Chinese "are as deficient in proportion as their construction is void of every rule and principle which we are apt to consider as essential to architecture" (Barrow 1805, 84). Obviously, his opinion ran counter to the ambassador's observation. Macartney found "some buildings at Yuanming Yuan which, as pieces of brickwork, are superior both in point of materials and workmanship to Tyrconnel House in the southwest corner of Hanover Square, which is boasted of as the most perfect thing of the sort in England" (Crammer-Byng 1962, 264). In fact, Barrow himself was conscious of his subjectivity. He cited in great length Lord Macartney's favorable observation of Chinese architecture and gardening (Barrow 1805, 86–92).

Macartney saw the Chengde summer resort quite extensively, but he also had the opportunity to tour a part of the Yuanming Yuan on August 23. He was impressed by the artistic creativity and by the magnificent landscape dotted with numerous pavilions linked "by passages earnestly cut through stupendous rocks, or by fairyland galeries" (Robbins 1908, 275; Mageerni 1916, 1:48). The ambassador was deeply impressed by the 150-foot-long and 60-foot-wide Main Audience Hall. In it, he admired the splendid room, showed respect to the throne, and offered a Latin translation to the hall: *"Verus, Magnus, Gloriosus, Splendidus, Felix"* (Upright, Great, Glorious, Famous, Fortunate) (*YMYA* 1991, 1:345; Staunton 1799, 2:25; Crammer-Byng 1962, 95; Peyrefitte 1992, 136; Mageerni 1916, 1:49).

Eight pieces of the gifts, or articles of tribute for the Qing emperor, the Britons brought with them were unloaded in the Yuanming Yuan to be assembled for His Majesty's inspection (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 671, 698, 700). The terrestrial and the celestial globes were placed on both sides of the throne in the Audience Hall. The "lustres" were hung from the ceiling. The planetarium, which took about eighteen days to assemble, was put at one end of the hall. The Vulliamy clocks, the barometer, the Wedgwood porcelain, and Fraser's orrery were settled at the other end (Mageerni 1916, 1:51; cf. Fang Yujin 1984, 93, 95). More noticeably, the model of a warship and six small field guns were displayed inside the Main Audience Hall and the Homely Memorial Hall (Danhuai Tang) respectively. "It looked like a preview of the British pavilion," as Peyrefitte puts it, "at an international exhibition" (*YMYA* 1991, 1:331,

342; Peyrefitte 1992, 138–139; Staunton 1799, 2:25–29). Indeed, Manchu princes, Tartar generals, and Han Chinese mandarins arrived in large numbers to see the “exhibition” (Mageerni 1916, 1:54–55).

Qianlong took note in his official correspondence of these impressive “strange tributary goods” from a distant country, and he instructed the Chinese workers and craftsmen to learn from the British how to install and dismantle foreign equipment. He was distressed to hear that the large astrological piece could not be dismantled once it was installed and insisted in his instructions to the responsible officials on knowing the tricks. But he seemed unaware of the scientific implications of this equipment, except for his concern that Chinese workmen might not know how to handle them well after the departure of the foreigners (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:344, 348–354; Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 695–696; Fang Yujin 1984, 96).

It was on September 2 that the Macartney party of seventy, leaving twenty-one men behind either in Beijing or the Yuanming Yuan, set out for Chengde to meet with the Qianlong Emperor. The Britons passed the Great Wall and altogether took six days to arrive at Qianlong’s summer palace (Staunton 1799, 2:45–60; Mageerni 1916, 2:1). Due to the con-troversy over protocol, Qianlong did not grant the Britons an audience until September 14. The historical encounter took place in a vast yurt, and a ritual banquet followed the ritual presentations. On the next day, Macartney followed the Qianlong Emperor to visit a Buddhist temple and toured the imperial parks known as the Chengde Summer Mountain Retreat in Rehe, in which the British took great delight (Staunton 1805, 2:80–84; cf. Peyrefitte 1992, 223–235, 249–251; Mageerni 1916, 2:10–23).

September 17, 1793 was the Qianlong Emperor’s eighty-third birthday. His Majesty received well-wishers, including the Mongolian princes and Burmese envoys, at the Danbo Ningjing (Simple Life in Quietude) Court in the mountain retreat. Macartney and his deputy Staunton, according to Grand Council archival sources, “were present in front of the throne,” and performed the full kowtow, “kneeling three times, each time bowing their head to the ground thrice” (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 147; cf. Qin Guojing 1996, 50). Beyond doubt, the British resisted performing the kowtow, but Qianlong and his officials persisted in stating that the universal rule of the Celestial

Empire made no exception for the British. The foreigners from afar were earnestly warned about the importance of being acquainted with the ritual. At one point, Qianlong made himself clear in a decree that he was accommodating anything so long as it upheld the *Tizhi* (the well-established polity), which required the kowtow in imperial audience. The emperor even reiterated that even the king himself should perform the ritual at his court (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 9, 174; cf. 10, 13, 148, 172, 173; Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 715–716).

The kowtow in modern Western discourse is an insulting and degrading act. Especially in Britain, kneeling had always been associated with subjugation. But the Qing Empire representing the Confucian world order took it for granted that the ritual was simply a time-honored gesture of showing respect to the sovereign, in no way humiliating the performer (cf. Hevia 1995, 225–248). Qianlong could not possibly allow Macartney to bend one knee only, thus violating the integrity of the long-standing imperial audience. Nor was it necessary for Qianlong to make such concession under the circumstances. In fact, the Grand Council specifically instructed Zhengrui on August 18 that the Englishmen “must be verse in the kowtow before they could be present to an imperial audience” (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 692). Moreover, it was extremely unlikely that should the British refuse to perform kowtow, the Qing emperor would invite the British ambassador and his suites to attend a banquet and watch fireworks at the Wanshu Yuan (Ten-Thousand Tree Garden) in the evening on September 18 (Staunton 1799, 2:68, 73–79). Very possibly, the British at last reluctantly abided by the ritual in hopes of achieving the objectives of the mission. In any event, Macartney was the British diplomat who performed the kowtow. After all, the archival documents have confirmed the Chinese assertion and the Russian interpreter Vladykin’s testimony that “the British ambassador did perform three kneelings and nine head-knockings” (Rockhill 1905, 31).

The British mission left Chengde on September 21 and was back in Beijing on September 26. [50] Upon the British departure, Qianlong learned about the requests of a permanent British presence in Beijing and expansion of trade on the coast. These requests, if granted, would inevitably alter the Chinese *Tizhi* , as Qianglong noted in his message to the British king. Upset, His Majesty instructed that “they are definitely unpermitted” (*duan buke xing*). He even

would have cancelled the big banquet in honor of the British at the Main Audience Hall in the Yuanming Yuan had it not been promised. This was quite a change in attitude toward the British. Initially, on August 14, the emperor enthusiastically instructed Jin Jian through the Grand Council that the foreign guests should be fully entertained. His Majesty even specifically suggested a dragon boat show in the Yuanming Yuan (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan 1996, 14, 154, 172; Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 677, 738). But the British intention of chanllenging the *Tizhi* turned his stomach.

Hoping to speak to the emperor again, regardless of being hobbled by rheumatism, Macartney moved to Haidian on Sunday, September 29, in order to meet the returning emperor on the road. But the emperor was eager to end the mission, since all the British "tributes" had been laid out for exhibition in the Yuanming Yuan. Still showing his generosity to the people from afar, however reluctantly, the returning Qianlong instructed Jin Jian, the director of the Imperial Household, through the Grand Council that the leaving foreign guests should be properly housed, fed, and entertained, including a tour of the imperial garden and the nearby Longevity Hills. In addition, they could also attend the ceremony to welcome His Majesty's return to be held at the Grand East Gate of the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYA* 1991, 1:330–331, 335–338).

On September 30, the Britons got up at four o'clock in the morning and arrived at their ground about six to join the crowd of several thousand at a place north of the Yuanming Yuan. The emperor rode on a palanquin carried by eight men, followed by a chariot. With troops in holiday dress standing at intervals of fifty yards from each other and with a blowing trumpet, the imperial procession moved slowly on a newly paved road, which had been watered to lessen the dust. "The approach of the emperor," as Barrow observed, "was announced by a blast of the trumpet, followed by softer music, and at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the cornet, flutes, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kind of music" (sic). The emperor passed the mounted Briton, who saluted the procession, but Macartney obtained no opportunity to speak to Qianlong. He had a brief meeting with the powerful minister Heshen inside the Yuanming Yuan on October 2 and returned to Beijing in exhaustion (Barrow 1805, 80; cf. Crammer-Byng 1962, 144–145; Mageerni 1916, 2:51–52, 54). The scheduled banquet in honor of the British guests in the Yuanming Yuan was relocated inside the Forbidden City as a farewell dinner (*YMYA* 1991, 1:35

7–358).

The emperor set October 7 (the fifth day of the ninth month by the Chinese calendar), or five days after the final ceremony, as the deadline for the departure of the British because the mission, judged as a regular tributary mission by the Chinese, was accomplished. Since the tributary goods were fully delivered and the gifts from the Celestial Empire were also given, there was no reason for the British to remain in China (cf. Fang Yujin 1984, 96; Peyrefitte 1992, 272–273).

The archive contains a poem composed by Qianlong about the Macartney mission at the time of the audience. The contents of the poem, if accurately scrutinized, give no doubt to the fact that the emperor was determined to put the British under the control of the Sinocentric world order:

The Portuguese had once come to pay tributes;
Now the English have arrived to render allegiance.
Neither Shu Hai nor Heng Zhang were such wide ranging travelers;
The Virtue of my ancestors had extended across the distant ocean.
(So the coming of these men from afar.)
Though unsurprised, I am truly heartened.
I treasure not so much the exquisite gifts from alien lands,
But I am concerned about how to control men from afar
through mollification.
I must show them generosity and magnanimity,
So to maintain prosperity and peace (of the world). [51]

To Qianlong, he was not adopting a closed-door policy. Rather, he was defending the integrity of a world order that was vitally important to the security and peace of his vast empire. In his mind, stationing a permanent British ambassador in Beijing, or imposing the alien system of nation-states on China, was utterly out of the question. Yet, he was con-cerned when the Grand Council reported that the Englishmen showed displeasure when they were requested to leave. His Majesty instructed the governors-general in the coastal region to be attentive and on guard for fear that the resentful British might disrupt coastal peace (Gugong Bowuyuan 1990, 746, 749).

The Titsingh Mission

In 1795, less than two years after the departure of Lord Macartney, there came the Dutch mission headed by Isaac Titsingh (1745–1811) and Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739–1801). The latter had been in charge of the Dutch factory in Guangzhou since 1790. He had an ardent interest in China and wished to represent the Dutch in Beijing. He seized the opportunity of Qianlong's jubilee celebrations in 1795–1796 to recommend to his superiors at Batavia to send a congratulatory mission. The Dutch commissioners-general at Batavia accepted the recommendation, but he appointed Isaac Titsingh, once head of the Dutch factory at Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki, Japan, as ambassador. Van Braam was made Titsingh's deputy (Duyvendak 1938–1939, 4, 11; Boxer 1939, 9–12).

Titsingh sailed from Batavia on August 15, 1794, and met van Braam on board his ship two days later. The Dutch then traveled from Guangzhou to Beijing during the severest winter season, and they suffered from appalling lodging and food on the road. For them the journey "more resembled a forced march" (Boxer 1939, 16). Their plight caught the attention of the Qing court, and the Qianlong Emperor specifically decreed on December 22, 1794, that on their return trip, the Dutch "should be given the same courtesy as given to the British" (Duyvendak 1938–1939, 43; the decree is cited on p. 88).

The Dutch arrived at the imperial capital on January 9, 1795, and the first imperial audience took place on January 12. They took carriages to the Forbidden City at 5:00 a.m. They all performed the kowtow when the Qianlong Emperor arrived. They found the aged emperor "had a good and kind appearance, and was dressed in black fur" (Boxer 1939, 21). Perhaps because they were more accommodating of the Chinese court-etiquette, the Dutch received greater attention than the British, including a trip with the emperor to the Temple of Heaven on January 27. No doubt they managed to see a lot more of Beijing and its environs than their British predecessors (Duyvendak 1938–1939, 53–54, 63).

On January 30, the Dutch followed the Qianlong Emperor to the Yuanming Yuan imperial garden. They took lodging at Haidian. Early the next morning, the Dutch ambassador served his duty at the garden court as he had inside the Forbidden City. Shortly after sunrise, the octogenarian Qianlong sat in an armchair inside a dome-shaped tent in the Drill Field to receive both the Du

tch and the Korean visitors. The Koreans came specifically to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the Qianlong reign. The emperor then invited his Korean and Dutch guests to have breakfast with him at the Drill Field, “a great open space in a wood.” Each table served fifty dishes with wine, plus the usual entertainment of acrobatics and dancing. The aged emperor spoke kindly to his guests and offered Chinese music and skits to entertain them. Van Braam, however, disliked the Chinese entertainment, which he found confusing and his mind was soon fatigued, thus banishing “every idea of amusement.”

Jiuzhou Qingyan (Nine Continents in Peace), the royal living quarters. Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “九州清晏”为皇帝的寝宫。王绰和郁欣白绘制。



Afterward, most extraodinarily, they were taken to see the royal living quarters on the Nine Continents. Titsingh left behind his observation as follows:

> Never did I see a more enchanting spot either in reality or in picture. From here we were pulled across the ice to the other side in sledges with yellow ropes; there we visited five temples in beauty equalling those of Peking but f

> ar surpassing them with respect to their site, being constructed in terraces on the hillside, as well as by their natural and artificial rockeries and the free view across the water. The beautiful buildings on the other bank and the entire region furnished a picture whose beauty cannot be adequately described. From the highest temple we had a wide view on the city of Peking and this enchanting place.... All the picturesqueness so much admired in Chinese paintings was relished here in the highest degree. One was completely transported by the beauty. [52]

The Dutch, in time, were to observe the lively Lantern Festival with their Chinese hosts. They saw theatricals and watched fireworks on the Drill Field in the evening on February 3. The next morning, they ate breakfast with Qianlong in the Main Audience Hall in the garden. On February 5, they watched "good" fireworks again, as well as enjoyed "a dance performed by two dragons pursuing the moon." The Dutch left the garden for Beijing on the following day (cf. Duyvendak 1938–1939, 68–70).

It seems that the Dutch toured the Yuanming Yuan quite extensively largely due to the hospitality of the emperor's favorite minister Heshen, to whom the Dutch referred as the "Voo-tchong-tang," He Zhongtang (The Honorable He) in correct transliteration. Heshen patiently showed the Dutch how to see goldfish of various sorts, to travel on the frozen canals, and even to inspect the emperor's living quarters. Van Braam described the royal room as "neatly furnished in the Chinese taste, containing a few books and some very valuable curiosities" (cited in Danby 1950, 155).

Also, the Dutch visited the "magnificently beautiful" new palace garden at the foot of the Longevity Hills, presumably the Pure Ripple Garden (later renamed the Yihe Yuan in the late nineteenth century). The Dutch watched the emperor skating in his sleigh on a frozen lake, most likely the Kunming Lake. Van Braam only regretted that he missed the European section in the Eternal Spring Garden. We have no way of knowing why Heshen was not eager to show the Europeans their own style of buildings. However, on behalf of the emperor, Heshen presented to the Dutch very valuable gifts and entertained them with wrestling, tumbling, music, fireworks, and a lavish banquet in the presence of Qianlong. Van Braam also saw the Main Audience Hall, which he found "paved with white marble and hung with lanterns." Most likely, no other European at the time had seen much more of the Yuanming Yuan than van Br

aam (cf. Danby 1950, 156–158).

That the Dutch, unlike the British, gave no challenge to the host country's *Tizhi* certainly minimized bad blood, and the fact their arrival corresponded incidentally with the Koreans in honor of Qianlong's grand anniversary might also have given the proud old man a good impression. Evidently, the Dutch made no complaints about being in the company of the Koreans to pay tribute to the Celestial Empire.

The Dutch returned from Beijing to the Yuanming Yuan on February 8, 1795, to attend more entertainment on the Drill Field. On this occasion, both Titsingh and van Braam were very impressed by Qianlong's presence. They noticed "how straight Ch'ien Lung (Qianlong) held himself and how he walked without any support, his stature being higher than the average" (Duyvendak 1938–1939, 70–71; Boxer 1939, 24–25). On February 10, the Dutch received another audience inside the Forbidden City. Qianlong, besides bestowing presents, likewise wrote a letter to the king of Holland, then already in exile in England, to underline his magnanimity and unwaving stand on the established Chinese system. The Dutch left Beijing on February 15. On their way southward, after a side trip to Hangzhou, they returned to Guangzhou on May 9, 1795. Clearly, the mission was far more ceremonial than substantial (Duyvendak 1938–1939, 72–74, 76–77, 85, 90, 92; cf. Peyrefitte 1992, 498).

The Amherst Mission

Since the Qianlong Emperor assigned the same tribute-bearers to the British and the Dutch as he had to the Koreans, he missed the historic significance of the presence of the Europeans in China. He showed no detectable anxiety and uneasiness even after Lord Macartney tried deliberately to impress him with the open display of modern field guns inside the Yuanming Yuan. Nor were any of his numerous officials immediately aware of the potential menace of the impressive guns. Two mountain howitzers were still sitting quietly among countless jade stones, jars, enamels, bronzes, clocks, and watches in a building near the Main Audience Hall when the Anglo-French allied forces captured the Yuanming Yuan in 1860 (General Grant's account cited in Malone 1934, 182). The guns were stored in the same manner as the jade and jars. Apparently, Qianlong considered the guns merely newfangled gadgets.

The guns as well as the three elegant and comfortable carriages made by John Hatchett of Long Acre and taken by Lord Macartney to the Qianlong Emperor were never used but were kept in one of the buildings as tributary trophies. The Dutch van Braam saw the coach still “exquisitely painted, perfectly well varnished, and the whole of the carriage covered with gilding.” More than half a century later, after the Anglo-French force occupied the Yuanming Yuan, Elgin’s interpreter Robert Swinhoe discovered in the garden two of the three carriages Macartney presented to Qianlong still “intact and in good order” (cf. Crammer-Byng 1962, 366–367; Barrow 1805, 76–77, 145). The question about why the Qianlong Emperor stuck by his clumsy chariot and never used the elegant easy carriages the British had brought to him is quite revealing. Apparantly the Hatchett-designed carriage did not take into consideration Chinese etiquette, so the driver would have sat on the elevated box higher than the seat of the emperor and with his back turned to His Majesty. Here Qianlong unequivocally sacrificed modern convenience for the pride of the throne.

Many years after the Macartney mission, in 1816, London requested to send another mission to China so as to remove the “grievances of the Canton trade.” Evidently, having virtually no idea of how mighty was Britain’s power, the Jiaqing Emperor, like his father Qianlong, took it to be just another tributary mission from a foreign country. Following the precedents of the 1793 visit, Jiaqing would grant an imperial audience, offer a grand banquet, and entertain the visitors in the Yuanming Yuan (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 208). A seven-day agenda was set. Give a reception in the Yuanming Yuan on the first day. Present the guests formally in the Main Audience Hall on the second day, after hearing an opera at the All-Happy Garden. Offer a grand banquet in the Main Audience Hall on the third day. Show the English visitors around the Longevity Hills on the fourth day. Bid farewell in the Yuanming Yuan on the fifth day. Give the official farewell banquet at the Board of Rites, together with a ceremony to bestow rewards on the Britons in the Forbidden City, on the sixth day. Finally, on the seventh day, bid farewell to the visitors departing from Beijing (*YMYA* 1991, 1:448). This agenda indicates that Jiaqing’s understanding of the mission was no different from Qianlong’s, that it was ceremonial, customary, and recreative as a normal tributary mission, in clear contrast to the British intention of expanding trade.

Earl William Pitt Amherst (1773–1857) headed the second British missi

on. Despite the more than two decades since Macartney’s visit, no improvement in understanding between China and Britain had come about. Moreover, with its increased strength, London was less willing to compromise, in particular on the question of the kowtow.

After Amherst arrived in Tianjin, he expressed gratitude to the throne by only removing his hat thrice and nodding his head nine times. The mandarins rebuffed Amherst by pointing out that Macartney had performed the kowtow in 1793. They even solicited the testimony from the young Staunton in the Amherst party, who had been with the Macartney mission as a little boy. The mandarins were furious when Staunton replied that he did not recall what had happened twenty years ago. But they were firm that the set rule of the Celestial Empire required all officials, high and low, and envoys from many dozens of vessel states, such as Korea and Annam (Vietnam), to perform the kowtow in imperial audiences. “Should you refuse to abide by the Chinese ritual,” they insisted, “an imperial audience would definitely not be granted to you.” Inevitably, Amherst was repeatedly pressured by his Chinese hosts along the way to follow the ritual (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’anguan 1996, 210, 212). The controversy plagued and deepened the ill feeling on both sides.

When Amherst definitely refused to comply, the procession was stalled at Tongzhou, ten miles from Beijing. Ten days of tense negotiation did not really settle the problem. In ambiguity, the Amherst party of seventy-five moved on toward the Yuanming Yuan. They took lodging at Haidian in a hot summer night. Apparently unaware of how exhausted his guests were, the Jiaqing Emperor wanted to see them early next morning at the Main Audience Hall in the Yuanming Yuan as scheduled. Reluctant to be presented in any undignified manner, however, Amherst pled for more resting time. Nevertheless, the mandarins, who dared not alter the imperial agenda, rudely tried to force his hand. The furious Amherst thus abruptly shook off the twisting arm and instantly antagonized the mandarins, who reported to the court the viciousness and arrogance of the British. Badly disturbed, Jiaqing abruptly ended the mission. This was a real expulsion, and consequently the British turned back home without even seeing the Yuanming Yuan, which was within walking distance. In his letter to the King of England, Jiaqing complained specifically of Amherst’s refusal to abide by the ritual Macartney had performed in 1793. The emperor laid the blame squarely on the British envoy (Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang’an

guan 1996, 213, 214; *YMYA* 1991, 1:448–450; Malone 1934, 173–174; Danby 1950, 170–175; Hsu 1983, 163–166).

The Twilight Years

Qianlong abdicated in 1795, not because he was ready to yield power but because he had once promised to Heaven that with the grace of longevity he would not occupy the throne more than sixty years, which represents a complete cycle in the Chinese tradition of dating. He thus summoned his sons to the Diligent Court, or the royal office room, in the Yuanming Yuan on the Chinese New Year's Day of 1796 (February 9, 1796) to designate his successor. The fifteenth son, Yongyan, or Prince Jia, was chosen to become the Jaiqing Emperor. But the change of the throne turned out to be a mere formality. Qianlong continued to make decisions behind the scene in the name of the "Super-emperor" (*taishang huang*) (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:563; Kahn 1971, 191–199).

Moreover, afraid of losing power, Qianlong actually placed Jiaqing under surveillance. His trusted henchman Heshen reported to him details as trivial as what route or gate the emperor took to go to the Yuanming Yuan and what clothes he put on during the hundred-day mourning period for the imperial mother (cited in Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 14–15). Under the circumstances, the Jiaqing Emperor had to keep a low profile and do his best to be a filial son. Once he tried to please his father by inviting the most senior scholar-officials, some of them over ninety, to a banquet in his father's honor. He gladly announced at the banquet that the combined age of the hosts and the guests was exactly one thousand, implying that he wished his father good health and a long life (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:567). When Qianlong finally passed away on February 7, 1799, however, Jiaqing lost no time in seizing power. The corrupt Heshen was quickly put on trial and executed. Incidentally, Qianlong, the greatest patron of the Yuanming Yuan, died suddenly in the Forbidden City instead of the imperial garden as he had planned.

The Jiaqing Emperor did not occupy the Yuanming Yuan until after his father died. Like his father, he continued spending generously on garden projects. He expended an astronomical sum to finish the incomplete projects in the Variegated Spring Garden, which had been recently integrated into the imperial garden. [53] In 1812, for instance, he gave the Grand Palace Gate and the M

ain Audience Hall a new look. In the short span of six months, he spent 40,000 taels of silver for garden works. Then he renovated the Wave-Pacifying Garden, the Wall of Sravasti, the All-Happy Garden, and the Eternal Sunshine Hall, successively. In the end, he added many significant new scenes to the Yuanming Yuan, including the Smoky Rain Chamber, the Spreading Spring Hall, the Mindful-Ploughing Villa, and a new rice field (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 197).

Despite the continuation of construction in the Yuanming Yuan, the finances to sustain such enormous expenditures up to this time were still sound. Importantly, Jiaqing had a helping hand from the highly profitable Salt Administration, an official organ, which monopolized the lucrative salt business. Early in 1800, for example, he had 100,000 taels delivered from the Yuanming Yuan to the Salt Administration for earning interest (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1003). Another government agency, the Department of Storage (Guangchu Si), had once given 50,000 taels to the Yuanming Yuan as a reserve (Yang Naiji 1986, 37).

In fact, the imperial garden received from elsewhere not only large sums of cash but expensive gifts. Upon completion of the Bamboo Pavilion in 1814, the Huai Salt Agency donated more than two hundred pieces of valuable purple sandalwood furniture. Their quality and design were in the tradition of the Zhu family craftsmanship from Yangzhou, the best since the Ming period. The sandalwood furniture of various different designs was considered a precious gift to wish people pomegranates and eternity. A few years later, prior to the completion of the Beauty-Covered Mountain Cottage (Jiexiu Shanfang) in 1817, the same agency offered two hundred more sandalwood window frames and lattices. These were not isolated instances. Whenever a new garden structure was completed, agencies or persons always rushed to offer valuable gifts, usually artistic and useful pieces to decorate the newly complete structures (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 207).

Jiaqing definitely showed greater concern over security. With the increasing unrest throughout the empire since the turn of the century, the court had upgraded the security of all imperial gardens. No sooner had he assumed power in 1799 than he enlisted five more companies of troops from the reorganized Manchu Banner Battalions for the defense of the Yuanming Yuan (*Qingshigao* 1976, 14:3853; Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 22). As a result, the total number of garden guards rose to 6,408 (*Qingshigao* 1976, 14:3886).

Threats to security, nonetheless, occurred. First in 1803, when the Jiaqing Emperor traveled from the Yuanming Yuan to the Forbidden City, a Manchu bannerman tried to attack him. It was a scare, even though the assassin was quickly apprehended (Feng Erkang 1995, 546). Then, on an autumn day in 1813, a party of rebels led by Chen Shuang sneaked into the grounds of the Forbidden City. Although no rebels escaped alive, the emperor and his mandarins were shaken, as never before had rebels of any sort come so close to the emperor (*Qingshigao* 1976, 3:603). Such alarm naturally called for tighter security. Indeed, the Imperial Household quickly appropriated 140,000 taels of silver in 1815 to build 1,096 more units of barracks in the vicinity of the Yuanming Yuan in order to accommodate more troops (*YMYA* 1991, 1:442–444).

Threats, however, were not confined to the hinterland. Menace along the coast also loomed large. Even though the tranquility of the Canton system of trade was generally maintained, rising British maritime power and the discontented European traders inevitably threatened the status quo. The British seized Macau in 1802 and 1808, attacked the Chinese tributary of Nepal, and took custody of an American steamer off Canton in 1814. Great Britain got away with all these incidents by forcing her way, with no regard to the Chinese protests.

The Amherst mission of 1816, as discussed earlier, was disastrous. Jiaqing seems to have regretted it for a while but obviously did not take it very seriously. Nor did he take any significant action to meet the potential British challenge. He continued spending more money on garden projects than on maritime defense. He had already spent 40,000 taels of silver for projects in the Yuanming Yuan within six months after Amherst's departure. When the emperor was sixty years old in 1819, the royal treasury could still afford a lavish celebratory fanfare, with colorful decorations extending all the way from Beijing to the gates of the Yuanming Yuan, compatible with Qianlong's grand birthday (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 132). There was no noticeable sense of crisis.

Suddenly in 1820 Jiaqing died during his annual hunting trip to Rehe. The suggestion that he was stricken by "lightning" (Danby 1950, 174) cannot be verified. Jiaqing's successor was Daoguang, his second son, who escorted the coffin in a procession of one hundred twenty-seven men, plus a company of imperial guardsmen, back to Beijing (Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 16). The newly a

scended emperor did not occupy the Yuanming Yuan until he fulfilled the mourning period in 1823. He made some significant new arrangements in the imperial gardens. He moved the dowager and concubines from the Joyful Spring Garden, Kangxi’s original imperial garden, to the Variegated Spring Garden (Huang Jun 1979, 2:433; Cai Shenzhi n.d., 128). The absence of the imperial consorts and much of the staff inevitably led the Joyful Spring Garden to sink into oblivion. Also, he generously gave the Xichun Yuan to his brother Prince Chun. This cessation together with that of Chunxi Yuan to Princess Gulun by Jiaqing in 1802 at last defined the principal components of the Yuanming Yuan as three (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1671, 1674).

A poem written by Daoguang reveals his feeling when he rode a horse entering into the gates of the Yuanming Yuan for the first time as emperor. The familiar garden struck him as beautiful as ever. The sleek snow, he noticed, still covered the creeks and hills in the distance. No sooner had he walked into his royal office, known as the Diligent Court, than he sensed the great responsibility he had newly assumed. The garden environment made him nostalgic about the happy bygone days, and he was most grateful to his forefathers for leaving behind such a marvelous palatial garden. Gratitude made him take a vow that he would forever follow the good examples set by his predecessors to be a benevolent ruler with a prudent policy (cited in Sun Xiong 1971, 21).

Daoguang is known as a prudent, kind, and thrifty ruler (*Qingshigao* 1976, 4:709). But he cannot be considered frugal so far as spending on the Yuanming Yuan is concerned. In fact, he was as eager as his predecessors to make the imperial garden appear greater and better. Moreover, the financial condition of the Yuanming Yuan upon his ascendancy was still solvent. The 1824 review of the Yuanming Yuan treasury showed significant surplus. The 1818 garden account recorded 92,343.925 taels of silver in surplus, and in five years the garden had collected 1,486,757 more taels plus cash (*YMYA* 1991, 1:494). Besides interest and land rents, much of the revenue drew from rich agencies. The Department of Storage continued delivering cash to the Yuanming Yuan as a reserve (*YMYA* 1991, 1:507–508).

Ample available money allowed Daoguang to construct the Luxurious Prudent Virtue Hall (Shende Tang), new royal living quarters, on the Nine Continents in 1830. The hall featured three connected waving roofs on a square-s

haped structure. The waving roofs with their light wings and pointed corners express in a lively manner the unique character of Chinese garden art and sta nd out among the most commonly used roof forms, such as the “full-gable ro of” (*yingshan*), the “gable-and-hip roof” (*xieshan*), and the “pyramidal roof” (*tiaoshan*). The new hall did not look as splendid as ordinary Chinese palace s, as it showed a distinct character—a greater degree of freedom—in arrange ment and design, markedly departing from the more rigid Confucian-inspired architecture. When it was completed in 1831, the price tag was 252,000 taels, 121,700 more than the initial estimation (Huang Jiangtai 1986, 4:18–22; Shu Mu 1984, 373). A fire on October 4, 1836 consumed three sections of this ne wly built hall, but all the vitally important residential sections for His Majesty were quickly rebuilt, regardless of financial conditions (Cai Shenzhi n.d., 128 ; Zhang Enyin 1991b, 148).

Because of Daoguang’s unusual passion for the performing arts, theaters became His Majesty’s favorite form of architecture and many more were buil t in the Yuanming Yuan. As he could no longer be content with the new stage near the Chunhua Gallery in the Eternal Spring Garden built by Jiaqing in 18 14, he constructed a gigantic theater chamber in the All-Happy Garden situate d south of the Wall of Sravasti. This new theater had two wings, one two-stor y wing to the north and one three-story wing to the south. Also, he added sev en units of performing rooms to the Spreading Spring Hall in the Variegated Spring Garden in addition to one more large stage in a three-story building, w hich report-edly allowed hundreds of actors and actresses to perform at one ti me.

Some evidence shows that Daoguang rarely missed special occasions, su ch as the Chinese lunar New Year’s Day, his own birthday, and the birthday of his imperial mother, to stage entertaining programs for several days. Accor ding to one anecdote, during a performance on stage to celebrate his mother’s birthday in a certain year, the emperor was so carried away that he mixed wit h the actors and actresses. His Majesty even put on a costume and make-up to play with them. Ever more remarkably, the Son of Heaven suddenly decided t o change the scripts, which caused instant confusion and chaos. The show thu s became a comedy and ended in a clap of thunder and laughter (Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang 1985, 171–173). Daoguang not only built more theaters in the Yuanming Yuan than his predecessor but also started the tradition of o

pera entertainment inside the imperial garden.

During the Daoguang era, the great poet Gong Zizhen (1792–1841) visited the Yuanming Yuan in late spring of 1823 and left behind his impression of the imperial garden. [54] His sensitive poetic eyes captured a number of the most beautiful scenes in the garden. He was deeply impressed by the southern-style gardens, which made him nostalgic for his native Zhejiang Province. He found the palatial garden a truly tranquil place for the emperor to meditate, rest, and enjoy as well as to please his royal mother. In addition, as he observed, the emperor often served lavish banquets in the garden to honor distinguished guests, including foreign visitors. He also noted that the Yuanming Yuan had grown immensely large since its inception at the beginning of the Yongzheng reign, not to mention that pines and willows in the garden were fully grown. Overall, for Gong, the buildings with their interior furnishing and the landscapes were all in excellent shape (Gong Zizhen 1975, 468).



Ping'an Yuan (Silent Court) in Wanfang Anhe.
Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
"万方安和"里的平安院。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

Gong was not the only scholar to tell what he had seen. Another man of letters saw not only the scenic garden setting but also the lavish interior decorations inside many of the buildings and observed the following:

> Countless precious things make me wonder and dazzled. Take jade for example, its square-shape vase in milk white stands fourteen to fifteen inches high. The large pieces of jade carved in human figures are so delicate that they make me wonder if they are truly man-made. There is a jade dish, about two feet in diameter, on which stands a jade pine tree, vividly real, with white roots and green leaves. There are also some coral trees as tall as a grown man and as thick as a boy's arm, and their red color with dazzling brilliance cannot be watched intently. Even more attractive is a blue jade melon with its base and leaves, and on top of it stands a grasshopper with a green head and blue wings, tottering as if it is about to fall. Besides, there are numerous rare agate bowls, crystal kettles, amber cups, etc. [55]

This observation offers a rare glimpse of the treasures that the magnificent royal garden possessed. Jades aside, there were other numerous artifacts, precious furniture, priceless paintings, rare books, exquisite silks, and antiques of various sorts kept in various places throughout the garden.

In the winter of 1842, a few months after the conclusion of the disastrous Opium War, Daoguang reviewed his troops on the Drill Field in the Yuanming Yuan. This was perhaps a routine exercise. Even though the emperor became a bit more concerned about security in the wake of military defeat, he did not fully capture the meaning of the historical event. He made no special effort to reinforce maritime defense, let alone to propose significant changes to meet the unprecedented challenge. Finally, he passed away quietly in his favorite Luxurious Prudent Virtue Hall in early 1850, on the eve of the rising empire-wide turmoil (*Qingshigao* 1976 4:588).

The nineteen-year-old crown prince became the Xianfeng Emperor in this unfortunate time, in which he had to face the dire consequences of dynastic decline. He was blamed for all the troubles of the empire. Personal attacks on him were truly vicious; for instance, he was denounced as a man of debauchery, being "occupied in orgies of unspeakable debauch in the lowest haunts of Peking (Beijing), the Flower Streets and Willow Lanes where the prostitutes lived, and also at the Yuanming Yuan" (Danby 1950, 184). But it was impossible for the emperor to visit "the Flower Streets and Willow Lanes," and it was incon-ceivable that prostitutes would be allowed in the Yuanming Yuan. To be sure, like his predecessors, Xianfeng had many concubines and sought pleasure in his beloved garden. But none of this was illegitimate or extraordinary

. After all, the Yuanming Yuan was built for the pleasure of the Qing emperors. He was condemned for seeking pleasure in the garden mainly because he presided over a troubled empire. In a sad time, even the pleasure of the emperor appears inappropriate and, indeed, deplorable.

Nevertheless, the crises that Xianfeng had to face were truly serious. Not only was he confronted with the formidable menace from the West on the coast but also the rise of the most disruptive Taiping Rebellion in Southwest China. Xianfeng did take several positive steps, such as to rehabilitate the able minister Lin Zexu (1785–1850), whom Daoguang had unjustly dismissed, and to entrust regional leaders, such as Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), Yuan Jiasan (1806–1863), and Shengbao (1798–1863), to deal with the rebellious situation (*Qingshigao* 1976, 4:711–736). He was no doubt weary from many late nights in his Yuanming Yuan office. On one occasion, on the eve of a scheduled trip to the Temple of Heaven for worshipping, he cried out aloud, as witnessed by the attendants at the court (cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 322, 330).

Xianfeng's melancholy was well conveyed by a poem composed by the gifted late Qing scholar Yang Yunshi (1875–1941):

> Violent killings in Nanjing and in the Yangzi delta.
> Gates, hills, and rivers are bloody red;
> Apes and cranes cow the dark moon;
> Fishermen and woodcutters weep in chilly autumn.
> Nothing but bad news piles up on His Majesty's desk.
> Fill up the mellow wine cup. [56]

Under the circumstances, the growth of the Yuanming Yuan had to come to an end. The rapidly increasing military expenses in the midst of the collapsing traditional economy rendered any spending on the garden not just morally wrong but financially out of the question. The fact that the Yuanming Yuan obtained a small sum of 1,212 taels from Shandong in February 1858, desperately borrowed money from the Department of Storage in April of the same year, and eagerly requested to expedite transference of cash indicates its financial stringency (*YMYA* 1991, 1:548–550). The imperial garden was difficult to maintain let alone to expand.

Like his predecessors, the Xianfeng Emperor used the Yuanming Yuan t

o conduct state affairs. But he was the last Qing emperor to do so. For example, the eminent scholar-diplomat Guo Songtao (1818–1890) was granted an audience in the garden after he had accepted an assignment to go to Tianjin to assist the Mongol prince Senggelinqin (Sengge Rinchen) (?–1865) to reinforce maritime defense. [57] Guo first arrived at the garden’s front gate on February 18, 1859. By noon he saw that the emperor, wearing a fur coat, had arrived in a large palanquin with scores of royal princes. They were followed by the grand secretaries, the imperial tutors, and ministers of the Imperial Household, respectively, into the Inner Palace Gate of the Yuanming Yuan (Guo 1981, 1:213). It does not appear that Guo had an audience with the emperor this time.

He returned to the imperial garden eight days later. He reported to the guards at the Grand Palace Gate at two o’clock in the morning before going to nearby lodging for some rest. He came back to the gate at six o’clock that morning. The eunuch announced seven names to be granted an audience by His Majesty on the day, and Guo was the fourth. Finally, his name “was called” (*jiaoqi*) at nine o’clock, and an eunuch showed him the way into the East Warm Belvedere (Dong Nuange) inside the Diligent Court, a favorite audience place since the Qianlong Emperor. The court was divided by screens into front and rear sections, as Guo observed, and the warm study was connected to a modest-size room on the north. The emperor walked into the room from behind a screen and sat on his chair facing south. In this room, according to the Qing scholar Yao Yuanzhi (1773–1852), in addition to a porch in front of the southern entrance and a heating stove placed on the left side of the throne, there was a large glass window behind the throne since 1837 (Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 4). Guo entered the room from a southern door and immediately went down on his knees facing the emperor sitting on his dragon chair.

Conversation in the study indicated that the Xianfeng Emperor was well prepared. He first told Guo the purpose of the trip to Tianjin. In response, Guo pointed out the importance of building Western-style vessels as a means to strengthen maritime defense. When the emperor considered it too ambitious to pursue at the time, clearly due to the lack of funding, Guo acquiesced but insisted that since the Westerners came from the sea, China had to meet the challenge on the sea.

When the emperor solicited straightforward advice with regard to domes

tic problems, Guo stressed the importance of knowing the exact condition of the people and the state, because most officials in the government, in his opinion, knew too little to tackle problems. He wished the emperor to set a personal example of concern so as to raise a new spirit against abusive and corrupt practices, for only by doing so could talented civil and military servants be recruited to run the government. The emperor nodded his head before starting small talk, such as how many members of Guo's family would go to Tianjin with him and whether Guo took lodging at the Mansion for the Hanlin Compilers in the Yuanming Yuan, as the emperor knew that Guo had been to the Hanlin. Guo actually had stayed at a friend's residence because the mansion had no vacancy. Finally, the emperor raised himself slightly from his chair, a gesture to indicate that the audience was over. Guo rose quickly, took a few steps backward, went to his knees again, and left the room slowly with a shout: "I, Guo Songtao, wish Your Majesty excellent health!" (Guo 1981, 1:214–215).

The Yuanming Yuan fell victim to the invading foreign force less than two years after this conversation between Xianfeng and Guo inside the imperial garden. The failure of maritime defense, however, was not Guo's fault. In fact, Guo complained in writing that despite the emperor's confidence in him, he could not make Prince Senggelinqin listen to his advice. The prince turned a deaf ear to his opposition to provoking military confrontation with Britain when problems could still be resolved by diplomacy. Moreover, the hawkish prince denounced Guo as cowardly and unpatriotic. In the end, Guo had to leave his post in Tianjin not long after his arrival. Hence, he did not personally see the disaster provoked by the prince at the Dagu Fort, which resulted in the sack of Beijing and the burning of the Yuanming Yuan.

When Guo returned to Beijing from Tianjin to seek retirement in 1860, he made a pleasant tour to the Pure Ripple Garden, a subsidiary garden of the Yuanming Yuan, in the company of several friends on an April day. The group, as Guo depicted in his diary, walked through a left-side door of the garden first to see the Diligent Court before going around the rock hill behind the court to reach the Jade Wave Hall (Yulan Tang). Guo and friends saw the dragon throne in the hall.

Walking behind the Jade Wave Hall, they arrived at the Warm East Room (Dong Nuanshi) to admire a large Buddha statue. When they ascended the

Good Evening Chamber (Xijia Lou), they overlooked the Kunming Lake and saw the amazing reflections of the hill and the chamber. Then they took a boat ride to the Gratitude and Longevity Temple (Da'baoen Yanshou Si) with the Longevity Hills in the background. From there they climbed steps to arrive at the unique Copper Court (Tong Dian) made from nothing but copper, before reaching a pavilion on top of the hill to see a bird's eye view of the entire garden. At the other side of the hill, they discovered a magnificent temple and the interesting Shopping Street. The artificial market consisted of streets and shops as well as streams, bridges, and pavilions, reminding them of a typical South China scene.

Next, they rode their boat again near the Fish-Algae Veranda (Yuzao Ting) and to the back side of the Diligent Court, where they found two imported exquisite bicycles. They had their lunch at the East Room (Dong Chaofang) near the court. In the afternoon, they dropped by the three-story Literary Pavilion, in which Guo found a Western clock on the second floor. They then visited the Inspiring Rain Temple (Lingyu Si) with the Cloud Fragrance Pavilion (Yunxiang Ge) on the left and the Moon Wave Chamber (Yuebo Lou) on the right, where they could admire the chambers and pavilions on the hillside in the midst of pine trees. A sudden severe wind, however, cut short their tour by almost half. After a brief rest, they were on their way out from the garden. Guo was deeply impressed by the "most exquisitely beautiful scenery" he had ever seen (Guo 1981, 1:307, 330–331; cf. Wang Rongzu 1993, 84–85; Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1391–1411).

This Pure Ripple Garden was severely damaged together with the Yuanming Yuan during the Anglo-French invasion; however, it was rebuilt and renamed the Yihe Yuan (Cheerful Harmony Garden) by the Empress Dowager Cixi. The Yihe Yuan remains the only well-preserved imperial garden in the suburbs of Beijing. Guo's diary entry of his April tour in 1860, only half a year prior to the invasion, left behind a glimpse of the garden before its destruction and restoration. Guo would regret he had not taken another close look at the magnificence of the Yuanming Yuan before leaving for home. He was shocked and shaken when he heard in his native Hunan Province first the news of the fall of the Yuanming Yuan and then the death of the emperor (cf. Wang Rongzu 1993, 90–91).

Chapter 5 Structure and Function

We have thus far recounted the physical appearance as well as the historical evolution of the Yuanming Yuan. In this chapter, we shall look into the inner operation of the garden. How was the garden administered? Who ran the daily matters? How was security maintained? What was the punishment when rules were violated or crimes committed? From recently available archival sources, the human dimension of the garden can be at least partially reconstructed. Let us delve into the sources to look at how the Yuanming Yuan functioned during a period of one hundred fifty years.

The Garden Administration and Its Services

Administratively, the Yuanming Yuan was directly under the supervision of the Imperial Household (Neiwu Fu). [58] The Qing's Imperial Household had its roots in the Manchu banner tradition. Once the Manchus secured power in China, this particular office was reorganized into the Qing emperor's personal treasury, and by the time of Qianlong it "had already reached its final, definitive form," as Chang Te-ch'ang has pointed out (1972, 250).

At the end of the Qianlong reign in 1796, the Imperial Household employed as many as 1,623 men. Their prime duty was solely "to manage the emperor's private life" (Torbert 1977, 29, 39). The final form of the Imperial Household featured three divisions, namely, the Palace Stud, the Imperial Armory, and the Imperial Gardens and Hunting Parks, to which the Yuanming Yuan belonged.

Presiding over the Imperial Household was the general director (*zongguan dachen*), who was selected by the emperor from a pool of high-ranking Manchu officials. Apparently, as it turned out, more than one general director could be appointed. The general director appointed by the Qianlong Emperor in 1749 was given the prestigious second rank. Normally, two deputies, responsible for personnel and communication, respectively, assisted the general director; and they were each assisted by thirty-six secretaryships (*bitieshi*), half of whom could be Han Chinese. The secretaryship, which was an established

Manchu system, dated from as early as 1631 (Fuge 1984, 22). Under its supervision, a group of assistants performed various services, such as logistical supply management, accounting, security, legal services, construction and maintenance, managing the pasturage of cows and sheep for sacrificial and worship purposes, embroidery manufacturing, ceremonial scheduling, and general management of His Majesty’s personal matters, including daily court services (*Qingshigao* 1976, 12:3421–3424).

The Imperial Household drew its revenues from the royal domains, such as rents collected from the land in the neighborhood of the Yuanming Yuan. It received contributions from the provinces, including the best sorts of local food and products, and tributary goods from the vassal states. It also obtained profits from monopolized trade, in particular ginseng and furs, quota surplus from customs, and took fines and confiscated goods from various sources. It also played a major role in the Salt and Tax Administrations. Its various lucrative activities, as Torbert points out, “guaranteed a steady flow of funds into the emperor’s personal coffer” (1977, 43; cf. 103, 106, 108, 113, 120). In short, the Imperial Household’s financial reservoir appeared huge and ample until the mid-nineteenth century when the finances of the empire as a whole faltered.

Under the division of imperial gardens and hunting parks of the Imperial Household, the Yuanming Yuan had its own structure of management. Early in 1723, upon the ascendancy of the Yongzheng Emperor, who officially made the Yuanming Yuan the principal imperial garden, the office of general supervisor was created. In the following year, with its growth, the garden administration had six managers (*zongling*) and twelve deputy managers (*fu zongling*). In 1730, the managers enjoyed the prestige of the sixth rank, and the deputy managers the seventh or eighth rank. The number of managers and deputy managers was sharply on the rise following the vast expansion of the Yuanming Yuan during the Qianlong reign. In 1741, the sixth year of the Qianlong era, two new acting deputy managers (*weishu fuzongling*) were added. There were as many as seven a decade later, and by 1767 the number rose to sixteen (*Qingshigao* 1976, 12:3429; cf. *YMYA* 1991, 2:992).

The appointments of key garden administrators were always made by special imperial decree (*tezhi*), which underlined the importance of the Yuanmi

ng Yuan to the Qing emperors. Once appointed, they could recommend their own deputies; however, the nominees needed the approval of the throne. The relatively low-ranking secretaries were com-monly chosen from the regular staff of the Imperial Household by lot. Personnel matters, such as promotions and demotions in the Yuanming Yuan, were the responsibility of the Imperial Household with the consent of the throne. Everyone who worked within the precinct of the garden had to do his best to satisfy the emperor on a daily basis, and job performances were regularly and rigorously checked. Evaluation reports were made available routinely, and anyone deemed unsatisfactory would be expelled from the garden at once (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 2:992–997).

The Garden Treasury (Yinku) was set up in 1749. The Qianlong Emperor appointed a chief treasurer (*kuzhang*), comparable to garden manager in status, an acting chief treasurer (*weishu kuzhang*), and six treasury keepers (*kushou*), whose principal duties were to make payments of various sorts and to make available daily supplies. All these appointments were made on a highly selective basis; for example, none but those who had a good education and affluent family background were eligible. Obviously, Qianlong wanted to have the rich garden treasury in reliable and honest hands (*YMYA* 1991, 2:993; *Qingshigao* 1976, 12:3429).

A new office named the Warehouse of Imperial Utensils (Qiminku) was created in 1750 as an extension of the Garden Treasury. The appointees of this new office were likewise selected from a pool of officials with good reputations; however, their terms were limited to three years as a safeguard against potential abuses. From 1763 on, additional measures were taken to prevent dishonesty, including a policy that the treasury keepers serve the night shift by turn and that ten guards be assigned to the company of the keepers. Furthermore, to make the Yuanming Yuan treasury sound, the Qianlong Emperor required that accounts had to be clearly squared annually and that the treasury should be thoroughly reviewed every five years. The inspectors should carefully look into the procedures for submitting accounts, applying for reimbursements, turning in unused materials, and handling cancellations. Failure to clear up accounts within a set period of time could result in severe punishment (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 2:1001, 1002, 1003).

With the expansion of the Yuanming Yuan, the administrative staffs of v

arious ranks steadily increased in number. Whenever a hall, a temple, or a chamber was completed, a new set of workers and supervisors was needed to maintain and secure the new place. The growth of the administrative body in the garden, sooner or later, required more high-ranking administrators. By the summer of 1742, the Imperial Household appointed new deputies and assistant secretaries, two each, to the Yuanming Yuan. Two years later, upon the completion of the Forty Views, Qianlong created additional positions: sixth-rank director (*zhushi*), a new deputy manager of the seventh rank, and a new assistant manager of the eighth rank.

In 1749, the Imperial Household with the approval of the emperor further introduced a new head of treasury (*kuzhang*)of the sixth rank specifically to oversee the large collections of silver, silk, and utensils in the imperial garden. The new head of the treasury chose a deputy from the secretaries and appointed six treasury keepers to assist him. When the Eternal Spring Garden was finished in 1751, another set of administrative staff, including a manager of the sixth rank, two deputy managers of the seventh rank, and two assistant managers of the eighth rank were appointed. In 1759, the manager and deputy manager were renamed garden official (*yuancheng*)and deputy garden official (*yuanfu*), respectively. The integration of the Variegated Spring Garden into the Yuanming Yuan in 1774 called for a new garden official of the sixth rank, a deputy garden official of the seventh rank, a deputy garden official of the eighth rank, and a secretary (*YMYA* 1991, 2:985, 986, 987).

Upon the ascendancy of the Daoguang Emperor to the throne in 1821, the administrative hierarchy of the Yuanming Yuan was at last finalized. It consisted of 2 ministers (*langzhong*), 1 councilor (*yuanwailang*), 1 director (*zhushi*), 1 deputy director (*weishu zhushi*), 1 head of treasury of the sixth rank, 8 garden officials of the sixth rank, 1 head of treasury of the seventh rank, 1 garden official of the seventh rank, 8 deputy garden officials of the eighth rank, 15 acting deputy garden officials, 14 secretaries, 18 treasury keepers, 2 student secretaries (*xuexi bitieshi*), 6 helpers (*xiaoli botang'a*), 35 foremen of the Garden Households, 615 Garden Households, 53 associates to the Garden Households, 148 garden workers, 54 water gate guards, and 3 head sailors (*shuishou manzi*)(*YMYA* 1991, 2:992). The numbers indicate that the Yuanming Yuan personnel had grown threefold in size since its inception at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The total number of eunuchs in the Yuanming Yuan reached 502 by the end of the Qianlong reign. They were recruited, assigned to positions, and rewarded and punished by the Imperial Household. They composed one of the largest groups in the garden and continued growing. In 1805, their number rose to 620, of whom 88 were eunuch supervisors and 532 were common eunuchs (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1039–1040).

The eunuchs were His Majesty's loyal servants, performing indispensable chores such as cleaning rooms, waiting tables, guarding gates, and planting trees and flowers. Many of them had to be on call to respond to the emperor's wishes. By performing their humble yet demanding duties, they received relatively low monthly salaries; for instance, their monthly payment in the year of 1754 ranged from 0.66 to 1.30 taels of silver, according to seniority. The average was 1 tael, approximately equivalent to U.S. $1.5 at that time. Exceptions could only be found among a few of the most senior eunuchs who had the emperor's extraordinary trust. The monthly pay scale of a head eunuch of the fifth rank working in the Mind-Nourishing Study (Yangxin Dian), the emperor's study, could be as high as 7 taels of silver plus 7 piculs of rice (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1039). If we assume 1,000 copper cash to 1 tael, 7 taels could buy fourteen gooses or seventy fowls at the price of the late Qianlong era. An ordinary eunuch's pay, however, was about what a Chinese peasant earned (cf. Crammer-Byng 1962, 244).

Also, there were numerous Buddhist monks and Daoist priests living and working in the Yuanming Yuan, and their numbers also rose with constant additions of temples and shrines to the imperial garden. Many of the monks and priests appeared to be very young. For instance, in 1753, Qianlong incidentally found twenty boy priests in a Daoist temple. The unexpected discovery made the emperor feel that the number of monks and priests in the garden was perhaps excessive and thus recommended a significant cut (*YMYA* 1991, 1:71–72). Nevertheless, given the multitude of religious structures and functions in the garden, especially in the new Eternal Spring Garden, the newly constructed temples and shrines needed to enlist the services of monks and priests. In the end, their numbers instead of being cut, continued to rise.

It was the Yongzheng Emperor who in 1729 first introduced the Garden Households (*yuanhu*) into the Yuanming Yuan. All members of the househol

ds belonged to one of the Manchu Banners. They were trustworthy workers providing service of various sorts. Some of them, for example, raised silkworms (*canhu*)near the Northernmost Mountain Village. In 1762, they developed a working relationship with the Bureau of Brocade Mill and Dye Work (Zhiranju) situated at the foot of the Longevity Hills.

The Han Chinese workers in the garden were identified as the "garden laborers" (*jiangyi*); specifically, they were gardeners (*hua'erjiang*), repairmen (*gongjiang*), carpenters (*mugong*), boatmen (*shuishou manzi*), bricklayers (*wajiang*), decoration workers (*dacaijiang*), monks and priests (*sengdao*), and porters and guards (*bingding*). As time went on, the number of both Manchu and Han Chinese workers operating in the Yuanming Yuan was also on the rise. For example, upon the completion of many large fountains in the Eternal Spring Garden in 1760, no less than thirty new gardeners and repairmen were instantly employed. In 1770, the Garden Households numbered as many as six hundred; seventeen years later, in 1787, sixty-seven more households made their homes in the garden. The households were under the supervision of garden foremen (*yuanhu toumu*), whose numbers also rose from eighteen to twenty during the same period of time. Not too long afterward, the garden appointed fifteen more foremen due to the rapid increase in the number of Garden Households (*YMYA* 1991, 2:987).

The daily maintenance of the Yuanming Yuan was as demanding as it was complex. Theoretically the garden depended on the Imperial Household for support; however, in real practice, the garden had to have its own independent sources of revenue in order to meet the growing expenses. One source was from the rents collected on the neighboring lands owned by the Yuanming Yuan (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 2:1000–1001). Reportedly, these rents could pay for repairs in the garden at least during the eighteenth century, when the finances of the Yuanming Yuan were sound. The Yuanming Yuan administration also received cash donations from the rich, such as the wealthy salt merchants in Lianghuai; for instance, the merchant Huang Yuande "humbly presented" one million taels to the garden in 1757 (*YMYA* 1991, 1:88). Some of the cash was apparently the interest that the garden received from the lucrative business of "salt merchants" (*yanshang*)(*YMYA* 1991, 1:255).

By the time of Qianlong's death at the very end of the century, there wer

e still no signs of financial stringency. As a matter of fact, in February 1799, the newly ascended Jiaqing Emperor found 693,290 taels of surplus silver in the Yuanming Yuan's accounts, not including cash in copper coins. One tael of silver at the time equalled 1.388 U.S. dollars, so that the surplus amounted to U.S. $962,287. This was impressive, given the fact that Qianlong had spent an enormous sum of money on the garden; for example, from 1794 to 1799, he had overdrawn his allowance for garden expenses by 448,582 taels of silver, approximately U.S. $622,732 (cf. Yang Naiji 1986, 36). Had he lived still longer, he could have depleted the surplus.

Jiaqing took a precautious measure by transferring 100,000 taels to the profitable Lianghuai Salt Administration to earn interest. In the end, the rich Salt Administration provided him not only with handsome interest but also with valuable materials to beautify the garden, such as window frames. Most of the windows in the garden were made of paper or bamboo with latticework in summer and fur screens in winter (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 207). The Jiaqing Emperor was not a big spender like his father, but he still needed a huge sum of money not just to keep the garden functioning but also to retain its grandeur. Moreover, Jiaqing expended large sums on the Variegated Spring Garden, which, though integrated into the Yuanming Yuan in 1772, had not been heavily constructed. The year 1809 marked the peak of construction, during which as many as 173 rooms, 260 corridors, 6 pavilions, and 2 decorated archways had been built. The total cost was 328,775.331 taels of silver (cited in Yang Naiji 1986, 36). Jiaqing in the end designated Thirty (Best) Views for the Variegated Spring Garden.

The Yuanming Yuan did not appear to have financial troubles throughout the Jiaqing reign. During the first six months of 1815, following the disastrous Amherst mission, the emperor spent 40,000 taels for construction in the garden. No new building was behind schedule because of money, and whenever a new hall or chamber was finished, there was no lack of lavish gifts, usually expensive sandalwood materials for decorative purposes, from enthusiastic officials. [59] In 1819, the year of Jiaqing's sixtieth birthday, the Yuanming Yuan administration could still afford a big fanfare as spectacular as his predecessor's birthday celebration (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 132).

The Daoguang Emperor, who succeeded Jiaqing, had a prudent, kind, an

d thrifty reputation (*Qingshigao* 1976, 4:709); but, so far as the Yuanming Yuan was concerned, he retained a big budget. He found in 1824, shortly after his ascendancy to the throne, a surplus in the garden's finances. But the surplus was more apparent than real, because shortfalls had been covered by various government agencies. The Department of Storage (Guangchu Si), for example, had delivered 50,000 taels to the Yuanming Yuan as reserve on one occasion (Yang Naiji 1986, 37). Clearly, the Imperial Household alone could no longer sufficiently finance the imperial garden. Nonetheless, Daoguang had no intention of suspending construction. Most noticeably, he spent a great sum in 1830 to complete the famous Luxurious Prudent Virtue Hall, new living quarters on the Nine Continents. A fire on October 4, 1836, consumed three structures of the hall, but it took less than a year to repair all the damage (Zhang Enyin 1991b, 148).

The Yuanming Yuan administration handled routine matters no more efficiently than any of the major government agencies. Its overriding concern was to make the emperor and the royalty feel comfortable while living in the garden. Its daily matters were tediously numerous. Besides the management of finance and supervision of construction, the administrators were responsible for the designation of names to newly completed structures and the maintenance of garden facilities. It was also their duty to enforce garden security, to investigate any incident, and to file documents of various sorts. As well, they were obligated to perform rituals, such as the expression of gratitude to His Majesty from officials in and out of the Yuanming Yuan. After the imperial garden had incorporated the Variegated Spring Garden and the Eternal Spring Garden, the immediate problem was the insufficient supply of fresh water from the Ten-Thousand Spring River (Wanquan He). To resolve the problem, the administrators undertook the project of constructing a new canal to draw water from Kunming Lake, the largest reservoir at the foot of the Jade Spring Hills (See He Chongyi and Zeng Zhaofen 1981, 1:43).

Of all the administrative responsibilities, the supervision of construction was particularly demanding, given the fact that construction never really ceased. Indeed, many garden administrators shouldered this burden. They oversaw financial transactions, supervised workers, and checked items before acceptance, each of which was a tedious and precarious process. The importance of garden construction eventually called for the creation of a special agency nam

ed the Office for Supervising and Speeding Up Fulfillment of Assigned Tasks (Ducui Suo), which monitored the processing of all the documents for the garden and the delivery of squared accounts on time. The set rule was that any account over one thousand taels be squared within a month, over ten thousand within two months, and even larger amounts within three months. The agency required all applications, statements, and accounts to be registered in its office in the first place so as to ensure that deadlines were met in the end (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1023, 1028, 1030).

The Yuanming Yuan administration also had its Department of the Cashier (Xiaosuan Fang) to estimate expenses. Taking a construction project, for example, this department had the obligation to determine estimated costs, both in terms of monies and materials, within ten days and send the results to the Office for Supervising and Speeding Up Fulfillment of Assigned Tasks for recording (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1028–1029). Given the intensity of construction, the workload of the office became increasingly unbearable, so that an effort of simplifying the process was made in 1777. Consequently, only one proposal to the office through the Archival Office (Dang Fang) was required, which meant that it was no longer necessary to register at the Office for Supervising and Speeding Up Fulfillment of Assigned Tasks before concluding a specific matter. In case of urgency, the applicant could proceed with a plan using his own signature while simultaneously fulfilling bureaucratic procedures (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1034, 1035).

The Stockpile Agency in the Yuanming Yuan administration kept open the garden’s supply line. It stored a huge supply of such small items as paper, brooms, candles, lanterns, and gunpowder and made them available for usage on a daily basis. Applications for supplies, regardless of quantity or quality, were to be submitted ahead of time for approval; however, disapproval was exceptional. In the year of 1752, for example, the Archival Office obtained from the Stockpile Agency as many as 6,300 sheets of paper, 60 brush pens, and 16 ounces of ink. The Grand Palace Gate received in the same year 270 brooms of different sizes, 27 winnowing baskets, and 13 feather dusters, large and small. The Library of Literary Sources, upon its completion, acquired 62 brooms, 25 dusters, 42 winnowing baskets, and 50 yards of cloth. The Anyou Palace at the Ancestral Shrine daily consumed 6.5 pounds of charcoal and 13 pounds of firewood in order to keep all the teapots warm (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1029).

These few examples revealed the elephantine nature of the function of the supply-consumption activities in the Yuanming Yuan, which consisted of hundreds of structures and units. The excessive or even wasteful consumption of the daily supplies eventually caught the attention of the Qianlong Emperor, who in 1757 instructed that “the allocation of coal and wood to the various places in the Yuanming Yuan should take an appropriate cut” (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1005).

Unquestionably, the Yuanming Yuan administration took security measures in the garden most seriously. Fire prevention, for one thing, was high on the agenda, as so many structures were made of wood. The Eternal Spring Garden alone was equipped with seventy-five gigantic water baskets (*jitong*)for the purpose of fire fighting. Meticulous fire drills were required twice a year, in spring and autumn (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1019). Regardless of the tight safety measures, however, fire incidents still took place from time to time (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:74–78, 508–510).

Keeping unauthorized persons out of the Yuanming Yuan was also indispensable for the safety of the imperial garden, for which the entire garden population was placed under tight control. The garden’s “chief eunuch” (*zongguan taijian*), with the authorization of the Imperial Household, kept in his office a comprehensive record of personnel files, including physical descriptions of everyone living and working in the Yuanming Yuan. This was clearly to prevent strangers or unauthorized persons from sneaking into the garden. When the tributary goods from provinces reached the garden, it was the duty of the chief eunuch to make a thorough inspection before granting permission to transport them through the canals to their assigned place for display. [60]

On a normal day in 1749 Qianlong, while disembarking from his barge, came across a judicial official in the company of his family, who as rule should not be present on the forbidden grounds. This security slip caught the emperor’s personal attention, to the security officers’ great embarrassment. On the following day, the garden administration promptly ruled that with the exception of a few highly prestigious princes and senior mandarins, who were allowed to have two escorts, no one else should have the privilege. Commoners, such as peasants, workers, or physicians, whom the garden administration had summoned to perform duties, had to submit their names beforehand for meticulous checkups. Before they entered the garden, they had to present themselve

s at the gate for a roll call (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1045–1050).

In 1752, the Imperial Household strengthened the garden’s security by implementing two additional measures. First, thorough checkups had to be made on a regular basis even during the absence of the emperor; and second, a house-cleaning program was introduced to sort out unauthorized persons who assumed the names of others living in one of the Garden Households. As a result, illegal residents and those who the Imperial Household considered senile, idle, dubious, or tricky were all expelled from the garden without delay (*YMYA* 1991, 1:67–68).

To improve garden security further, all residents from 1757 onward were required to carry a “branded waist plate,” comparable to a present-day identification card. Whether entering or leaving the garden, everyone was subject to a thorough inspection, conducted usually by eunuchs. Restrictions on visitors were also tightened, such that any visitor had to come in and go out from the garden through the exact same gate so their whereabouts could be accurately reported. Living and working in the garden by assuming an authorized person’s name or taking his place was strictly forbidden, and deception was subject to severe punishment (*YMYA* 1991, 1:68).

The administrative structure of the Yuanming Yuan seems comparable to a mini-society. Even though theoretically the garden was serving just one man, the son of Heaven, the highest magnitude of the best possible service was made available on a daily basis. The social functions of the imperial garden were carried out in meticulous detail by thousands of people in many different roles.

Crime and Punishment

As an exclusive royal demesne giving the highest priority to security, the Yuanming Yuan tolerated no crimes, and any form of crime, however trivial, was subject to severe punishment. Prosecution and punishment were in the hands of a committee of an unspecified number of senior officials whom the Imperial Household had appointed. They wished to prevent anything unpleasant from happening in the garden; however, if rules were violated or consequential mistakes made, they would act aggressively to pursue the case and to im

pose strict punishment so as to keep the imperial garden absolutely safe. The available evidence shows no violent crimes, such as murder and robbery, ever occurring inside the Yuanming Yuan during its one hundred fifty years of history.

As a matter of fact, anyone in the garden who violated any set of rules, whether intentionally or unintentionally, or even behaved so presumptuously as entering or leaving the garden without authorization would be considered a “criminal” subject to punishment.

In 1774, for instance, a patrolman caught a teenage Manchu boy by the name of Erge, who had been working in the European section of the Eternal Spring Garden, climbing a garden wall. The testimony of both sides was recorded. The boy testified that he wanted to escape from the garden because his supervisor had given him a harsh caning for being late on returning from a leave and threatened him again with the same terrible punishment. The chief eunuch of the Eternal Spring Garden who supervised the boy’s supervisors found out that the boy got himself in trouble because he was “unruly and lazy.” He broke a rule by leaving without permission in the first place, for which he deserved to receive flogging thirty times; yet, only two days after the punishment, he sneaked out of the garden again. His immediate supervisor, Chen Jinzhong, went all the way to Beijing trying to find him before he returned to the garden. The boy, apparently fearing an even harsher punishment for the repeated offense, tried in vain to climb the wall to flee.

The investigation, after being concluded by the responsible officials at the Imperial Household, was reported to the Qianlong Emperor. The recommendation for punishment was based on the penal codes of the Great Qing, which stipulated that climbing the imperial walls was a serious crime. No clemency was given in consideration of the offender’s tender age, even though the earlier arbitrary caning for being late had been recognized, obviously because the emperor and his Imperial Household refused to exchange tight security for leniency. The Manchu boy thus received an incredible punishment of one hundred strokes before being banished a thousand miles away. Due to his Manchu ethnic background, however, he could substitute the banishment with two months in the cangue. This punishment was carried out with the final approval of the throne (*YMYA* 1991, 1:72–74). The case may reveal that an offense such

as absconding was a serious crime subject to very severe punishment. Cruel punishments were no doubt practiced behind the beautiful facade of the garden, and a high human price was paid for the strict security.

There were numerous punishments to be imposed on unintentional negligence. In 1744, Qianlong saw the eunuch Liu Yu sitting on a handrail, which the emperor considered “extremely having no manners” and sent him to his supervisor for forty strokes with a plank. On the same day, a eunuch who fell asleep while on duty also received the same punishment (E,ertai [Ortai], Zhang Tingyu et al. 1987, 50). In the summer of 1770, the garden official Changgui went to the Imperial Household to answer the charge that the water level in the fountains at the Symmetric and Amazing Pleasure was 1.5 to 2.0 inches lower than it should have been. In 1773, the garden officials Mingde and Qingde were held responsible for the missing remnants and railings from the Grand Palace Gate. Both men lost six months’ salary for their carelessness in patrolling. In the summer of 1779, a number of garden officials took the blame for the lotus on the ponds being few and sparse. They were found guilty of cultivating the lotus inappropriately and of wasting money. Each of them was given a fine from three to six months’ stipend. In 1787, Fuchang’an and Jin Jian, two servants working in the garden, were severely reprimanded for igniting the lanterns behind schedule during the display of fireworks at the Drill Field. And in 1796, because the aged Qianlong Emperor complained that the fireworks were soft and mellow, those who had purchased the fireworks had to pay back the cost of all the fireworks plus pay fines ranging from three to twelve months of salary (*YMYA* 1991, 1:132, 162–163, 207–208, 264–265, 366–367).

The tenants working on the farms of the Yuanming Yuan were not for window dressing. They were expected to work as hard as the rest of the peasantry in the country. Hence, when the wheat seedlings on the farms appeared disorderly and weak in the spring of 1787, obviously due to insufficient care, the Imperial Household quickly blamed the supervisors for being too lazy to inspect the fields and inspire the tenants. Consequently, the supervisor Changfu and his deputies each paid a year’s salary for their negligence; and their boss by the name of Xiangrui also was charged a fine of six months’ salary. The poor wheat harvest in the Yuanming Yuan in the autumn of 1797 also caught the attention of garden authorities, who immediately investigated the matter. When it was determined that idleness rather than weather caused the poor harve

st, each of the three supervisors in the wheat farms paid a fine of three months' salary. Ding Yong, who headed the village of the wheat farms, got the severest punishment of all. He was beaten with a flogging board thirty strokes (*YMYA* 1991, 1:266–267, 290).

Even unintentional mistakes, when they occurred in the Yuanming Yuan, could result in punishment of considerable severity. A case in point took place on April 19, 1790. On that day, according to Heshen's report, a group of princes and princesses were badly shaken by a storm and waves when they were crossing the Sea of Blessing on their way to worship at the Guangyu Temple. Heshen blamed the chief eunuchs Liu Bingzhong and Xiao Yunpeng, who had accompanied the royalty, for failing to prevent the hazardous crossing in stormy weather, thus involuntarily risking their safety. Even more inexcusable, for Heshen, the eunuchs who had the responsibility for the safety of the royalty did not even think of choosing the alternative land route.

The Imperial Household acknowledged that no one drowned or was hurt in the incident. Nevertheless, on the basis of Heshen's report, it still imposed on the eunuchs Liu, Xiao and Chen Sheng, together with the captain and sailors of the barge, a large fine equivalent to two annual stipends. The punishment was carried out with the approval of the throne. Most surprisingly, the worst punishment was reserved for the three eunuchs who had piloted the barge. They each received painful floggings, regardless of whether they were following orders or making their own decisions. No one asked whether the royalty themselves held any responsibility. The punishment made manifest the nature of justice under the imperial system; however, showing his mercy and kindness, the emperor reduced the recommended punishment for all by half (*YMYA* 1991, 1:289–290).

Petty crimes, such as stealing, were committed from time to time within the precincts of the imperial garden. In 1757, for instance, the garden administration received the report that a man named Feng Si had sneaked into the Diligent Court to steal a number of jade vessels (*YMYA* 1991, 1:79). The case, however innocuous it seemed, sounded the alarm of security loopholes on the forbidden ground, thus reminding the Imperial Household of the importance of reinforcing the rules with regard to all security measures. Consequently, everyone who lived in the garden was required not only to register his age and po

rtrait with the authorities but also to carry an identification card at all times.

Moreover, in the wake of the stealing incident, the authorities launched another round of Garden Household checkups and found, to their great surprise, that there was still a significant number of “hidden” members of households. Ji Qing, the head of the special investigation team, estimated that eight out of ten men working in the Majestic Sunset-Tinted Peaks of the West Hills had assumed other workers’ places. Altogether, 144 unauthorized workers out of 1,314 listed as members of the Garden Households in the Yuanming Yuan and its subsidiary gardens were identified. This finding of approximately 1 percent illegal dwellers on the forbidden grounds surely embarrassed those who bore the direct responsibility of security. The remedial measures included the immediate banishment of all unauthorized persons without a moment’s delay and floggings of one hundred strokes for each of those who had violated the rules by allowing the unauthorized people to live in the garden for whatever reasons. As well, a number of eunuchs were subject to punish-ment of different sorts for this matter because they had not checked the households as carefully as they should have (*YMYA* 1991, 1:79–80; 82–83).

Not surprisingly, thieves in the Yuanming Yuan were mostly the insiders entrusted with particular responsibilities. On the Dragon Boat Festival Day in 1764—the fifth day of the fifth lunar month—the houses at the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court caught fire. After the fire was extinguished, the eunuch Wang Jinfu from the Purple-Blue Mountain Cottage, who had assisted in fighting the fire, dug into the ashes to find approximately 113 taels of silver. His colleague, the eunuch Cui Wengui, reported him for stealing, and the authorities took the matter very seriously. What troubled the Imperial Household most was that the eunuch, who had no accomplice, was so wicked to take advantage of such a tragic moment. Largely for this, not just for stealing, the eunuch suffered an unusual punishment for the crime: he was banished to the remote Heilong Jiang (Amur River in Russian) region as a slave (*YMYA* 1991, 1:98–100).

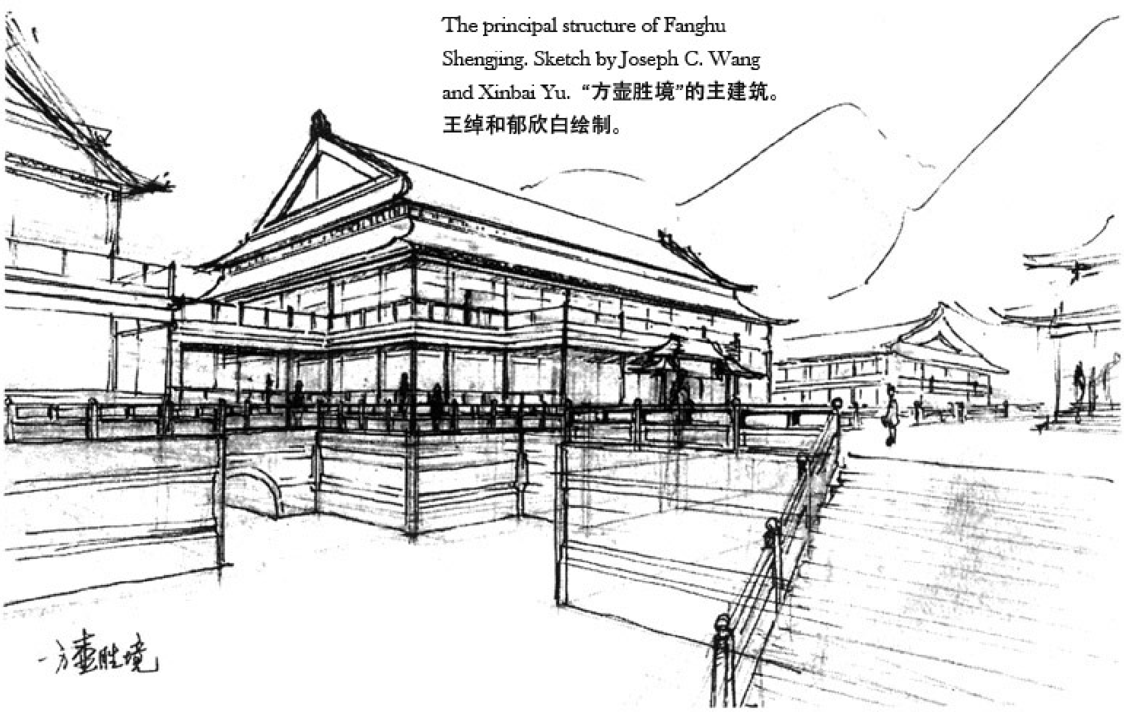
When the general condition of the Qing Empire gradually deteriorated in the nineteenth century, stealing in the Yuanming Yuan also became bolder. During the Daoguang reign, as the 1832 Imperial Household record shows, a eunuch by the name of Wang Deshun working at the Wave-Pacifying Garden

broke into a warehouse, stole fourteen different items of yarn, and pawned them in downtown Beijing. Even more serious, his superior Zhang Jingui covered up the theft. Once found out, both eunuchs were taken to the Imperial Household for questioning. The theft and cover-up suggest the laxity of discipline for the large number of eunuchs working in the imperial garden. Laxity was further confirmed by the 1837 report that five eunuchs, who had assignments at the Yuanming Yuan's Construction Department, were found fishing covertly in a stream. In the following year, Guo Yao, a sixty-four-year-old eunuch from the island of Taiwan, dared to spread omens and predictions inside the garden, which were absolutely forbidden for fear of causing disturbances (*YMYA* 1991, 1:511–513, 536–537, 541–542).

All these cases deeply concerned the garden authorities, as the eunuchs, who lived in large number in the garden and had access to the emperor and his royal family on a daily basis, no longer seemed to be observing the rules strictly. Given the fact that the eunuch offenders had always suffered harsher punishments than others and that they often received such severe punishments as caning, imprisonment, and banishment to the Manchurian frontiers as slaves, their loafing on the job, negligence of duty, and even stealing were particularly ominous. The decline of alertness and diligence in the garden inevitably raised questions about the security and effective operation of the Yuanming Yuan on the eve of its downfall.

One of the more common types of "crimes" committed in the Yuanming Yuan was construction-related offenses, of which the most common was falling behind schedule. For example, in 1764, two builders by the names of Senyuhu and Xiyang'a failed to meet the schedule at a certain location of the garden. They excused themselves by arguing that the delay was caused by having to complete higher priority work in the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court. The Imperial Household director Sanhe, however, rejected their explanation, which the director took as mere pretext for negligence. Under pressure, the builders rushed to complete the work perfunctorily. This resulted in the demand from Sanhe to do their job all over again at their own expense. The supervising officials Cha,ertai and Wushisi and the secretary Shutong were each fined their annual salary. Even Sanhe himself admitted to the Qianlong Emperor his own guilt of insufficient supervision. The emperor forgave Sanhe but punished the rest as Sanhe had recommended (*YMYA* 1991, 1:101).

In cases of poor quality construction work, blame was often laid on the s houlders of the project supervisors. In 1771, the supervising official Zhengrui together with his deputy A,erbang’a were responsible for a construction flaw found at the Sky in Reflections, where some bridge banisters connecting a he xagonal pavilion were not perpendicular. They each received forty strokes an d paid a fine of six months’ salary. The strokes were part of the punishment p resumably because the flaw could cause safety problems. The punishment for their supervisor, Deputy Commander He'erjing'e, was a fine of three months’ salary. Later in the year, the paint on the column of a chamber inside the Wall of Sravasti, which had been applied in 1760, over a decade earlier, was peelin g and cracking. Among the five who had been responsible for the painting, th ree were deceased and two others had left the garden sometime before. Since there was no person available to be punished, the blame was thus laid at the d oor of the Imperial Household director Sanhe. He and his deputy Wufu each r eceived a fine of three months’ stipend for negligence (*YMYA* 1991, 1:144–1 45, 146–147).



The principal structure of Fanghu Shengjing. Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. “方壶胜境”的主建筑。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

In 1770, the glazed color drawings at A Wonderland in the Square Pot, which cost 12,418 taels of silver to complete about a decade earlier, were det eriorating at an alarming rate. The officials, Lu Jin and A'erbang’a, took the b lame for supervising this specific project. They each paid a fine equivalent to

half of their annual salary. Their supervisor, director Sanhe was also implicated in this matter. For his share of the mishandling of an expensive project, the director took a fine equivalent to three months of his annual salary (*YMYA* 1991, 1:129–130).

Sanhe lost three months' salary again in 1771 for his carelessness in substituting cypress for pine as the building material at the Double Cranes Chapel (*YMYA* 1991, 1:139). Then in 1776, when the walls at the front gate of the Library of Literary Sources showed cracks due to bad workmanship and poor quality materials, He'erjing'e, the general supervisor of the library project, was demoted with three other high-ranking garden administrators, including Zhengrui (*YMYA* 1991, 1:182–184).

It was a more serious crime for garden administrators to abuse their power by purposefully inflating the price of construction materials and embezzling public funds (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:124–126, 127–132, 138, 139–148). In 1769, for instance, the garden administrator Ji Rong was found guilty of inflating the estimated price of the painting work at the Fish-Leaping and Bird-Flying by approximately 10 percent, or about 136 taels of silver. When found guilty, Ji received a flogging of fifty strokes and lost his job (*YMYA* 1991, 1:127–128). In the spring of 1770, the ministerial councillor Wubao and his team were found guilty of peculating 1,330 feet of precious *nanmu* lumber while undertaking construction projects at no less than ten sites in the garden. Wubao was deprived of his prestigious title and put on trial as a criminal (*YMYA* 1991, 1:130–131).

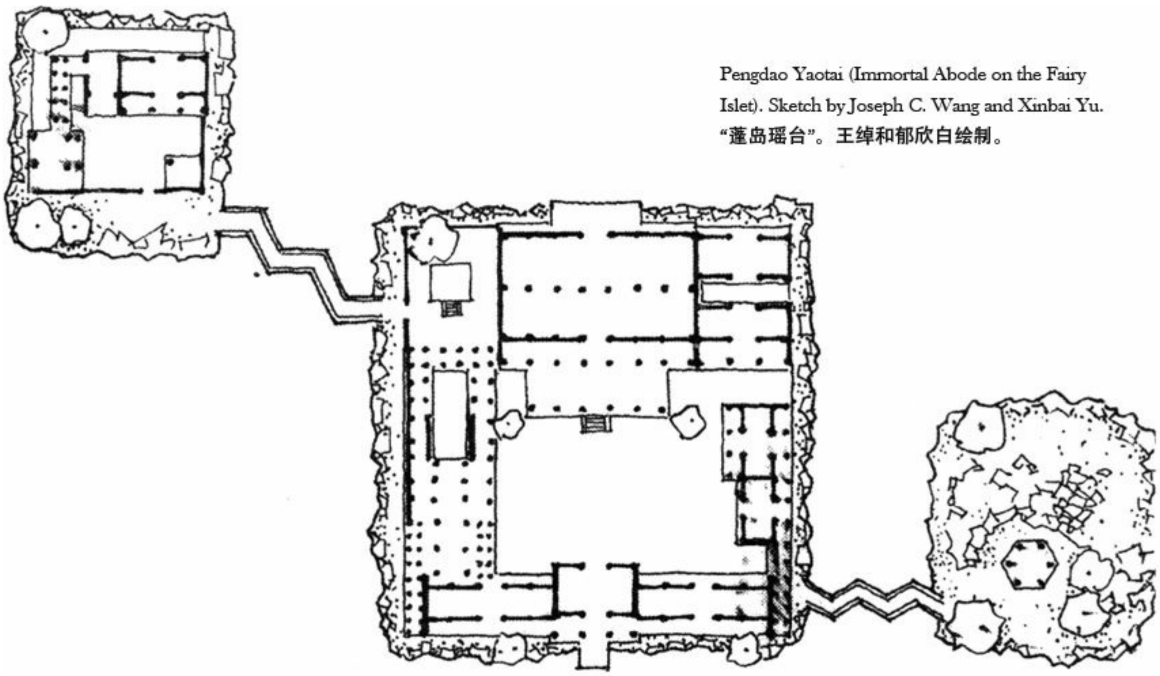
A distinctively unique punishment was the self-punishment of the Xianfeng Emperor, who ascended the throne in a very troubled time. In 1852, he punished himself by cancelling his regular residence in the imperial garden, as he felt too ashamed to seek pleasure in the aftermath of the tumultuous Taiping Rebellion. This self-imposed punishment, however, did not last long. The emperor wished to return to the garden to admire the flower blossoms in the spring of 1854. First, his financial minister Wang Maoyin offended him by opposing the decision. The minister, though showing his courage, ended up punishing himself by losing the throne's favor. But the consequence of Wang's unpleasant advice did not deter other officials from speaking straightforwardly. The censor Xue Minggao reminded the throne that the return of His Majesty t

o the Yuanming Yuan for regular living would require substantial renovation
s, costing an unbearable sum of money in this time of great difficulty. Displea
sed as he was, Xianfeng argued that he had no intention of seeking personal p
leasure in the garden. Instead, the pleasant garden environment would be help
ful for his conduct of state affair in the time of crisis. Moreover, none of his p
redecessors had been absent from the imperial garden so long as he had been.
Hence, he wished for both the mandarins and the people to understand his de
votion to the active military campaigns against the rebels and to see that his p
erformance should not be judged by where he was to live. Having justified hi
s return to the Yuanming Yuan, the emperor rejected the censor's implication
of his self-indulgence. False accusation of the throne could be a serious offen
se. The censor was later accused of fishing for fame and recognition by havin
g committed an injustice to His Majesty. He was thus subject to a "proper inv
estigation and punishment," even though retaining his office. (*YMYA* 1991, 1:
544–545).

Whoever caused a fire, however unintentionally, was thoroughly investi
gated for responsibility. Deliberate arson, though rarely occurring in the Yua
nming Yuan, was considered one of the most serious crimes. Even those who
appeared less ingenious in preventing or fighting fires were subject to punish
ment. A number of eunuchs were disciplined in February 1756 because fire a
ccidentally broke out at the Comfort Inn under Spring Roof twice within a fe
w days while they were on duty. When the investigation determined that the e
unuch Yang Ming had been smoking while sweeping the second floor of the s
ummer chamber and presumably caused the fires, the eunuch was banished in
to servitude in the remote Manchurian frontier near the Heilong Jiang. Cao Y
ushan, the eunuch who had accompanied Yang on the second floor, was also
banished, though to a less harsh place, for failing to stop his fellow worker fr
om smoking while on duty. Both eunuchs' supervisor, Yang Jinchao, was gui
lty of negligence and was sentenced to two months in the cangue, one hundre
d strokes, and an assignment of hard labor. The eunuchs of still higher ranks,
Li Yu and Chen Jinzhong, each paid a fine of an annual stipend for their shar
e of the responsibility for the fire incidents. Two on-site workers who had tak
en temporary assignments elsewhere during the nights of the fires were spare
d for their absence (*YMYA* 1991, 1:76–78). The actual existence of group resp
onsibility in these cases underlined the seriousness of fire.

After having carefully guarded against fire hazards for more than a century, the Yuanming Yuan was finally burned to the ground in 1860. The imperial garden subdued under the wrath of foreign aggression and military defeat. The perpetrators were the victorious enemies, and both the imperial capital and the imperial garden were at their mercy. The high-ranking officials who were responsible for securing the imperial garden, including Prince Zaiyuan, dutifully requested punishment in the aftermath of the inferno. But the Xianfeng Emperor spared them all. The emperor knew at the bottom of his heart that no one but he himself should be blamed. In the end, he chose a face-saving way out of the embarrassment by stripping a number of officials of honorable titles, while asking them to remain in office (*YMYA* 1991, 1:554, 586). In short, no one was punished for the burning of the Yuanming Yuan.

Though still under careful supervision, the severely burned Yuanming Yuan became ever more difficult to secure. The Immortal Abode on the Fairy Terrace in the middle of the lake, which had escaped the 1860 inferno, suddenly caught fire on August 21, 1870. Although the watchmen noticed the flames late at night and quickly reported to the head eunuch in the garden, the rescue efforts were handicapped by the lack of equipment to cross the lake and fight the fire. Consequently, the palaces on the abode, which had survived the earlier inferno, were consumed by fire a decade later. The Imperial Household, though suspecting arson, could never determine the actual cause of fire. The blame was laid on the head eunuch and watchmen for having failed to take enough precautions against fire in the first place and then showing insufficient effort in fighting the fire. They were either stripped of titles or caned or both. Dong Fu, then the general supervisor of the Yuanming Yuan, paid a fine equivalent to his three-month revenue allowance for this particular fire incident (*YMYA* 1991, 1:621–623).



Pengdao Yaotai (Immortal Abode on the Fairy Islet). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“蓬岛瑶台”。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

As time went on, an increasing number of points of illegal access were open to the quickly deteriorating Yuanming Yuan. How to keep intruders out became more and more difficult. Countless thieves easily broke into the crumbling walls. One of them, named Mi Lao,er, was caught on June 13, 1861, when he sneaked into the European section to steal bronzes, vessels, and stoves (*YMYA* 1991, 1:598, 600).

On January 24, 1862, under the Tongzhi reign, the newly founded Zongli Yamen (the bureau for managing the general affairs concerning the West) reported to the court that a certain foreigner had stealthily climbed the Fuyuan Gate to enter into the Yuanming Yuan without permission. He was discovered by the on-duty eunuchs when he was looking over some books in a room. The foreigner was detained and identified as Zhang Mianxing, presumably Ernst Ohlmer’s (1847–1927) Chinese name. Serving as a clerk in the Chinese Customs Office in Tianjin, Ohlmer presumed innocence for not knowing the rules, not to mention that he could be protected by extraterritoriality. The Qing authorities at the Zongli Yamen duly pardoned the foreigner on the grounds that he did not actually steal anything, conveniently leaving out the offense of intrusion. On the other hand, the eunuchs who guarded the garden, for fear of punishment, painstakingly explained to the Imperial Household how strenuously they had tried in vain to stop the intruder. The incident further confirmed the difficulty of securing a crippled garden. Besides trying to deter local intrud

ers by promising harsh punishment, the Qing authorities also notified through the Zongli Yamen the four foreign legations in Beijing that the imperial garden was still off-limits to any visitor (*YMYA* 1991, 1:603–605). Regardless, theft and intrusion never ceased in the decade from 1861 to 1871, as numerous memorials reported, and the situation turned from bad to worse thereafter.

The trickiest problem, it turned out, was theft by those whom the Imperial Household entrusted to take care of the garden. In May 1861, for instance, the eunuchs Yue Chenggao and Han Deshou smuggled some brassware out of the garden for profit. Not just eunuchs but also Manchu bannermen and former members of the Garden Household knew their way in the Yuanming Yuan well enough to steal and get away with it most of the time. Occasionally, they were caught; for example, two former members of a Garden Household of Manchu origin by the names of Guan San and He Anrui stole dozens of jade objects from the Purple-Blue Mountain Cottage in June 1863. They admitted sneaking into the mountain retreat, with which they were familiar, to steal the valuable jade wares to sell in an antique shop in the neighborhood. Their poverty was no excuse; they were convicted and thrown into prison, where they died of illness before long. Their alleged accomplices, however, got away for lack of evidence (*YMYA* 1991, 1:607–610).

Many of the poverty-stricken Manchu bannermen had once lived and worked inside the Yuanming Yuan and thus knew well where valuable things could be found. One record shows that the craftsman Lu Yuzi, together with a dozen others, broke through the northern walls of the Variegated Spring Garden under the cover of darkness on January 25, 1866. They entered into the River Goddess' Temple (Heshen Miao) through a sewer, stole nineteen bronze Buddha statues, large and small, and smashed all of them to sell as brass scrap in a Haidian shop (*YMYA* 1991, 1:611).

About half a year later, on the night of July 20, 1866, Li Sansheng, a former member of a Garden Household, returned to the Yuanming Yuan through a sluice gate with two helpers, Rui Guizi and Li Xiao'er. They took four planks from a bridge and sold them in a market for cash at the Desheng Gate in northern Beijing. When they came back again on the evening of July 21, however, Li was caught red-handed by the eunuch supervisor Dong Fu, though his two accomplices escaped (*YMYA* 1991, 1:613).

In the same year, on November 16, three thieves from Wanping, namely, Liu Yu’er, Zhao Ying, and Zhao San, climbed through the fallen walls into the European section. They cut more than 640 ounces of bronze pipe with a saw from a fountain and sold it on the following day to the tin shop owner Zhao Yuncheng for sixty strings of cash. The success encouraged them to try it again at night on November 21. They slipped through a water gate into the Eternal Spring Garden to steal about 500 ounces of scrap brass and sold it to the same person for fifty-five strings of cash. While taking the familiar route into the Eternal Spring Garden in darkness for their third attempt on November 30, they ran across the patrolling eunuchs at the Symmetric and Amazing Pleasure. Zhao Ying was immediately caught. His two accomplices were eventually captured by the patrolmen. All three thieves were thrown into prison (*YMYA* 1991, 1:614–615).

But captured thieves, it seems, represented only a small percentage of all thieves. The thief Wang Jiushi and his gang, for instance, testified in 1868 that they were caught after five successful attempts. Each time they stole hundreds of ounces of scrap brass, iron, tin, and small bronze Buddha statues for numerous strings of cash. The thieves were interested in scrap brass and iron pieces obviously due to their availability and good price. Reportedly, not surprisingly, the local markets were filled with illegal items taken from the Yuanming Yuan. Local residents also testified that it was easy for them to buy a few things that had belonged to the imperial garden. The Imperial Household just had too many lost things to be accounted for. The promise of amnesty for returning garden objects did not inspire many to surrender what they had obtained voluntarily (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:616–618).

According to the penal code of the Qing Dynasty, stealing royal property was punishable by death. But executions due to stealing Yuanming Yuan properties seemed rare, presumably because there were simply too many small cases to be prosecuted or pursued. Moreover, a large percentage of the thieves seemed to be Manchus, the royal family’s own people who had been victimized by poverty, and they were generally exempt from capital punishment. A report by the Imperial Household on October 3, 1868, is revealing. A certain Manchu person of the White Banner by the name of Zhangba, also known as Lin San, who had worked in the Yuanming Yuan, stole the tail of the famous Bronze Buffalo at the Kunming Lake in 1862. He was found guilty; however,

instead of being put to death, he was expelled from the Clan Registration, branded as a thief by tattooing his face, beaten with one hundred strokes, and sent into exile at a distance of 2,000 *li* (about 666 miles). Remarkably, when he was pardoned and returned from exile some years later, he dared to sneak into the garden and steal scrap brass again (*YMYA* 1991, 1:619–620). No record shows his eventual fate.

The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 marked another major turn for the worse, so far as keeping thieves out from the Yuanming Yuan was concerned. The new blow to the garden rendered it totally defenseless. The garden in effect became ruins. Then, with the downfall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, the abdicated emperor and his Imperial Household lost their legitimacy and power to protect the site. Nor was the feeble Republican government able to secure the historical relics. Under the circumstances, thieves and robbers were rampant. Control over the Yuanming Yuan was not established until 1976.

Chapter 6 Royal Daily Life

The emperor of China, or Son of Heaven, was entitled to the maximum pleasure. In imperial China, it was taken for granted that the country and people are both “to consecrate one person” (*gongfeng yiren*). Only the ruler’s own conscience could restrain his passion and desire. In this sense, the magnificent Yuanming Yuan only matched the paramount status of the Qing emperors who conquered a vast empire. The garden came of age in 1723 upon the ascendancy of the Yongzheng Emperor, who added courts and office buildings to the pleasure environment and set the precedent for running state affairs from the Yuanming Yuan. Indeed, from Yongzheng to Xianfeng, five Qing emperors thoroughly enjoyed the more than 500-acre scenic land, with hundreds of halls and pavilions, and the extremely luxurious living. They inevitably transformed it into a regular residence, or even their principal residence, and spent increasing amounts of time each year in the garden. Britain’s Lord Elgin, who saw both the Forbidden City and the imperial garden, quickly remarked that “I don’t wonder that the Emperor preferred Yuen-ming Yuan” (Walrond 1872, 369).

What was royal life like in the imperial garden? It has been a mystery until the availability of archival sources in recent years. These sources, regardless of their limitations, at least allow us to dig into the dust of history to scan some aspects of the life of the Qing emperors in the Yuanming Yuan and even to capture a glimpse of their activities behind the walls of the magnificent, palatial garden.

Of the five Qing emperors, it was Qianlong who spent the longest time in and the most money on the Yuanming Yuan. He chose to stay in his beloved palace garden as long as he possibly could. He returned to his palace in the Forbidden City often only out of absolute necessity, such as to perform rituals and celebrations at the beginning of every lunar New Year and to take customary hunting trips to Rehe, usually in the midst of summer. Take the year around 1775: altogether Qianlong spent 168 days, or 43.86 percent of the year, in the garden. In the remainder of the time he spent 105 days in the Forbidden City, 66 days (from August to October) in the Chengde summer retreat in Rehe

, and 44 days (from February to March) in Confucius' hometown at Qufu (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 2:827–911; Yu Minzhong 1985, 1:178–179). This was not significantly different from the year of 1752, during which Qianlong spent 175 days in the garden (Wan Yi, Wang Shuqing, Liu Lu 1990, 296).

Qianlong became homesick even during a short absence from the Yuanming Yuan. He revealed this feeling upon his return from the annual hunting trip in 1752 in one of his numerous poems:

> Returning to my royal demesne from the frontiers,
> I appreciate more the sprouting scenes of this fairyland.
> Now I admire the picturesque hills,
> Now I enjoy boating on lakes,
> Maples trees are still in red,
> They inspire me to write poems.
> Look, chrysanthemum flowers are in brilliant yellow,
> Seemingly slowing down the passing autumn.
> Two months afterward,
> I return to my pleasure ground,
> As usual, moonlight flows through my window. [61]

One Day of Qianlong's Life

The year 1756 marked twenty years of the Qianlong reign. As usual, the emperor spent the lunar New Year's Day inside the Forbidden City, where he performed various ceremonial duties. About a week later, he departed for the Yuanming Yuan. He rose early in the morning on the day of departure. He wore a sable skin headgear, a fox fur-lined robe with a silk dust coat in dark reddish brown, heavy cotton-padded trousers with leather girdles, several strings of beads around his neck, and a pair of white cotton socks in green satin-covered sheepskin boots. This illustrates the ornamentation and color of dress to be worn by the emperor on a normal day.

After fully dressing with assistance from his attendants, the emperor walked into a four-man sedan chair to be carried to the Qianqing Palace, his study, through the Fortunate Gate. Inside the palace, he met with representatives of the Dalai Lama from Tibet. After the meeting, he ate his breakfast at the W

est Warm Room (Xi Nuange) before going on to perform the kowtow to deities at the Doutan Altar of the Qin’an Dian. When these duties were completed, he left for the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYA* 1991, 2:827). [62] It took an eight-man heated palanquin to transport the emperor from the Forbidden City to the Yuanming Yuan. Upon arrival, Qianlong and his entourage went through the Inner Palace Gate and stopped at the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court to pray briefly. Then he proceeded to his living quarters on the Nine Continents for a short rest.

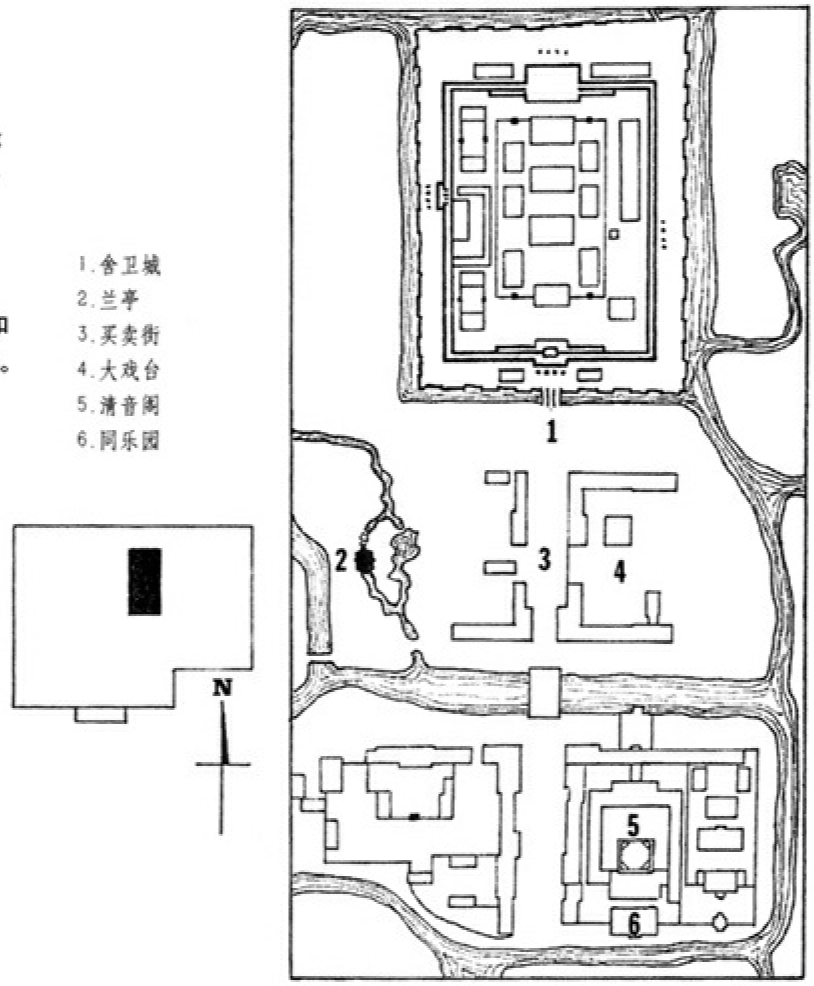
The next activity of the day was to take a boat ride to pay homage in the Buddhist temple at the Gentle Clouds Cover All and to worship at the Anyou Palace of the Ancestral Shrine. On his way back, he stopped at the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall to see his mother. He returned to the Nine Continents for resting before having his dinner at the All-Happy Garden, situated south of the Wall of Sravasti. After the dinner, he stopped at the Xiuqing Village and the Pleasant Studio before retiring to his bedroom on the Nine Continents (*YMYA* 1991, 2:827; cf. Yu Minzhong 1985, 1:178–179).

The following day, the ninth day of the lunar New Year, was the birthday of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang Dadi, the supreme deity of Daoism). Qianlong got up early to perform the kowtow to the Jade Emperor in the Nine Continents in Peace, where food had been prepared for His Majesty’s sacrifices. After eating his breakfast, the emperor rode on a dragon barge to the Cross Pavilion (Shizi Ting) to board a four-man palanquin carrying him to a large yurt, where he met with an awaiting Mongolian prince. When the meeting was over, Qianlong toured Longevity Hills, paid a tribute at a Buddhist temple, and finally ate supper at the All-Happy Garden. He took an after-meal nap before proceeding to the waterfront to wait for his mother’s arrival. The son accompanied the mother to observe the colorful lantern performance in the Drill Field. After the party was over, the emperor escorted the dowager in person to the waterfront to see her off before retiring to his bedroom on the Nine Continents (*YMYA* 1991, 2:828).

Qianlong was present in the Forbidden City on the tenth day of the year for unknown obligations. But he stayed there for just two short days. Upon returning to the Yuanming Yuan in the evening, he had his meal again at the All-Happy Garden. When he was full, he went to the Drill Field to watch wrestl

ing and fireworks and to entertain with princes and high-ranking officials. Afterward, a four-man palanquin took him to the Cross Pavilion for a boat ride to the All-Happy Garden, where he had his last refreshments of the day before going to bed (*YMYA* 1991, 2:829).

Shewei Cheng (Wall of Sravasti), Maimaijie (Shopping Street), and Tongle Yuan (All-Happy Garden) in Zhuoshi Linliu. Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. **"坐石临流"里的舍卫城、买卖街和同乐园。王绰和郁欣白绘制。**



Qianlong's activities in the Yuanming Yuan reveal that his mother was in his company regularly. Indeed, he had the reputation for being extraordinarily kind to his mother, known in history as Empress Xiaosheng (1693–1777). He had placed her at his favorite Eternal Spring Fairy Hall upon his ascendancy to the throne. He seemed not merely to fulfill the Confucian moral obligation as a filial son but also to show his genuine love and respect to the imperial mother. He was his mother's only child, and they were indeed very close to each other. Whenever he had spare time, he was eager to accompany her to tour the garden. On every Duanwu Festival Day, he rarely missed the opportunity to accompany his mother to watch at the Fairy Terrace nine dragon boats ra

cing (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 155). He dined with her very often as well. The January 1775 record shows that the emperor and the dowager ate together in the dinning hall of the All-Happy Garden almost on a daily basis (*YMYA* 1991, 2:831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838).

Qianlong's love and kindness to his mother never faded. On March 2, 1777, the dowager suddenly fell ill while observing a lantern show in the Drill Field. She was taken to her bedroom in the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall but died shortly afterward at the age of eighty-five. Grieving deeply, Qianlong not only gave her a lavish funeral but also erected a temple, named the Mother's Memorial Temple, in her memory. It was built inside the Ancestral Shrine, known as the Boundless Kindness and Eternal Blessing, in the same style of architecture as the temple that the Yongzheng Emperor had built for the deceased Kangxi Emperor (cf. Kahn 1971, 88). This temple remained standing in the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan as late as the 1930s.

The Royal Gourmets

Feeding the emperor and his royal family was a massive task. The Imperial Butlery (Yu Shanfang) had the responsibility of "feeding His Majesty, managing imperial foodstuffs, and preparing banquets on special occasions" (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 355).

It seems that the Qing emperors ate two principal meals a day, breakfast and dinner, even though food of various sorts was made available to them continuously throughout the day. Each meal was lavishly, carefully, and timely prepared by a huge staff of cooks employed by the Imperial Butlery. The royal food service demanded not only good quality food but also superabundance and variety. From the famous recipe book left behind by the eminent scholar-poet Yuan Mei (1716–1798) of the Qianlong era, we know how Yuan and Yuan's wealthy contemporaries prepared their meals. Citing Confucius' *Golden Mean* (*Zhongyong*), "everyone eats his (or her) meal, but a few enjoy the tastes of food," Yuan advocated the pleasure of eating. No sooner had he enjoyed a tasty dish at a friend's house than he sent his cook to learn it (Yuan Mei 1892, 1a–1b). His recipe book became in effect a synthesis of the culinary arts. It details how to execute cookery exquisitely, from understanding the natural properties of a given food, choosing the condiments, determining the corre

ct heat, and using the appropriate types of utensils to determining the overall strategy of a meal (cf. Yuan Mei 1892, 1a–29a). The gourmet in the imperial garden could not be less sophisticated or extravagant than Yuan Mei in his Sui Garden, not to mention that the scale of culinary operations had to be much greater.

The royal feasts sanctioned by the Confucian codes of conduct consist of twenty-six dishes chosen out of one hundred and twenty different entries in the standard royal menu. Evidently for security reasons, every dish that was served to the emperor had to be recorded beforehand by officials from the Imperial Household along with the name of the chef (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 355). The normal size of a royal main meal in the Yuanming Yuan was about two dozen dishes, comparable to that served in the Forbidden City. No one had the appetite to consume so much food in one meal. Hence, the Qing emperors, in particular Qianlong, customarily offered some of the dishes to a specifically named person, or persons, to show his favor or appreciation. Also, different royal kitchens served the empress, dowager, and other consorts. The Imperial Butlery was ready for any sort of requests, including banquets of whatever size, at short notice. Feeding the court was a luxury, which represented not simply vanity but more importantly the dignity of the throne. Real luxury and sophistication were always a part of the eating habits of China’s rulers. Table luxury included crockery, silver, and golden utensils. Because of their huge quantity, specially appointed men took care of them (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 355, 356). The suggestion that “many of the Ch’ing (Qing) emperors had in fact quite simple tastes” (Chang 1977, 281) is contrary to the archival evidence. A series of recorded royal menus (*YMYA* 1991, 2:924–958), indeed, sounds flamboyant.

Some spectacular banquets were given inside the Forbidden City. For instance, Kangxi once held there a thousand-man banquet. Qianlong also hosted a grand banquet of ninety-nine guests, including Manchu noblemen, grand secretaries (Da Xueshi), and high-ranking mandarins at the Qianqing Palace in 1740. Twenty years later, the same emperor offered an extremely lavish banquet at the Fragrant Hill in honor of his mother’s seventieth birthday. In 1782, upon the completion of the first set of the *Four Treasuries* , the emperor invited all those who were involved in editing the project to a lavish banquet and gave presents after the banquet (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 165, 167).

The kitchens inside the Yuanming Yuan also prepared celebrated banquets. For example, it took eight full days for the fifth-rank chief eunuch Liu Jingzhong to prepare a banquet in the garden on January 19, 1727. He had to propose a menu, schedule entertainment (usually fireworks and wrestling), and finalize the guest list, which included Princes Yi, Zhuang, Kang, Guo, and Xin (*YMYA* 1991, 1:23–24).

A lavish banquet was given at the hall of the All-Happy Garden to celebrate the lunar New Year of 1757. Guests included the royal clansmen, meritorious officials, and distinguished visitors from Mongolia and Tibet. This banquet, like numerous others, was followed by entertainment, such as dramatic theater performances or the recitation and composition of poems. In 1790, envoys from Korea, Ryûkyû, and Annam (Vietnam) joined others to come to Beijing to celebrate Qianlong's eightieth birthday. The emperor offered a grand banquet in their honor at the Yuanming Yuan. Qianlong even proposed a toast to every ambassador (*zhengshi*)from the vassal states. Then, at noon, the poems that Qianlong composed for the occasion were read to the guests. Those who were able, including several ambassadors and their deputies, replied to the imperial poems by using the same rhyme sequence (cf. Wu Zhenyu 1983, 163, 164, 166, 167).

How was a court banquet served? An eighteenth-century Russian diplomat in whose honor the Qianlong Emperor offered a banquet left behind a vivid account of the procession of the banquet:

> There were first brought neat little tables, covered with a variety of fruits and confections, and placed before all the company. It seems to be the fashion in this country to bring the desert first, at least that was the case at all the entertainments where I was present. In this, as in many other things, the behavior of the Chinese is quite contrary to that of the Europeans. Soon after the fruits, the victuals were served in the same manner, and placed on small tables before the guests. They consisted of fowls, mutton, and pork, all very good of their kinds; and the whole was either boiled, or fried with pickles, but nothing roasted. The Emperor sent several dishes from his own table to the Ambassador, particularly some boiled pheasants, which were very agreeable. [63]

The British visitors at the end of the century, though unhappy with their "uncomfortable lodging," were pleased to be amended by "a most excellent d

inner." When they toured the imperial gardens, they were treated at one of the palaces "with a collation of petit-patis, salt relishes, and other savoury dishes, with fruits and sweetmeats, milk and ice-water" (Barrow 1805, 74, 80, 135). For the banquet, a table was laid for every two British guests. "As soon as all were seated," George Staunton described, "the tables were uncovered, and exhibited a sumptuous banquet." But on each of the small tables "was a pyramid of dishes or bowls piled upon each other, containing viands and fruits in vast variety" (Staunton 1799, 2:78).

The chefs working in the Yuanming Yuan served not just the emperor but also princes and high-ranking officials. "Four senior officials," as a document shows, "asked us to serve fifty-five tables of guests (in the Yuanming Yuan) from February 4 to 27" ("Neiwufu Laiwen," Yuanming Yuan Ziliao, No. 4667; cf. Zhaolian 1980, 374–375). The presence of the emperor, royalty, and prestigious officials definitely required large garden kitchens.

The numerous workers in an imperial kitchen fell into many different classifications as sanctioned by the *Book of Rites* (*Zhouli*). They included chefs (*shanfu*), butchers (*paoren*), cutlers (*neiyong*), cutlers for food as sacrifice (*waiyong*), meat chefs (*hengren*), food purchasers (*dianshi*), hunters (*shouren*), fish catchers (*yuren*), turtle cookers (*bieren*), salted-meat makers (*laren*), nutrition experts (*shiyi*), food inspectors (*jiyi*), brewers (*jiuzheng*), bartenders (*jiuren*), sauce makers (*jiangren*), cooler keepers (*lingren*), bamboo utensil suppliers (*bianren*), ground-meat makers (*hairen*), jam makers (*xiren*), salt users (*yanren*), and dinner-set keepers (*muren*). The total number of kitchen workers at the emperor's disposal could be as many as 2,332 persons plus 206 ranking officials to supervise them (Lin Naishen 1989, 62).

Such huge kitchen staffs in the service of the imperial ruler were maintained throughout the Qing Dynasty without exception. Even though we do not have statistics concerning the Yuanming Yuan's chefs, given the emperor's lengthy residence in the garden, their number could not be much smaller than the number of chefs in the Forbidden City. There is no doubt that a troop of people working in the garden kitchens supported luxurious and sophisticated eating habits for 150 years. The estimated cost of food consumption of an imperial kitchen in the month of September in 1898 was 2780.92 taels of silver (cited in Kong 1998, 115). The size of a single royal meal, according to a recent e

stimate, could feed as many as one hundred peasant households for an entire year (Lin Naishen 1989, 140).

It is no surprise to find that there were ice rooms (*bingku*)in the Yuanming Yuan to preserve food during the summer of 1725 (*YMYA* 1991, 1:20). In fact, from very early on the Qing palaces inside the Forbidden City had maintained five large ice rooms, with one containing 9,226 pieces of ice and the other four 5,000 each (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 165). According to the *Book of Rites* , as early as the three ancient dynasties, namely, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, the royal house had a troop of ninety-four men in charge of matters concerning ice and ice rooms to preserve food. As a rule, the foods that any of the Qing emperors ate were the highest quality "tributes" (*gongpin*), usually the best local products, delivered from all over the country. The grain, cereal, and vegetables for consumption in the Yuanming Yuan were from specially cultivated farms in the vicinity. Likewise, drinking water was drawn from the clean and fresh spring at the nearby Jade Spring Hill (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 356).

So far as we know, the Qianlong Emperor liked to have his meals in different sections of the Yuanming Yuan. This indicates that every major location of the garden had a kitchen and chefs at His Majesty's service. Besides dining regularly in his living quarters on the Nine Continents, the emperor used the dining hall inside the All-Happy Garden very often, presumably because there was a large theatre nearby for the convenience of after-meal entertainment. It had become a custom for Chinese elites to enjoy entertainment following a dinner party since the Song in the eleventh century.

From the newly available *Food Archives* (*Shandi Dang*), we know what Qianlong had for his dinner at the All-Happy Garden on the eleventh day after the lunar New Year of 1784. In his dining room, the emperor used a flowery lacquer table. The dishes for this particular meal were diced meat and duck steamed with wine, chicken with fried Chinese cabbage, swallows' nests with red and white duck meat, swallows' nests with shredded chicken meat, roasted duck, fried chicken with fresh bamboo shoots, omelet, steamed chicken with deer's tail, diced chicken with almond, bread in the shape of elephants' eyes, buns stuffed with duck meat, chicken meat ravioli in hot noodle soup, and a cold dish in a sunflower lacquer box. In addition, there were four silver dishes of finely minced cucumbers, pickles, and the like; salted meat; braised pheasa

nt with melon; rice; and soup with sliced chicken and swallows' nests. This dinner of superabundance was followed later in the evening by a midnight snack. It featured soup with edible swallows' nests and red and white duck meat, swallows' nests with fried sliced duck meat, roasted chicken with swallows' nests and winter bamboo shoots, smoked chicken with salted meat, steamed chicken with mushrooms, and fried sliced duck kidney (*YMYA* 1991, 2:924).

So many swallows' nests dishes were included in the imperial menu because the Chinese consider them rare delicacy. [64] According to the Qing scholar Yuan Mei, swallows' nests were so rare and precious that even a rich family could not serve them very often. The best way to cook them was to soak approximately two ounces of nests in fresh water before boiling it with salted ham and fresh mushrooms in tender chicken soup until the nest material turned to a fair color. The taste of this dish, devoid of any oil and fat, is supposed to be light (Yuan Mei 1892, 5a). It is quite possible that this frequently served delicacy was more for the emperor's health than for taste. After all, modern scholars have determined that nest cement is rich in protein and contains significant amounts of calcium, iron, and riboflavin (Simoons 1991, 431).

Also noticeable from the imperial menu cited earlier is that chicken and duck appeared much more frequently than pork, beef, mutton, or seafood. As for ingredients and seasonings, none other than soy sauce, oil, salt, vinegar, pimento, ginger, and pepper was used. Whether this was a standard menu for all emperors or reflected Qianlong's personal taste is uncertain, though the latter seems more likely the case. If so, Qianlong's taste in Chinese cuisine clearly favored northern cooking. Nevertheless, the imperial kitchen in the Yuanming Yuan was capable of serving anything at the emperor's request.

In the morning of the twelfth day of the lunar New Year of 1784, Qianlong had his breakfast at the Chunhua Gallery in the Eternal Spring Garden. This particular breakfast was as sumptuous as the dinner of the previous night. The menu entries again include many dishes of swallows' nests with minced, spiced, or baked duck and chicken meat, plus deer's tail, *hors d'oeuvres* , small breads, white cake, buns stuffed with meat and mushrooms, and a cold dish in a silver box. In addition, four silver plates on a table displayed minced vegetables, salted meat, braised pheasant with melon, duck meat stewed with noodles, along with rice and rice soup with fruits. Besides these main entries, sev

eral small tables in the dining room served a variety of wheaten food, milk, and sliced cold pork and mutton to satisfy His Majesty's appetite. Having had this big breakfast, Qianlong proceeded to the High-Reaching Mountain and Outstretched River in the Drill Field to meet a party of Lama Buddhists in a large yurt, during which various sorts of noodles were served. There was no formal luncheon of the day; however, some light food such as noodles, fruits, and tea were made available. In the evening, the emperor returned to the All-Happy Garden for dinner with a menu similar to the previous evening (*YMYA* 1991, 2:925; cf. 927, 938).

The Qing rulers seemed to have used modest quantities of wine and grain alcohols regularly, but they definitely drank little milk. Fernand Braudel (1902–1985) seemed correct to suggest that "China remained deliberately ignorant of milk, cheese and butter" (1973, 143). Of all beverages, the drink they consumed the most was tea, China's national drink. The custom of substituting wine with tea seems to have been practiced as early as the Three Kingdoms Period (220–280). During Qing China, both the Manchus and Han Chinese were accustomed to offer tea as a precious wedding gift (Fuge 1984, 169). Within the Forbidden City and Yuanming Yuan, virtually every main building had a decent "tea room" (*chafang*). The principal royalty, such as the emperor, empress, and crown prince, each had their own special "tea room." His Majesty's tea room, known as the "Imperial Tea Room" (Yu Chafang), was headed by two seventh-rank officials, who were in charge of tea as well as teapots and porcelain, gold, and silver cups. Tea was normally prepared in pots or cups with boiling water and was always consumed hot without sugar or other additives; iced tea was unheard of. The fresh water for tea in the Yuanming Yuan came exclusively from the Jade Spring Hills in the neighborhood, which was considered the best quality water. Qianlong took this "purest" water with him when he made his southern tour in 1756 (Zhang Naiwei 1988, 228–230).

When the 1784 Yuanxiao Festival Day, the fifteenth day of the first lunar month, arrived, the Yuanming Yuan featured, as before, lanterns, fireworks, and "continuous theatrical performances" (*liantaixi*). Abundant food in great variety was also made available to entertain the royalty, guests of honor, and several princes from Mongolia. On this special day, Qianlong rose early and worshipped inside the Blessing Palace at the Ancestral Shrine, during which sweet dumplings were served during the resting period. He had his twenty-fou

r-course breakfast at the All-Happy Garden. The dishes included shredded chicken meat with swallows' nests, baked duck, chopped pheasant meat, steamed duck with deers' young antlers, steamed chicken, baked venison, mashed ground pork, steamed buns stuffed with vegetables, steamed dumplings with chicken meat, salted meat, and various vegetables. Some of these dishes used special bowls or plates; for instance, the ground pork was served on a gold plate, the baked duck in enamelware, and the salted meat on a silver plate. In addition, this breakfast of the festival day also featured numerous light refreshments and pastry of various sorts together with a number of dishes specially prepared by the royal concubines (*YMYA* 1991 2:926–933).

Having had his breakfast, Qianlong went to his royal office in the Main Audience Hall as usual. The only difference from normal days was that in the office room there were tables of wheaten food, fruits, pastry, and sweet dumplings, each of which was put either on white-jade plates or in elegant porcelain bowls. The emperor had no more appetite in his office room, so he asked the attending eunuch named Eluli to pass these foods as imperial bestowals to princes, concubines, and grand councilmen (*YMYA* 1991, 2:934).

The luncheon of the day was extraordinarily lavish, comprising thirty-two different entries served on purple sandalwood dining tables with specially prepared chopsticks, spoons, jade bowls and silver plates, and cloth and paper napkins in the decorated dining room inside the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court. The emperor did not show up until all the invited guests, including princes, concubines, and favorite officials, had already assembled. His Majesty walked into the room in the midst of music playing in the background. Soon after the emperor had taken his seat, the hot dishes were served. The guests, two persons per table as usual, enjoyed servings of hot dishes together with soup, milk tea, wine, cold meat, vegetables, and sweets, in that order. Course after course was served while gentle music was playing. At the end of the luncheon, the emperor offered his guests a bowl of sweet dumplings specially prepared for the festival as a gesture of his pleasure and kindness (*YMYA* 1991, 2:934–935).

In the afternoon, the eunuch Chang Ning offered Qianlong some hot liquid food, such as swallows' nests, duck, chicken, or mutton egg soups and milk tea as well as tables of wine and light dishes of pickles and pastries. After s

unset, late in the evening, Qianlong led his guests, including the distinguished visitors from Mongolia and Korea, into the Drill Field, where they watched fireworks and ate fruits and dumplings offered by servants (*YMYA* 1991, 2:935).

The celebration continued for several more days. The scheduled fireworks show on the seventeenth day of the first lunar month, however, had to be called off because of snow. Qianlong stayed indoors most of the time. Later that night, he had a huge snack that included swallows’ nests with minced duck, fried dried bean curd with spinach, mutton sausage and tripe soup, fried shredded chicken with swallows’ nests, deep fried duck kidneys, and pork chops (*YMYA* 1991, 2:936–937, 942; cf. 937–958).

Fun and Entertainment

As a pleasure ground, the Yuanming Yuan provided entertainment of many sorts. One of the most exciting events, given almost annually throughout the Qianlong reign, was to set up a make-believe market in the garden, usually inside the All-Happy Garden, to entertain the emperor and his guests. The eunuchs ran the market and assumed the roles of shop owners, teahouse keepers, and vendors who sold antiques, books, furnitures, silk clothes, porcelain, varnish works, and the like. In order to look exactly like merchants in downtown Beijing so as to maximize amusement, the eunuchs loudly shouted the vendors’ cries, while busily emulating aggressive salesmen to catch customers by the sleeve to press for sales. To make the common street scene come alive, they even pretended to quarrel and fight among themselves and wait for arrest by security guards, as often happened in real streets. This “Disney” market normally lasted for nine days as part of the celebration of the New Year (Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 5–6, and Attiret 1982, 27–29).



Maimaijie (Shopping Street) at Zuoshi Linliu (Sitting Rocks and the Winding Stream). Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu.
“坐石临流”的买卖街。王绰和郁欣白绘制。

On the eighteenth day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar, the Qing emperor watched his imperial guardsmen practicing riding horses, known as “racing His Majesty’s horses” (*pao yuma*), outside the northern walls of the Yuanming Yuan. A guardsman, while riding a horse, would lead another hors e to his side. In the midst of racing, the guardsman would whip the horse to hi s side and jump on it as soon as it picked up speed to run. Guardsmen who w ere able to mount the galloping horse from the rear received the best rewards. The second prize went to those who successfully jumped to another horse hor izontally. Even those who fell from jumping received some presents from the emperors. Of the five Qing emperors who resided in the Yuanming Yuan, onl y Xianfeng did not preside over this event in person. He asked high-ranking o fficials to run it on his behalf (*YMYZ* 1984, 281).

The Qing emperors also used the proud imperial garden to entertain king s, princes, and other dignitaries from the neighboring vassal states, in particul ar Korea, Annam (Vietnam), and Ryûkyû, from time to time. The Mongols, whom the Manchus considered close allies, were especially common visitors

to the garden. One of many such visits took place on the nineth day of the first lunar month in 1757. Qianlong met the Mongols at the Drill Field and offered a lavish banquet in their honor. Five days later came the big holiday, the Lantern Festival Day, one of the most popular festivals in China. People of all classes want to make the day as fun as possible, and the festival is celebrated by making it "bustling" (*nao*)by beating drums and racing horses (Gu Lu 1986, 27).

In the Yuanming Yuan, on the eve of the day, Qianlong took a bath before going to bed. He rose very early in the morning, ate some fruits in the Main Audience Hall, and proceeded to the Anyou Palace, the main hall of the Ancestral Shrine, for worship. After taking a meal with his mother in the All-Happy Garden, he prayed at a Buddhist temple in the Eternal Spring Garden. In the afternoon, he ate sweet dumplings made of glutinous rice flour (*yuanxiao*), the delicacy of the festival, before resting in his living quarters. When the evening finally came, he rode a four-man palanquin to the Drill Field for the exciting entertainment, including wrestling, lantern dance, and the biggest show of fireworks in the year. The Mongol princes, while still in town, were invited to participate in the celebration as guests of honor. All enjoyed the spectacular scene of the terrific fireworks lighting up the sky at night in a large open field while food was served and music played (Zhaolian 1980, 374–375 and Yao Yuanzhi 1982, 6–7; cf. Gu Lu 1986, 26).

The French Jesuit Father Attiret, who experienced the great "Feast of Lanterns" in the Yuanming Yuan, added some interesting details:

> It is always celebrated on the 15th day of the first month. There is no Chinese so poor, but that upon this day he lights up his lanterns. They have all sorts of figures, sizes, and prices. On that day, all China is illuminated: but the finest illuminations of all are in the Emperor's palace; and particularly in these Pleasure-grounds, which I have been describing to you. There is not a chamber, hall, or portico, in them, which has not several of these lanterns hanging from the ceilings. There are several upon all the rivulets, rivers, and lakes; made in the shape of little boats, which the waters carry backward and forward. There are some upon all the hills and bridges, and almost upon all the trees. These are wrought mighty pretty, in the shapes of different fishes, birds, and beasts, vases, fruits, flowers; and boats of different sorts and sizes. Some are made of silk; some of horn, glass, mother of pearl, and a thousand other materials…. It is in these, and in the great variety, which the C

> hinese show in their buildings, that I admire the fruitfulness of their invention; and am almost tempted to own, that we are quite poor and barren in comparison of them. [65]

The Lantern Festival concluded when the colorful fireworks were over. The emperor returned to his living quarters to eat a little bit more of the seasonal sweet dumplings before attending the late evening party at the All-Happy Garden. After the party, a lantern procession escorted the emperor back to the Nine Continents to retire (*YMYA* 1991, 2:831).

Lanterns and fireworks were clearly a great pleasure in the imperial garden. They could be displayed everywhere, in particular at lakeside. Many witnesses left behind their impressions in writing. The eminent eighteenth-century historian Zhao Yi (1727–1814), who had the privilege of observing the festive fireworks with Qianlong in the imperial garden, had this to tell:

> Early in the morning, several shelves of fireworks had been placed in front of the Grand Palace Entrance…. When the sun went down, about three thousand men carrying lanterns and singing songs moved orderly into the Drill Field. The men, while dancing, slowly forged formations to show the four Designated Chinese characters: “great” (*tai*), “peace” (*ping*), “long” (*wan*), and “life” (*sui*)in order to draw the emperor’s attention and pleasure. No sooner had the dance finished than the fireworks suddenly burst *en masse* . It sounded like thunder and its light illuminated half of the sky. There were like thousands of red fish jumping around under the sea of clouds. It was truly a great wonder. [66]

The historian’s description of the wonder of fireworks was echoed by a poem composed by a court official in the company of the emperor on one of these occasions:

> The Milky Way steers clear of dust,
> The fiery phoenix flies tiltingly on display,
> A sudden thunderclap awakes the hibernating under the earth.
> The flower blossoms on thousands of trees
> Make a beautiful Spring in the sky.
> The lanterns on the chambers light up the night,
> The full moon on top of the palace moves slowly.
> Enjoying his special night,
> His Majesty shares his happiness with all of us. [67]

Watching fireworks in the garden also fascinated the British visitors at the end of the eighteenth century. As one of them described, the fireworks "exceeded anything of the kind I had ever seen." He observed that "in grandeur, magnificence, and variety," the fireworks he had seen at Batavia "were inferior to the Chinese fire-works," which were nothing "but infinitely superior, in point of novelty, neatness, and ingenuity of contrivance." And the Chinese fireworks "concluded with a volcano, or general explosion and discharge of suns and stars, squibs, bouncers, crackers, rockets, and grenadoes, which involved the gardens, for about an hour after, in a cloud of intolerable smoke" (Barrow 1805, 139).

The pleasant and joyful setting of the Yuanming Yuan imperial garden was no doubt the most suitable place for the emperor to observe his birthday. As a rule, in the early morning of the imperial birthday, high-ranking officials, both civilian and military, presented themselves in formal dress at the garden's Main Audience Hall. Relatively lower-ranking officials, say, below the third rank, gathered at the more distant Inner Palace Gate. The emperor, fully dressed, received congratulations from the officials in the hall one by one with their names pronounced aloud by an attending official. When Qianlong went hunting in Rehe on his birthday of September 25, 1757, government officials assembled at the Noon Gate (Wu Men) of the Forbidden City to send congratulations from a distance (Zhaolian 1980, 389).

Qianlong lived long enough to celebrate his eightieth birthday in 1790; none of the other Qing emperors had the chance to observe such a grand birthday. The empire was still generally peaceful and prosperous. The proud old man had every reason to have the greatest of all birthday parties. On the eve of his birthday, exuberant and colorful decorations had already been displayed, and they stretched all the way from Beijing's West Straight Gate to the imperial garden's main entrance. An appointed commissioner general (*zongli qinding dachen*)supervised all celebration programs, including birthday presents from prominent officials and wealthy merchants all over the country. The rich from the affluent Lianghuai, Changlu, and Zhejiang regions, as the record shows, had actually paid for all of the spectacular decorations just mentioned.

The grand eightieth birthday celebration formally began on September 25, 1790, in the Yuanming Yuan. A long line of guests was introduced in this

order: members of the royal family, Manchu noblemen, high officials, generals and officers, distinguished elderly citizens, the King of Annam, and representatives from Korea, Burma, Cambodia and Mongolia, as well as various Muslim tribesmen. Once introduced, they were seated in their designated booths. After having taken their seats, all the guests chanted “long life” (*wanshou*)aloud in the emperor’s honor. The hills on the west side of the garden’s southern gate had been temporarily named the Welcoming Longevity Hills (Yingshou Shan), and on top of the hill stood the newly built pavilion named after the God of Longevity (Shouxing Ting). “Longevity” became the most popular catchword of the day. Its gigantic character was on display in open theaters, along with hundreds of congratulatory phrases in parallel tablet style posted virtually everywhere in the garden. Musical bands played the pleasant praising sounds endlessly from a distance. About one thousand Lama priests assembled under a huge awning and recited the Buddhist scripture of praises as the way to wish the great Qianlong Emperor a long, long life. All these events created a thrilling sight in the magnificent imperial garden. Thousands of regional and local officials who were unable to observe the birthday celebration in person sent well wishes to the Yuanming Yuan all day long. Still in good health and in an excellent mood, the eighty-year-old Qianlong had his birthday dinner in the Rainbow Hall north of the Gaoliang Bridge.

The price tag for this grand birthday party amounted to 1,144,297.5 taels of silver, approximately 573,703 taels less than the original budget, presumably because enthusiastic Manchu clansmen, top-ranking officials, regional tax collectors, and local administrators had picked up a substantial sum. Many in officialdom volunteered to take a certain percentage of salary cuts to partially cover the enormous bill (Wu Zhenyu 1983, 125–132).

In retrospect, this grand birthday party may be considered the last truly great fanfare in the Yuanming Yuan. Afterward, the Qing Empire began its downward course. Both of Qianlong’s successors, Jiaqing and Daoguang, suffered from internal unrest and external threats that inevitably cast a long shadow over the pleasure of the magnificent garden living. By the time Xianfeng ascended to the throne, both the political and the financial conditions of the empire were worsening. At one point, the emperor even felt guilty about using his garden residence, and his eventual return to garden living won him the bad name as an indulgent monarch.

Xianfeng did enjoy the magnificent garden life. The Yuanming Yuan in its twilight remained a beautiful and delightful royal demesne. Indeed, Xianfeng needed greater pleasure to ease his profound distress. Many loyal servants tried to make His Majesty happy in the garden. Most noticeably, to cheer him up, a dozen pretty Manchu girls were brought into the garden. Lady Yehenala (Yehe Nara), one of these Manchu girls, won the special attention of the emperor and eventually became the notoriously powerful Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908), who dominated Qing China for more than forty years. This royal romance in the Yuanming Yuan has been written into many fictitious stories, including one by a Western author. The core of the story reads:

> One day, in early spring, the young Emperor was wandering idly around one of the gardens in the Yuan Ming Yuan, when he heard the clear notes of a girl's voice singing a pretty and popular song. He stopped to listen and presently decided that he must see who was warbling in such a alluring way. To his delight, he discovered a slim, tall and beautiful girl at her embroidery-frame in a summer-house. [68]

The description is fictitious, but it is true that the slim Yehenala, though not tall at all, bore a son, the future Tongzhi Emperor, in a hall on the Nine Continents in April 1856. Both the mother and the son were permanent residents of the Yuanming Yuan until the invasion of the Anglo-French forces. Neither could come back to enjoy royal life in the imperial garden again in the aftermath. Xianfeng died in Rehe, and mother and son returned to Beijing only to see the burnt out Yuanming Yuan.

Enjoying dramatic performances inside the Yuanming Yuan was evidenced in the growing number of garden theatres constructed since the Daoguang reign. As a rule, no official below the second rank could accompany the emperor to watch shows inside the Forbidden City. The rule was obviously ignored in the imperial garden. The Xianfeng Emperor especially wanted more people regardless of rank in his company in the theater. On at least one occasion, the emperor complained of too few people watching the performance with him. As a result, many low-ranking retired officers in the neighborhood were summoned to the theater to join the emperor (*YMYZ* 1984, 284).

Just about a year before the fall of the Yuanming Yuan, Xianfeng had his dinner on a dragon boat sailing on the Sea of Blessing one summer. All of a

sudden, the emperor dismissed the entertainers around him and sought a certain Enling, who turned out to be a ventriloquist. This episode confirms that His Majesty was fond of witty monologue and comedy (*YMYZ* 1984, 283). Cixi was crazy about the Peking Opera. After she seized power, the Yuanming Yuan was burned down; however, she did not forget to build several theaters while transforming the Pure Ripple Garden into the Yihe Yuan, where present-day tourists can still observe a gigantic theater.

During the last decade of the Yuanming Yuan in the 1850s, according to numerous anecdotes left by Qing scholars, there were many pretty girls from different ethnic groups in the garden to please the young, anguished emperor. The young Manchu girl, the future Dowager Cixi, had no doubt attracted His Majesty's attention. In addition, the general manager of the garden Wenfeng reportedly brought in four Han Chinese singsong girls named Spring Apricot, Spring Paradise, Spring Crabapple, and Spring Peony. Each of them lived in one of the pavilions to entertain the emperor. The four Springs plus Yehenala were known as the "Five Springs" (Wuchun) (Cheng Yansheng 1928, 17a). The emperor became infatuated with beautiful women. The great Qing scholar Wang Kaiyun (1832–1916) cited some of the anecdotes in one of his most famous poems:

> The beautiful ladies carry their flagons,
> Trying to force His Majesty to smile.
> The cup in imperial gold is always filled with good wine,
> From sunset to sunrise.
> The Son of Heaven loves to live in the Yuanming Yuan,
> Enjoying the scenes of different seasons.
> Returning to the Forbidden City he wishes not,
> Even only at a year's end.
> Going to the Yuanming Yuan he is always happy.
> As soon as spring arrives,
> Awaiting him are four charming ladies,
> Like blossoms of apricot, of crabapple, of peony,
> And of the Wuling Paradise.
> His Majesty's garden tours are as tireless as they seem,
> His chefs are as alert as his guards,
> Get decent food ready on table anywhere, anytime.

Whether at night or in the morning,
The kitchen's heat never dies down. [69]

Wang's historical epic reveals how majestic royal living still was in the Yuanming Yuan. The food service appeared as exquisite as before. The most richly furnished dining room during the twilight days of the imperial garden was situated inside the Honoring Three Selflessnesses Court, which seemed to have replaced the popular dining room at the All-Happy Garden during Qianlong's time. Nevertheless, the pleasant garden environment somehow could no longer really please the emperor. The excellent food, soft music, and pretty women were all spoiled by the troubled times.

Seeking pleasure in the garden simply became an escape from cruel reality; however, it sometimes enhanced Xianfeng's sense of poignancy. Drunken on one occasion, the throne missed the early morning session in the Yuanming Yuan. To save the emperor's face, the empress punished the women who accompanied His Majesty in the evening as scapegoats. Nevertheless, the emperor was ashamed of himself, admitted his guilt, and pledged not to get drunk again (*YMYZ* 1984, 330–331). Xianfeng's courageous admission of his misbehavior and willingness to take responsibility may suggest that he had a conscience after all. In fact, he had also expressed a sense of humility in the time of hardship by cancelling his thirtieth birthday party, which was to have been celebrated in the Yuanming Yuan in 1860. [70] This was a quite unusual decision, as the celebration of the imperial birthday had long since been the tradition of the Yuanming Yuan. His sincerity could be seen in the fact that he prohibited any regional official from coming to Beijing to commemorate his birthday (*Qingshigao* 1976, 4:747–748, 758). But before long, the foreign army invaded, and with the burning down of the Yuanming Yuan, no birthday parties could ever again be held in the magnificent garden.

Chapter 7 The Sacking

The fall of the Yuanming Yuan to foreign invaders must be under- stood in the context of Sino-Western confrontations in the nineteenth century. Although the post-Opium War (1840–1842) treaty system had secured British commercial interests that neither Macartney nor Amherst had been able to obtain, Britain sought to expand her privileges on the China coast. On the other hand, the newly ascended Xianfeng Emperor, ashamed of losing to the British national interest, struggled to recover the Qing's honor and was certainly not willing to yield more rights. The British demand for treaty revision, to acquire further concessions from China, thus met stubborn resistance and eventually led to the outbreak of the second Opium War and the burning of the magnificent Yuanming Yuan imperial garden.

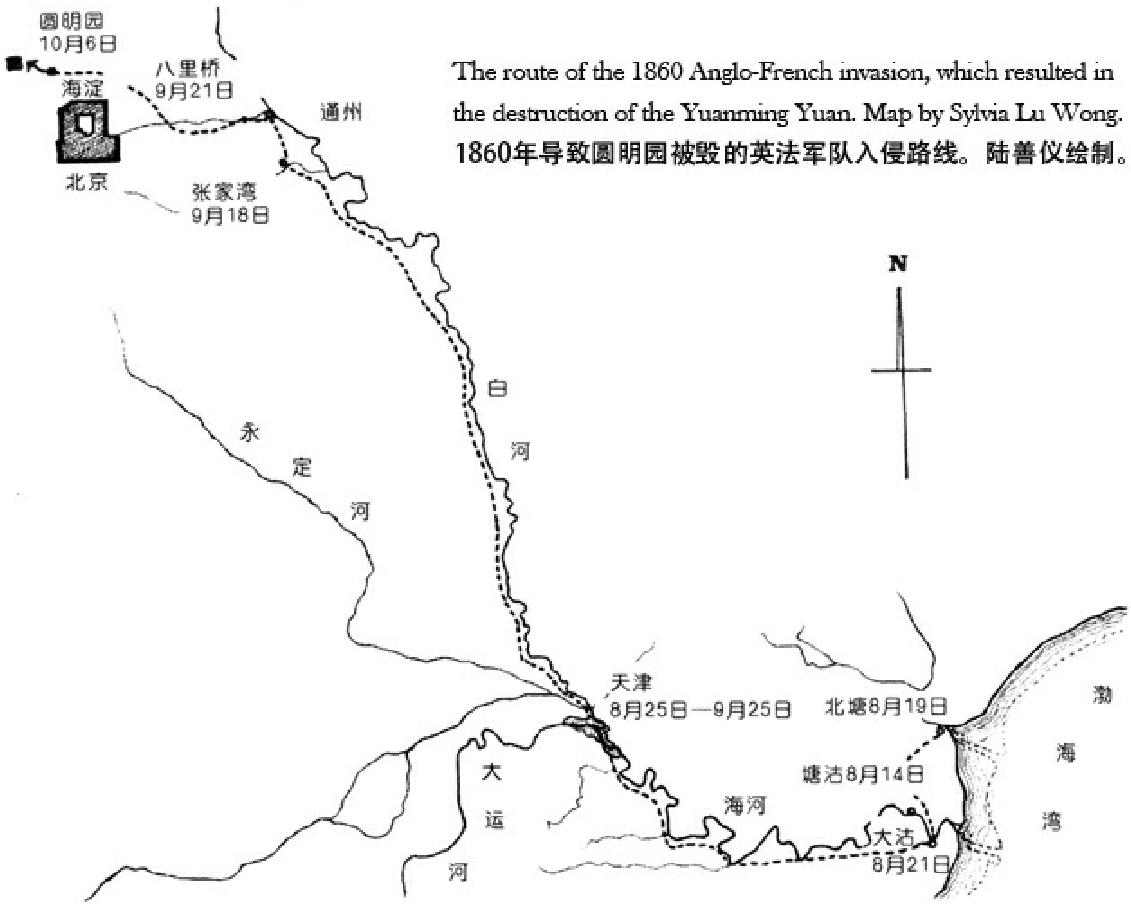
The Gathering Storm

In October 1856, following unsuccessful negotiations, Harry S. Parkes (1828–1885), the British counselor in Guangzhou, provoked a confrontation with Ye Mingchen (1807–1859), the governor-general of Guangdong. Eventually, Governor-General Ye was captured by the British and died on the way to Egypt (cf. Lane-Poole and Dickins 1894, 140–185; Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:188; Wong 1976; Cordier 1906, 1–2). China's trouble was not just with Britain. Napoleon III of France was furious about the execution of the priest Abbé Auguste Chapdelaine in Guangxi for engaging in illicit activities (Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:195). Consequently, France and Britain joined hands to seize Guangzhou on December 28, 1857, with the moral support of both Russia and the United States. Under formidable military pressure, the hapless Qing court signed the humiliating *Treaty of Tientsin* on June 26, 1858, which allowed Great Britain and other Western powers to acquire new rights and privi- leges in China. The Qing court was especially troubled by the opening of the interior river ports for trade and the establishment of diplomatic representation in Beijing (cf. Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:204–236). It is no secret that the Xianfeng Emperor approved the treaty very reluctantly (Jia Zhen et al. 1930, 3:961–962).

The new treaty, however, required ratifications. The Qing officials had tr

ied to dissuade the Westerners from coming to Beijing for ratification but soon backed down. The remaining problem was what route the foreigners should take to the imperial capital. The English minister Frederick Bruce refused to take the route assigned by the Qing government, which he considered a former tributary route. On the other hand, the Qing government objected to the route the British preferred because it required going through the heavily fortified Dagu Fort. China was also disturbed by the British request that a large number of troops be allowed to escort diplomats to Beijing. When the Chinese government appeared reluctant to accept the British terms, Bruce instructed Admiral Hope Grant to intrude into Baihe by force on June 25, 1860. The Chinese forts at Dagu fired on Hope’s fleet and incidentally inflicted heavy losses of men and ships. The Dagu repulse immediately escalated the crisis (Hsu 1960, 212–213).

Although Bruce acknowledged his poor judgment for the unwarranted action and his government blamed him for the incident, the British remained adamant about their choice of route to Beijing for treaty ratification. In fact, the Dagu fiasco “sanctioned the British hard line” (Fairbank 1978, 257). In August 1860, London dispatched Lord Elgin (1811–1863) to China with an expeditionary force of 11,000 men, a substantial number of whom were Indian soldiers, commanded by Hope. This military prowess made Elgin feel no need to compromise. On the Chinese side, intoxicated by the unexpected victory, Dagu’s supreme commander Senggelinqin was also not willing to compromise. The general even thought it was about time to teach a lesson to “the offensive and avaricious foreign barbarians” (Senggelinqin 1860, 6:1284–1285). He confidently told Xianfeng in a memorial dated July 14, 1860, that there would be “no more vainglory of the barbarians if we deliver a few more blows to them, and our country will then enjoy some decades of peace” (cf. Tsiang 1929, 18).



The route of the 1860 Anglo-French invasion, which resulted in the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan. Map by Sylvia Lu Wong.
1860年导致圆明园被毁的英法军队入侵路线。陆善仪绘制。

Moreover, General Senggelinqin believed that the Dagu repulse had given China the upper hand, as he remarked that “it is an old established practice with the foreign barbarians that after a war between two countries, the country seeking peace must pay an indemnity to the country consenting to it.” In his wishful thinking, the Englishmen should now worry about “our demanding an indemnity from them.” If China should ask for peace at this time, he maintained, “they would undoubtedly demand compensation from us, on the excuse of ships and guns lost” (Tsiang 1929, 82). He became even more adamant when he heard that Lord Elgin wanted to go to Beijing in the company of 2,000 troops instead of the 20 guards that were first permitted by the Qing court. Why did the British need so many troops? Serious suspicion with regard to the British intention was inevitably raised in the minds of many officials: “If they come really for the exchange of ratification, what would they do with the more than twenty warships, one hundred and more guns, and several thousand soldiers?” (Tsiang 1929, 81).

When Chinese concessions were not forthcoming, the British decided to

use force. The French, who claimed that a missionary had been murdered in interior China, joined hands with the British. The Anglo-French allied expedition captured Dagu through Beitang unexpectedly easily on August 21 (Walrond 1872, 344–345). General Senggelinqin committed a fatal strategic mistake by retreating from the Beitang fortress in the hope of luring the enemy into an ambush. The Beitang evacuation in effect allowed the enemy an easy landing, and they proceeded to capture Dagu without much effort. When the invaders entered Tanggu on August 23 to establish a strong beachhead before their capature of Tianjin on August 26, the shock waves reached back to Beijing.

The deeply worried Xianfeng quickly shifted gears from war to peace. He sent the senior Manchu Guiliang to Tianjin to talk to the occupied forces. Guiliang had negotiated the 1858 treaty, and was a person whom Elgin considered "an old friend." The victorious Elgin, however, raised the price for peace in a "supplementary treaty" (Walrond 1872, 348, 348–349), and the nervous Guiliang, though accepting the terms under pressure, was unable to assure Elgin of his credentials (Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:253–255). Guiliang painstakingly assured the British that the 1858 treaty would be faithfully observed and that all the demands made hitherto would be met in full, but he could not put his signature to the supplementary agreement without consulting with Beijing. Elgin immediately suspected that it was a tactic of delay. He therefore concluded that "a little more bullying will be necessary before we bring this stupid Government up to the mark" (Walrond 1872, 349). If Elgin was upset, Xianfeng was also disturbed by Guiliang's "weakness" at the negotiating table. The throne was especially agitated by the new demands of eight million taels of indemnity, the occupation of Dagu by foreign forces, and the opening of Tianjin for trade. This was not all. The allies insisted on the right to dispatch hundreds of troops to accompany diplomats to Beijing for exchange of ratification. As Xianfeng's veritable record shows, the emperor was highly suspicious of the foreigners' intentions. "Why should they bring in troops if they want peace," he reasoned. "If they bring in troops they would dictate to us even more unacceptable terms" (*Daqing Wenzong Xianhuangdi Shilu* 1937–1938, vol. 93, *juan* 326, p. 10a). He thus rebuked his negotiator, and at this moment he thought war was probably unavoidable. The Qing emperor's condemnation of Guiliang further convinced Elgin that China was faithless, so he broke with Guiliang. On September 8, he wrote that "my idiotical Chinamen had taken to playing tri

cks, which gives me an excellent excuse for carrying the army on to Pekin (Beijing).” In fact, he declared that “I am at war again” (Walrond 1872, 350). [71]

Xianfeng’s dilemma was crystal clear. On the one hand, he believed that China had to show some strength in order to obtain an acceptable peace; yet, on the other, he knew by this time the military option was too risky to pursue. His advisors were not very helpful either, as some of them asked him to command the imperial army in person to show his determination to resist, while others dissuaded him from a direct confrontation with the invaders by seeking a hunting trip to Rehe. Debates and indecision at last created a panicky situation. The confused emperor, when verbally speaking of war, sent Prince Yi (Zaiyuan) and the War Minister Muyin to Tongzhou on September 10, trying to reopen peace talk so as to “prevent the enemies from further advance.” [72]

Elgin would not resume talks until his forces reached Tongzhou. On September 12, he received a “more defiant letter” from Prince Yi, who warned that the continued advance would come into collision with Chinese troops ahead. While the invading forces continued advancing, Elgin sent Thomas Wade and Harry Parkes to Prince Yi and Muyin for “exploring the Chinese intention.” The prince and the minister met with Parkes, Wade, and the French representative Comte de Bastard. Once more, the Anglo-French negotiators turned the screw by again raising the price for peace. Their conditions now included the advance of the allied troops within six miles of Tongzhou, the right to set up an army garrison somewhere five kilometers south of Zhangjiawan, and an increase to one thousand in the number of the escorting troops to enter Beijing. Having no bargaining chips, Prince Yi and Muyin reluctantly accepted the terms and put their signatures to the paper. Given the prince's prestigious status, Elgin now believed that his words “might be trusted” (Walrond 1872, 352, 353, 354).

When Xianfeng read the new agreement, however, he was so upset that he rejected it out of hand. Particularly troublesome to him was not just the entry of a large number of foreign troops into the imperial capital but also the presentation of diplomatic credentials directly to His Majesty regardless of Chinese protocols and rites (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2271, 2272, 2304–2306, 2308, 2314–2315). As Parkes notified Elgin, the imperial audience was “the stickiest pr

oblem" (Walrond 1872, 355). Always suspicious of foreign intention, the Qing emperor and his court had to worry about the security risks of granting all the foreign requests.

But Xianfeng was not really sure what to do next, as seen in the conflicting instructions he gave during the following few days. Under the circumstances, on September 17, when receiving the allied delegates, who brought back with them the reply to the memorandum signed three days earlier, Prince Yi was no longer so conciliatory as before. Deadlock thus resulted. When learning that Senggelinqin had redeployed troops south of Zhangjiawan seemingly to prepare an ambush, the allies attacked them on September 18. Incidentally, this was the time when the British representative Parkes and his party were returning from Tongzhou. They were captured by the soldiers of Senggelinqin on the road and thrown into a Beijing prison with twenty-six other foreigners. Not too long before, British soldiers had kidnapped the prefect of Tianjin. Both sides again were on war footing. [73] At this time, the allies added one more condition for the resumption of negotiation: the return of all the prisoners (cf. Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:264–267; *YMYZ* 1984, 123; Fairbank 1978, 257; Walrond 1872, 356–357; Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 28–35; Wang Wei 1980, 40).

The furious Elgin, reinforced by 6,700 French soldiers under the command of Cousin-Montauban, charged forward. The retreating Senggelinqin recuperated himself, reinforced by 20,000 troops under the command of Shengbao and Ruilin, and prepared to put up a stiff resistance. The showdown took place at Baliqiao near Tongzhou on September 21. The allies suffered heavy losses, both men and supplies, for the first time since the invasion. A French officer admitted that low supplies had handicapped the military operation of the allies at Baliqiao, while another Frenchman praised the incredible courage of the Han Chinese and Manchu warriors. Even Elgin noted on September 23 that "they did pretty well" (Cordier 1906, 349–352; Varin 1862, 193–197, 199–215, 208; Walrond 1872, 358; cf. Knollys 1875, 111–127; Wang Wei 1980, 40; Costin 1937, 315–331). As a matter of fact, at crucial moments of the battle, the English commander Sir Hope Grant was nearly captured by the Mongolian cavalry (Knollys 1875, xiii, 116–117).

Nevertheless, despite numerical superiority, China could not compete with the enemy's advantage in modern firepower, or the combination of the cav

alry, the artilery, and the infantry, and hence they lost this decisive battle and eventually the war. When the wounded General Shengbao was being carried into Beijing in a palanquin, as a witness noted, the crowd in the streets shouted in fear and dispersed as if they were trying to find a safe haven to hide themselves (Li Ciming 1936, 9:42b). Given her military backwardness, China committed a strategic mistake by engaging the remaining force in a decisive battle near Beijing. Had she waged well-coordinated hit-and-run warfare, which had been advocated by the court official Xu Shoupeng, the enemy would have been hard pressed to end the war before the fast approaching severe winter season in North China (cited in Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan 1966, 3:1923–1996).

In any event, the victory at Baliqiao threw the door to Beijing wide open. Many officials in Beijing had been pleading for the Xianfeng Emperor to return to the Forbidden City from the Yuanming Yuan for the defense of the imperial capital as well as to prevent the collapse of morale (Jia Zhen 1930, 6:2255; Jiang Mengyin 1965, 2:34–35). But the defeated Senggelinqin, who had been driven back all the way from Tianjin and hence knew the hopeless military situation better than anyone else, resolutely advised his emperor to leave and seek a safe haven in Rehe. The general seemed to have a decisive influence on the emperor's decision to resist or retreat. His Majesty, however, did not reveal his final decision to his top advisors until the evening of September 21, 1860. This being done, early the next morning, he met with all five princes and the grand secretaries at his Yuanming Yuan court after having made a short—but sentimental—visit to the Ancestral Shrine, bidding farewell to the deceased forefathers. During this morning session, he asked his younger brother Prince Gong to stay behind in the garden and to seek peace with the assistance of the Grand Secretary Guiliang and Deputy President of the Finance Wenxiang (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2335).

Xianfeng fled with a large entourage, including family members, Manchu noblemen, officials, and eunuchs. They left the Yuanming Yuan through the East Gate of the Eternal Spring Garden in haste; hence neither kitchen nor tents were brought. The emperor, like the rest in the group, suffered hardship beyond his imagination; for instance, he tasted for the first time in his life vulgar food on the road to Chengde (Bao Chengguan 1980, 62; Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 36–37).

As expected, the sudden flight of the emperor caused panic in Beijing, around which many gates were being closed. Fear and confusion drove a large crowd of people, the rich as well as the poor, to struggle out from the besieged city under tremendously tumultuous conditions (Huang Jun 1979, 434; Li Ciming 1936, 9:42b; Knollys 1875, 170–173; Swinhoe 1861, 312–313; Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 36–37).

The Looting

While Prince Gong was in the Yuanming Yuan pursuing peace with the assistance of Prince Chun and Prince Hui, the defense of Beijing was entrusted to Manchu bannermen and high-ranking Han Chinese officials. Eight-Banner commanders were dispatched to secure the inner walls, and Zhou Zupei and others were assigned to reinforce the defense of the outer walls. Prince Gong delivered to Elgin and Gros a note in which the blame was laid on Prince Yi and Muyin, both of whom had been dismissed from office, in hopes of "ending the hostility and enhancing friendship." The allies, however, sent back an ultimatum on September 25 demanding the release of all prisoners in three days. The prince’s promise of returning the prisoners at the end of the war was not good enough for the allies. On September 30, Elgin received another letter from Prince Gong, who requested the allies to retreat to Zhangjiawan and promised to return all prisoners as soon as the agreement was signed. Elgin rejected the request, ended the exchange of notes, and turned the matter over to his generals (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2338, 2356, 2358; Walrond 1872, 359–360; Zhongyang Yanjiu Yuan 1966, 234, 236, 246–248, 310).

All gates around Beijing had been closed since the evening of September 23. Consequently, the prices of goods, including food, skyrocketed. A scholar noted in his diary that vegetables in markets quickly disappeared without replenishment (Li Ciming 1936, 9:43a–43b). The shortage of food plus an insufficient number of troops—reportedly less than 10,000—added to the agony of low morale. The suspended imminent attack from the enemies, obviously waiting for supplies after the battle of Baliqiao, further taxed the poorly prepared defenders' nerves. Even General Senggelinqin, the most hawkish of all, lost his will to fight (cf. Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2362–2363); and Prince Gong remained in the Yuanming Yuan despite the critical situation in Beijing. [74]

When the allies were fully replenished, their vanguards quickly reached the Qihua Gate at the outskirts of Beijing. About this time, the Anglo-French command requested through the captured prefect of Tongzhou that Prince Gong come to the allied camp; however, the wary prince did not respond immediately. Nevertheless, a short while later on September 29—incidentally, Chinese Moon Festival Day—the foreign prisoners were quietly transferred from cells in eight-man palanquins—a distinguished honor—to a comfortable place at Gaomiao near Beijing's northern gate. All of a sudden, the prisoners became honored guests ostensibly because Prince Gong wished that goodwill would reduce ill feelings and facilitate peace. Indeed, on October 1, Parkes, the highest-ranking British prisoner, sent a message to the allied command pleading for a cease fire, despite the fact that he added a line of foreign words that were noticed but unrecognized by Weng Tonghe (1829–1904) (1970, 1:191; cf. Walrond 1872, 360). Parkes recollected his message as follows:

> The Chinese authorities are now treating Mr. Loch and myself well, and we are informed that this is done by direction of the Prince of Kung (Gong). We are also told that his Highness is a man of decision and great intelligence, and I trust that, under these circumstances, hostilities may be temporarily suspended to give opportunity for negotiation. [75]

More interestingly, on the same day, a certain mandarin Liang went to the enemy camp to offer wine and beef to the invaders (Li Ciming 1936, 9:49b). But no good-will, including Parkes' message, could pull the enemy back now. The main invading force resumed its advance on Beijing in the evening of October 3 and finally camped at a place only five kilometers from the walls of Beijing two days later (cf. *YMYZ* 1984, 127–128; Walrond 1872, 360). Some wealthy merchants in Beijing also tried to stop the advancing enemies by presenting them with cows and sheep as gifts but to no avail (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:193).

Passing the walled Beijing, two columns of troops, with the British on the right front and the French on the left, made a rendezvous in Haidian virtually unopposed. Prince Gong fled from the garden just before the arrival of the enemies (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:195; cf. Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2426). A number of modern scholars blame Gong Xiaogong, son of the great poet-scholar Gong Z

izhen, or other Chinese traitors, for treasonously guiding the invaders into the Yuanming Yuan for plundering (cf. Cheng Yansheng 1928, 20a; Huang Jun 1979, 2:406–407). They seem to suggest that the foreigners could not have found the imperial garden without a native guide. But this is clearly an incorrect assumption. That Gong was specifically implicated because he knew English and had some English friends is a clear case of guilt by association. In fact, Wang Tao (1828–1897) testified that Gong was not even in Beijing during the entire Anglo-French invasion (Wang Tao 1875, 1:132).

At seven o’clock in the evening on October 6, 1860, the French troops first arrived at the Yuanming Yuan. De Pina, *le lieutenant de vaisseau,* argued with the Chinese guards, who tried desperately to keep the foreigners outside the gate, and their wrangle “could be loudly heard” (Varin 1862, 222, 228–229; Cordier 1906, 349–362). The clash at the gate, according to Montauban’s report, resulted in the death of Renliang, the Manchu commander of the eighth rank, near the front gate, and the injuries of two French officers and several soldiers (*YMYZ* 1984, 223). The main bulk of the garden’s security force, though several thousand strong, could not stop the intrusion of the modern army, and was compelled to retreat without further resistance. The helpless Wenfeng, the supreme supervisor of the garden, drowned himself in the Sea of Blessing. The allies quickly captured a very much empty garden ground. “All the big-wigs have fled,” as the British recorded, “and the prisoners are in Pekin (Beijing)” (Walrond 1872, 361).

Montauban of France thus put the precincts of the Yuanming Yuan under his control. Impressed by the magnificence of the garden, Montauban stated that “nothing in our Europe can give an idea of equal luxury.” He found he was unable in a few lines to describe “the splendor of its formation especially under the impression of bewilderment caused by my view of these marvels” (Cordier 1906, 354; cf. Varin 1862, 228, 234–236, 232–233).

The British troops arrived at the Yuanming Yuan late because they had spent the night near a lamasery. The British leader Elgin in the company of General Grant met with Montauban in the Yuanming Yuan early in the morning of October 7. On his way, while riding a horse, Grant “perceived the Palace beautifully situated amidst gardens and woods and a range of large suburbs in front.” He seems to have gone through the district of Haidian to see “a fine old

stately gateway and the park walls” and then, proceeding up an avenue, “a range of handsome dwellings roofed over with yellow tiles.” He soon found that “in different parts of the grounds were forty separate small palaces in beautiful situations” and that "the park was carefully kept—the footpaths and roads clean and in excellent order, and there were various pretty pieces of ornamental water" (Knollys 1875, 127–128; Wolseley 1862, 1972, 218–242). His interpreter Robert Swinhoe likewise admired the beautiful scene along the way. He strolled to the Main Audience Hall, and a pebbled path led him “through groves of magnificent trees, round lakes, into picturesque summer-houses, over fantastic bridges.” He further observed:

> Here a solitary building would rise fairy-like from the center of a lake, reflecting its image on the limpid blue liquid in which it seemed to float, and then a sloping path would carry you into the heart of a mysterious cavern artificially formed of rockery, and leading out on to a grotto in the bosom of another lake. The variety of the picturesque was endless, and charming in the extreme; indeed, all that is most lovely in Chinese scenery, where art contrives to cheat the rude attempts of nature into the bewitching, seemed all associated in these delightful grounds. The resources of the designer appear to have been unending, and no money spared to bring his work to perfection. All the tasteful landscapes so often viewed in the better class of Chinese paintings, and which we had hitherto looked upon as wrought out of the imagination of the artist, were here brought forth in life. [76]

Lord Elgin, too, was impressed by the beauty of the garden. On Sunday, October 7, 1860, in the midst of these surroundings, he praised the “Summer Palace” as “really a fine thing, like an English park—numberless buildings with handsome rooms—and filled with Chinese curios, and handsome clocks, bronzes, etc.” His private secretary Henry Loch admired especially the architectural beauty of the garden. The buildings to him “were nearly all isolated from each other, being connected by gardens, courts, and terraces.” He considered the “Hall of Audience,” perhaps the Zhengda Guangming Dian, “the most striking.” In this compound, he saw large buildings “connected by courtyards, passing through which we entered spacious reception rooms that opened into gardens of considerable extent, which lead down to a marble terrace stretchin

g along the shores of a lake some three miles in length." He took a fancy for white marble balustrades, blue inlaid enamel vases with imitation flowers, and the larger-than-life lion and cow bronzes (Loch 1909, 169–170).

The English general Allgood saw a large space enclosed by a substantial park wall. In it he found the palaces "were laid out with great taste, and artificial water, canals, rockeries, grottoes, pagodas, hills and valleys beautifully wooded with cedar and fir trees delight the eye, the picturesque scenery varying at every turn of the winding pathways" (Allgood 1901, 85). Numerous other officers, English as well as French, were accompanied by their ladies to tour the Yuanming Yuan and the nearby gardens. Reportedly, as the foreign invaders pleasantly strut around, the frightened natives, including the Manchu bannermen, bowed their knees before the Western conquerors (Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 38).

What followed was that the Anglo-French army units ransacked and looted the Yuanming Yuan in a wild frenzy. The French and the British each accused the other of initiating it. On the one hand, the French said plainly that "*Les Anglais commencent le pillage du Palais d'Eté*" (the English started the looting of the garden) (Varin 1862, 236). On the other hand, the British insisted that "we found that the French had encamped near the entrance of the Great Audience Hall, and it was pitiful to see the way in which everything was being robbed" (Knollys 1875, 128, 219–221). Upon the arrival of the Englishmen on October 7, Elgin noted that "there was not a room that I saw in which half the things had not been taken away or broken to pieces" (Walrond 1872, 361), implying that the Frenchmen had already looted the garden before the British arrived. A recent scholar, however, has found that the French looting was confined to the Yuanming Yuan proper because they had few horses. The British, well mounted, "covered a much larger area and carried away heavier objects" (Thiriez 1998, 56).

Even though looting could be justified as war booty in European colonial history, it implies the collapse of military discipline, only after which armies go on rampage. The discipline of the allied force, according to the recollection of Robert Swinhoe, had indeed collapsed after the fall of Zhangjiawan (1861, 243–244; Walrond 1872, 355, 359). Elgin tried to guard the palatial garden and then to sell the loot by aution. But it was too late to control some officers,

who had already filled carts with treasures waiting to be sold or taken away. Even worse than plundering were waste and breakage. “Out of 1,000,000lb worth of property,” Elgin said, “50,000lb will not be realized” (Walrond 1872, 361–362).

Many Chinese sources recorded that looting and arson in Haidian and at the Yuanming Yuan began soon after the arrival of the foreign troops on October 6 (cf. Cai Shenzhi n.d., 145). Li Ciming (1829–1895), for one, wrote in his diary on October 7 that having routed 30,000 of General Senggelinqin’s men, the foreigners occupied Haidian, from where Prince Gong had escaped, and set fire to the Yuanming Yuan and elsewhere. Some prestigious officials who had sought refuge in Haidian again fled, leaving their valuables behind. Li was profoundly saddened by the fact that less than ten thousand foreign troops could create such a tragic turmoil around the imperial capital (1936, 9:51a–51b).

Another contemporary writer noted that the foreigners had repeatedly robbed no less than eighteen places in the Yuanming Yuan as well as along the streets of Haidian. Many valuable objects, including art wares, books, and paintings, were immediately being shipped to Tianjin, where the foreign vessels were anchored (*YMYZ* 1984, 130–131). On October 7, two hundred foreign soldiers reportedly intruded as well into the Pure Ripple Garden, where they damaged many structures and took away any portable items they liked (*YMYZ* 1984, 131). Chen Wenbo believed that looting started early on October 6, large-scale plundering occurred between October 7 and 8, the burning of the Yuanming Yuan took place on October 23, and massive robbery in and out of the imperial garden continued until October 25 (cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 166–188). The European buildings were pillaged without exception. The furniture was dilapidated and paintings split. The soldiers seized jewels, gold, snuff boxes, comfit dishes, and sumptuous custumes in great excitement (cf. Beurdeley 1971, 74).

It only took a few days of plundering to disgrace the Yuanming Yuan. “Everything of value that could be carried off, consisting of gold, silver, clocks, watches, enamels, porcelain, jade stone, silks and embroidery, with numerous other articles of vertu,” as the Major General Allgood testified, “were removed by the Allies” (1901, 85). While rushing about for the valuables, the loo

ters also destroyed those they could not take away. Excitement reached a peak on October 9, when news spread that a huge quantity of gold and silver was discovered in the garden. In addition to gold and silver, the soldiers also found a room “full of the richest silks and furs” (Knollys 1875, 130).

It did not take much time to empty the treasures of the Yuanming Yuan and the neighboring gardens. General Hope Grant set up a prize committee and instructed his men to turn over every piece of looted valuables to this committee. They were at last put into a general stock to be divided equally. A large quantity of the looted objects, difficult to be carried away, was to be auctioned off immediately. The auction “realized a good round sum” of cash, totaling 26,000 British pounds, to be shared by both officers and soldiers” (Knollys 1875, 191, 192, 226–227; M’Ghee 1862, 201–289; Swinhoe 1861, 310; Tulloch 1903, 118). Clearly, General Grant consciously converted looting into prize so as to transform the thefts into lawful rewards for his fighting men.

In the aftermath of the Anglo-French loot, the local residents, both peasants and bannermen, managed to sneak into the garden to steal whatever leftovers they could find. To be sure, the follow-up plundering made the rampage worse; but blaming the tragedy mainly on the local people, as some did, borders on avoiding the important while dwelling on the trivial. The loss of the treasure in the imperial gardens was in the main because of the vengeance of the victorious army. It was the foreign invaders who turned the splendid Yuanming Yuan and its subsidiary gardens into a shambles. In fact, they themselves admitted that once they found the enormous wealth inside the garden, they became too greedy to respect fundamental military discipline (cf. Wolseley 1862, 215–242; Knollys 1873, 190–227). Lieutenant Colonel Wolseley, in particular, had this to say:

> When looting is once commenced by an army, it is no easy matter to stop it. At such times human nature breaks down the ordinary trammels which discipline imposes, and the consequences are most demoralizing to the very best constituted army. [77]

Wolseley went on to say that the “officers and men seemed to have been seized with a temporary insanity; in body and soul they were absorbed in one pursuit, which was plunder, plunder” (1862, 227). Robert Swinhoe, General Grant’s interpreter, condemned what his fellow officers did as “licensed theft

” (1861, 306; cf. Varin 1862, 238–239). All these first-hand European testimonies, plus the charges and countercharges between the British and the French, have confirmed the uncontrolled behavior of the invaders. It seems that the Allied High Command not only made no effort to stop the atrocious action but let the loot fever run its full course. Even such top commanders as Lord Elgin and Montauban made no secret that they too had taken valuable objects from the Qing emperor’s private quarters in the Yuanming Yuan and sent them to Queen Victoria and Napoleon III, respectively (Beurdeley 1971, 74).[78] The loot was regarded as trophies of the conquest. Consequently, looting Yuanming Yuan was truly the coup de grâce.

If the loot was intented to humble the “haughty Chinese,” it met its goal. In the wake of foreign occupation of the Yuanming Yuan and the subsequent plundering, the Qing sense of despair and hopelessness was real. Hengqi, the key Manchu liaison to the allies, was most eager to set Parkes free so as to solicit his assistance in achieving an early conclusion of peace (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:197).

Under the threat of shelling Beijing, eight prisoners, including Parkes and Loch, were released unconditionally to the English camp in the afternoon of October 8 with the consent of Prince Gong. Consequently, the allies began evacuating from the Yuanming Yuan and camped at the Black Temple. The Manchu officials Linkui and Qingying at once moved into the imperial garden for inspection. Their report to Prince Gong and Wenxiang reveals that numerous garden structures, including the external reception rooms at the Grand Palace Gate and countless local residential homes in Haidian, had been burned to the ground (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2421; Walrond 1872, 362).

Anxious to know more about the damages in the Yuanming Yuan, Prince Gong specifically asked Hengqi to see the plundered garden on the following day. Hengqi caught the eyes of Knollys, who recognized him as a “pitiful Manchu official putting his tearful face between his hands, while seating upon an edge of a little lake, and saying that everything was lost and that he should destroy himself.” The pitiful Manchu, nonetheless, recovered the body of the supervisor Wenfeng, who committed suicide earlier in the lake (Knollys 1875, 194–195).

Now it was the Qing’s responsibility to secure the Yuanming Yuan, whi

ch had become vulnerable to local predators. Those who lived in the garden returned to see their furniture broken and books and paintings damaged (*YMYZ* 1984, 134). Li Ciming noted in his October 11 diary entry that ruffians broke into the garden in the wake of the foreign looting, and they took away so much as to fill carts (1936, 9:54b). Liu Yunan, an official at the Board of Rites, also noted in his diary that in the aftermath of the fall of the Yuanming Yuan, both residential and commercial sections in Haidian were first ransacked and then burned (cited in *Yingfa Lianjun Shiliao* n.d., 77, 80).

Baoyun, the director of the Imperial Household, also sent his men to see the Yuanming Yuan soon after the foreign troops had pulled out. His report to Prince Gong dated October 12 noted that several halls were burned as early as October 6 and that the flames lit up the sky that evening. He also reported that concubine Chang died of shock and the garden's chief supervisor Wenfeng committed suicide (*YMYA* 1984, 1:556). He then delivered a memorial on October 16 to the Xianfeng Emperor in Rehe to provide an update of events:

> On October 7 about two hundred foreign barbarians and countless local bandits plundered the East Palace Gate of the Pure Ripple Garden, where they damaged the large exhibiting pieces, took away all small items including seals. On October 8 the foreigners successively broke into the Tranquil Bright Garden, or Jingming Yuan, and plundered in the same brutal fashion. [It seems that] only the Tranquil Comfortable Garden, or the Jingyi Yuan, was spared. [79]

As the director of the Imperial Household, Baoyun bore the direct responsibility to oversee the Yuanming Yuan and other royal gardens. When he incidentally told Xianfeng that he had not yet inspected the disgraced imperial garden in person, the anguished emperor bursted into a bitter attack in words:

> The director was absent from the Yuanming Yuan when it was being looted simply for fear of his life. He still remained inside Beijing when the Three Hills were plundered. How can he be such an [irresponsible] person? He is, indeed, a piece of trash of our Manchu clansmen. I will not promptly execute him only because he still has the responsibility of securing the palaces in Beijing. But he must be immediately demoted to the fifth rank as punishment. [80]

The exiled Xianfeng Emperor was truly badly shaken upon hearing the horrible news, and responsible leaders in the government, including Prince Gong, were ashamed and pledged to redoubt their efforts to protect the imperial gardens. Also, they were willing to take severe penalties for the tragedy (*YMYA* 1991, 1:553–554). The emperor dismissed a number of them in a public statement, but he still asked them to remain in office to atone for their failures. Two military leaders, Senggelinqin and Ruilin, whom the throne entrusted to secure both Beijing and the royal gardens, were the most difficult to forgive. The hawkish Senggelinqin was humbled by the disastrous defeat. In his October 10 memorial, he explained in detail how his troops, including the famous Mongolian cavalry, were blocked by the foreign invaders and absolutely unable to prevent the savage sack of the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYA* 1991, 1:552–553). Xianfeng was in no mood to condone the generals. He made the following statement:

> The fact that Senggelinqin and Ruilin, commanding a huge number of troops, suffered repeated defeats has proved their cowardice and incompetence. They shamefully watched the occupation, burning, and looting of the imperial garden without even trying to do anything. [In the opinion of this throne], they can hardly absolve their guilt.[81]

The emperor's anger was shared by Li Ciming, a Beijing resident and scholar of renown, who witnessed the collapse of the Qing army and the easy fall of the imperial capital and gardens, which caused him "deep shame" (1936, 9:51a).

The Burning of the Yuanming Yuan

Prince Gong's protest of the looting to the Allied Command was to no avail, and it only further impressed the British and the French that the Qing court treasured the Yuanming Yuan a great deal. In fact, they had seen themselves how anxious the Manchu and Han Chinese officials were to reoccupy the garden upon the evacuation of the foreign troops. General Grant of Britain, for example, was now absolutely convinced that the Manchu emperor considered the Yuanming Yuan his "most important palace" (Knollys 1875, 204). This may help explain at least in part why the British eventually wanted to burn dow

n the garden in order to pain the emperor.

The Allied Command threatened to shell Beijing if the gates were not op ened on October 13. Hengqi's negotiation with Parkes resulted in permitting t he entry of 1,500 troops for each of the three nations, England, France, and th e United States, to accompany their respective diplomats for treaty ratificatio n (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:199; Li Ciming 1936, 9:54b). At noon, on October 14, Hengqi guided Elgin and an entourage of three to four hundred men, who would be lodged at the Imperial Academy (Guozijian), into the Desheng Gate plus over thousand cavalrymen, who were stationed at the Anding Gate. The foreign flags flew atop all of the gates and the soldiers shouted in joy and glor y (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:200).

The release of all European prisoners on October 15, however, gravely c omplicated the peace process because they told their horrible stories of their i mprisonment, not to mention that some of them did not return alive. Elgin at once declared that it was an "atrocious crime," and he decided to deal with it severely (Walrond 1872, 365). When Prince Gong tried to set a date to meet with Elgin and Gros, there was no response until two days later when the allie s bitterly raised the new issue of the mistreatment of the Europeans in Chines e prison. Besides demanding substantial cash compensation, amounting to 30 0,000 taels for Britain and 200,000 taels for France, Elgin specifically wanted to demolish the whole Yuanming Yuan so as to redress the grievance, and thi s was non-negotiable. He was firm in his message to Prince Gong: unless the new demand was met on October 20, cash paid on October 22, and the treaty ratified on October 23, war would resume (*YMYA* 1991, 1:560).

This sudden turn of events surely caught Prince Gong by surprise. On O ctober 16, he was still outside of the city walls when the allies entered Beijing (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:201). The allies had ignored the prince's complaints a bout plundering the Yuanming Yuan and other royal demesnes; and now Elgi n notified him in a haughty manner that the principal imperial garden as a wh ole should be burned down to the ground as punishment. The humiliation was huge and inevitable. Had he put up a stiff resistance and shown some courage , the prince might still have some bargaining chips to play; however, with Bei jing having been occupied by the allies, he knew he was totally at the mercy of the enemy. He could only plead to Elgin, again through Hengqi, to spare th

e Yuanming Yuan. Nevertheless, Elgin was adamant, and on October 18 he waited no longer to give his order to set fire to the Yuanming Yuan and its subsidiary gardens (*YMYA* 1991, 1:559–562; cf. the memorial by Prince Gong, Guiliang, and Wenxiang in Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1972, 1:269–270; Cai Shenzhi n.d., 157).

Elgin made this crucial decision to burn down the Yuanming Yuan all by himself without French consent. In fact, Baron Gros disapproved of the violent vengeance against a peaceful estate; for him, if some palaces were to be destroyed, those in the Forbidden City, the center of administration, would make a better target than the harmless imperial garden. In his correspondence to the French, Elgin argued why he wanted to "make the blow fall on the Emperor, who was clearly responsible for the crime committed." The "high crime" of ill treatment of European prisoners, in his opinion, could not be compensated merely by a large sum of money, nor could the Chinese government obtain additional "large pecuniary indemnities." He would not demand the surrender of "the persons guilty of cruelty to our countrymen," either, because he felt "throwing the responsibility for the acts of Government in this way on individuals resembles too closely the Chinese mode of conducting war to approve itself altogether to my judgment." Hence, he concluded that the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan was the "least objectionable" course open to him. He was fully aware of the fact that the imperial garden was the Xianfeng Emperor's "favourite residence, and its destruction could not fail to be a blow to his pride as well as to his feelings" (cited in Cordier 1906, 388–390; cf. Walrond 1872, 366). Indeed, nothing could cause Xianfeng more pain than the destruction of the Yuanming Yuan.

Elgin was truly provoked by the stories from the released prisoners, who demanded redress for their horrible experiences in prison. Even back in London, the news of mistreatment of British prisoners made Lord Palmerston's "blood boil with indignation" (Elgin to Russell, October 25, 1860, in British Parliamentary Papers 1969 lxvi, No. 103; "Palmerston to Russell, 26 December 1860," quoted in Costin 1937, 1968, 337). The prisoners testified that they were "bound," "put into prison, confined in a cage, and loaded with chains." Among them, Lieutenant Anderson became "delirious" and died nine days after imprisonment. Five days after Anderson's death, Ram Chun, a sowar, "died in the same state." And three days after Ram Chun's death, De Norman died. Th

e prisoners did receive better treatment after Anderson’s death, until their release (cited in M’Ghee 1862, 222–223; cf. 224–229).

Parkes, as he himself testified, was treated quite well. He was given two meals a day plus cakes and “a little tea and tobacco.” After Hengqi, known as Hang-ki in Parkes’ statement, took the prisoners to the Kaowmean Temple (Gaomiao) on September 29, the jailers became their “servants.” The prisoners were supplied with not only “good food, beds, etc., but also with the luxuries of writing materials, soap, and towels, etc.” They could even “order our meals whenever we chose.” After Parkes sent his September 29 message requesting further peace negotiations, “a large present of fruit and confectionary” was delivered to him in the name of Prince Gong (cited in M’Ghee 1862, 240, 244–245; cf. Li Ciming 1936, 9:47b). According to Weng Tonghe, the grateful mandarins rewarded Parkes and other prisoners with a lavish banquet on October 2 (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:192).

The Chinese prison conditions at the time were no doubt brutal. Chinese jailers rarely treated prisoners kindly. Zhao Guang [presumably Choo Laou-yays (Zhao Laoye, or Gentleman Zhao) in Parkes’ statement], president of the Board of Justice (Xingbu), stated in his unpublished autobiography that Prince Yi seized Parkes and other European prisoners, and they were the first foreign prisoners he had ever received. He said he had told Parkes that they “would definitely not be tortured,” but prisoners in chains was the established rule for which he dared not make any exceptions (cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 267; cf. M'Ghee 1862, 241). Some mandarins wanted to execute Parkes, whom they considered the most vicious British instigator, but Zhao pointed out the danger of reprisal from the fierce British guns. He was in fact the one who recommended to use Parkes for the resumption of peace negotiations. With the consent of Prince Gong, Zhao took Parkes and other prisoners out from the harsh prison environment and moved them to Gaomiao for kinder treatment (*YMYZ* 1984, 268; cf. Zhuo An n.d., 174–175).

The kinder treatment of the prisoners after September 29 could not compensate for the mistreatment they had suffered before that date. The European prisoners were, indeed, being mistreated, but they were mistreated by the long-standing Chinese prison system. No evidence whatsoever indicates that the Qing authorities, let alone the Xianfeng Emperor himself, ever authorized the

mistreatment of the European prisoners. On the contrary, a Board of Justice document dated September 18–19, 1860, reveals that while the foreign prisoners “should be strictly guarded,” their “daily provisions must make them feel comfortable and contented” and they “ought not to be tortured and humiliated” (cited in Cai Shenzhi n.d., 142; cf. 151). No one, however, should rule out the possibility that the jailers did not customarily strictly follow such orders. Nonetheless, if the backwardness of Chinese justice was to blame, the European conquerors, under aggravating circumstances, not only showed little mercy to Chinese prisoners but also brutalized innocent civilians. Cai Shenzhi’s study argues that “in speaking of mistreatment, the Chinese were far more brutally mistreated by the foreigners than the other way around” (n.d., 168). The Xianfeng Emperor felt his “hair raising” (*fazhi*). when he heard that the foreign troops raped the Yuanming Yuan, burned streets, and looted Beijing wantonly (*Wenzong Xianhuangdi Shilu* 1937–1938, vol. 93, *juan* 329, p. 7a). On record, the Chinese prefect of Tongzhou died in the hands of his captors. According to Li Ciming, he witnessed foreign soldiers abusing Chinese women in the street (1936, 9:74b–75a). Perhaps it is meaningless to determine who mistreated whom more; nevertheless, as always, the victor dictates the ultimate justice.

More specifically, Lord Elgin alone dictated the ultimate justice: the total destruction of the Yuanming Yuan. Apparently, as plenipotentiary, he made this crucial decision without the prior knowledge of his own British government and without regard for the opposition of his French ally. He wanted revenge against the Xianfeng Emperor (Walrond 1872, 366). The burning of the Yuanming Yuan had indeed caused the emperor great pain, but His Majesty died shortly afterward. The persistent pain is perhaps the loss of 150-year-old architectural wonder and garden beauty. But, for Elgin, his decision was not so harsh as it should have been. Originally, he had contemplated not only the demolition of all the palaces in and out of Beijing but also the abdication of the Manchu monarch Xianfeng (correspondence between Elgin and Gros as quoted in Cai Shenzhi n.d., 152; Gros’ report to the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères in Cordier 1906, 358–362).

It was the powerful emotion of anger and self-righteousness that Elgin used to justify his violent action. Elgin, as an English gentleman, might also be conscious of the problem of plundering, as he actually said that “I would like a great many things that the palace contains, but I am not a thief” (quoted in S

winhoe 1861, 300). He blamed the French for “destroying in every way the most beautiful silks, breaking the jade ornaments and porcelain” and “loden with dollars and sycee silver” while denying vigorously the British role in “indiscriminate plunder” (Walrond 1872, 361–362; Knollys 1873, 226–227). Burning the entire Yuanming Yuan down to the ground, it appears, would in a sense erase the fingerprints of plundering and therefore leave much stolen treasuries unaccountable.

Having tried in vain to stop Elgin, Gros denounced the decision to burn the Yuanming Yuan as a “goth-like act of barbarism” (quoted in Wolseley 1862, 1972, 279; cf. Knollys 1873, 202, 203). Several decades later, the French dispute with the British over the fate of the Yuanming Yuan caught the attention of Gu Hongming (Thompson Ku) (1857–1928), a European-educated Chinese conservative. Gu regretted China’s failure to explore the estrangement between France and England for Chinese advantage (cited in Wang Kangnian 1969, 1:38). But realistically, the dispute was not serious enough to rack the Anglo-French alliance, and China was simply too feeble to play one barbarian against another.

To follow Elgin’s order, General John Michel specifically instructed the British First Division to arrive on October 18 on time at the imperial garden, “where the buildings were apportioned to the different companies to destroy” (Swinhoe 1861, 329). General Grant, in his dispatch to the secretary of state for war in London, confirmed that “On 18th October, Sir John Michel’s division, with the greater part of the cavalry brigade, were marched to the Palace, and set the whole pile of building on fire. It was a magnificent sight” (Knollys 1873, 204). The inferno set off by a modern army quickly consumed the great garden made of mostly wood materials. In the end, nothing was spared (“Rienne fut épargne!”) (Varin 1862, 267; see also the letters exchanged between Gros and Elgin in Cordier 1906, 368–383, 409–415, 385–391; cf. Morse 1966, 1:610; Malone 1934, 187). Captain Charles Gorden of the British Royal Engineers reported this “magnificent sight” of the inferno in a letter to his mother:

> You can scarcely imagine the beauty and magnificence of the places we burnt. It made one’s heart sore to burn them; in fact, these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could n

> ot plunder them carefully. Quantities of gold ornaments were burnt, considered as brass. It was wretchedly demoralizing work for an army. Everybody was wild for plunder. [82]

> Another British officer testified:

> A gentle wind blowing from the north-west, carried the mass of smoke directly over our camp into the very capital itself, to which distance even large quantities of the burnt embers were wafted, falling about the streets in showers, as silent but unmistakable evidences of the work of destruction and retribution going on in the palace of the emperor. In passing between our camp and Yuen-ming-yuen (Yuanming Yuan), upon both those days, the light was so subdued by the over-hanging clouds of smoke, that it seemed as if the sun was undergoing a length- ened eclipse. The world around looked dark with shadow. [83]

Many Chinese witnessed the burning as well, as the smoke of the fire could be observed as far away as downtown Beijing. Chen Baozhen (1831–1900), the future reformist governor of Hunan, cried out loud in a Beijing restaurant when seeing the thick cloud rising from the northwest (Chen Sanli 1962, 103). The Hanlin compiler Wu Kedu (1812–1879) noted that the inferno was not confined to the Yuanming Yuan; numerous other gardens in the neighborhood also caught fire. He had this to say in his October 18, 1860 diary entry:

> A vast column of smoke arose from the northwest direction ascertaining that the barbarians had burnt the Summer Palace. [I also learned] that the Three Hills were not spared, leaving the area absolutely bare. [84]

Li Ciming noted in his October 19 diary entry that “the big fire set off outside the West Straight Gate had not extinguished today,” and he heard that the foreigners had also burned the palaces around the Longevity Hills. His October 20 diary entry recorded the burning of the Main Audience Hall and the Diligent Court in the Yuanming Yuan (1936, 9:59a–59b).

Prince Gong, who remained on the outskirts of Beijing, climbed up to high ground with a number of officials to watch flames light up the sky and the dark cloud of smoke rise from the northwest in great distress and resentment.

He received a preliminary report before the end of the day, which confirmed that several thousand foreign infantrymen and cavalrymen had marched into Haidian and set fire to the Yuanming Yuan and to the numerous other gardens in the Three Hills area. In his own report to the emperor in Rehe, the prince admitted that to assess the exact damage and loss was not possible so long as foreign troops blocked the way, though he was obliged to submit any further information as soon as he possibly could. But the prince knew how bad the general condition was, as his liaison Hengqi (Heng-k'i in French sources and Hang-ki in English sources) had already informed him about the avenging fire that had devastated the Yuanming Yuan beyond recognition. At this point, the prince and officials wept with profound shame (*YMYA* 1991, 1:562–563; Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1972, 1:272–273; cf. Cordier 1906, 361, 364, 373; Knollys 1875, 194). When this terrible news, even without much detail, reached the Xianfeng Emperor, he wrote down this vermillion remark: "I am extremely furious" (*YMYA* 1991, 1:563).

Those who had burned the Yuanming Yuan were the first to see how the magnificent imperial garden was reduced to wreckage. "When we first entered the gardens they reminded one of those magic grounds described of in fairy tales," the British officer Wolseley wrote, "we marched upon them the 19th October, leaving them a dreary waste of ruined nothings" (Wolseley 1862, 1972, 280). The officer Robert Swinhoe also visited the garden the day after burning. He wrote:

> As we approached the Palace, the crackling and rushing noise of fire was appalling, and the sun shining through the masses of smoke gave a sickly hue to every plant and tree, and the red flame gleaming on the faces of the troops engaged made them appear like demons glorying in the destruction of what they could not replace. [85]

The big fire obviously had long-term environmental effects. Recent research determined that the burning of the Yuanming Yuan in 1860 deposited a thick layer of ash at the bottom of the Kunming Lake, and it not only polluted the area but also caused the extinction of diatoms (*guizao*). in the lake (*Shijie Ribao,* March 21, 1996).

However terrible the arson was, the English officers, such as Knollys and Wolseley, believed that burning down the emperor's favorite imperial garde

n had “considerably hastened the final settlement of affairs and strengthened our ambassador’s position” (Knollys 1873, 233; cf. Wolseley 1862, 1972, 279). They implied that the wanton destruction of the Yuanming Yuan at last shocked the Xianfeng Emperor and his court to their senses and therefore facilitated the conclusion of the peace negotiations and the withdrawal of the troops.

Exactly contrary to Knollys’ and Wolseley’s thinking, however, it was only during the plundering and burning of the imperial gardens that Prince Gong, Guiliang, and Wenxiang were seriously contemplating to give up the peace effort altogether. Hearing of the plundering on October 8, for instance, they recommended to the emperor a postponement of the ongoing peace talks. As they put it, no matter how much China was willing to stoop to the conquerors out of consideration for the general interest, the foreigners seemed to have no interest in restraining their behavior. They reiterated their position in a memorial to the emperor in Rehe as follows:

> After the barbarians had followed our defeated troops to [occupy] the Yuanming Yuan and we had closed all gates [of Beijing], we rushed to the Wanshou Temple [to meet the foreign representatives for peace talk]. Yet the barbarians put all of our royal gardens [in the neighborhood] under restraint and [willfully] set fire to the nearby streets. [Their behavior] made our hair stand up in great anger. Having seen what happened as we did, we conclude that we absolutely cannot continue peace talks with them. [86]

This memorial shows Prince Gong’s moments of hesitation. Nevertheless, exhausted physically and psychologically, the emperor was fully defeated and thus earnestly impressed upon the prince the importance of securing peace (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2413–2414; cf. *YMYZ* 1984, 139; *YMYJ* 1981, 1:209). It seems that the Qing authorities had already bowed to the harsh reality of defeat when Beijing was surrendered. Both the emperor and the prince, in fact, would have accepted the peace dictated by the victors with or without the burning of the Yuanming Yuan. Prior to the burning, the dust had already settled as the walled Beijing and its strategic Anding Gate were at the enemies’ gunpoint (Knollys 1873, 198). The burning was henceforth unnecessary so far as the conclusion of peace was concerned.

Top Manchu and Han Chinese officials, including Qinghui, Zhou Zupei, and Chen Fu'en, met with Prince Gong outside of Beijing on October 19 and agreed to conclude the humiliating peace not only by ratifying the old *Treaty of Tientsin* but also by signing the new *Convention of Peking* with the enemies. The prince thus decided to meet with the allied leaders on October 23 to accept both the old and new terms, including the additional five hundred thousand taels indemnity for the mistreated prisoners (Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:204). In the end, Prince Gong concluded the new peace treaty and ratified the earlier *Treaty of Tientsin* with Britain at the Board of Rites on October 24. Weng Tonghe described the ceremony as follows:

> Today [we] exchange treaties with Britain at the lavishly decorated [hall] in the Board of Rites [Libu]. Prince Gong arrived at noon with all the highranking officials remaining in Beijing. When Parkes first came, the prince stood to welcome him and they sat together. After a while, when Elgin arrived in an eight-man palanquin escorted by several thousand soldiers and a band, the prince stepped out to welcome him. Elgin removed his hat and bowed to the prince. When they sat, with Parkes and Hengqi standing behind, Elgin looked at the prince for quite a while. After both had signed the peace agreement, the prince saw Elgin off in the same manner as he had welcomed him. [87]

Weng implicitly and subtly told how the prince ate humble pie; the European officers who witnessed the episode were far more explicit in their accounts about Elgin's arrogant attitude and frigid manner (cf. Bao Chengguan 1980, 75–76). But Elgin's own testimony seems to suggest that he had a rather positive impression of the prince, with whom he could "entrust the Chinese policy of conciliation" (Walrond 1872, 371). A similar ceremony was held to conclude peace with France on October 25. Finally, on October 26, the Qing government closed this tumultuous episode by offering an official banquet in honor of the ambassadors not only from Britain and France but also from Russia and the United States (Li Ciming 1936, 9:65b).

On the eve of signing the peace agreement on October 22, it must be noted that the allies raised yet additional demands. The British demanded the cessation of Jiulong (Kowloon) peninsula. This would extend British sovereignt

y from Hong Kong island to Kowloon. The French requested religious freedom, which would allow unrestricted preaching of Christianity in China. And both allies wanted the Chinese government to lift the ban against its workers going abroad. However reluctant, the prince could do nothing but accept all of the demands (Jia Zhen 1930, 7:2496–2497; Cai Shenzhi n.d., 161–162). What was more, Russia, a third party, was able to take advantage of the hapless Qing to seize a large chunk of territories north of Heilong Jiang and east of Wusuli (the Ussuri Rivers). Having paid such an enormous price, ironically, Prince Gong emerged a hero in the aftermath. This was so mainly because the prince-led negotiation had effected the withdrawal of the threatening Anglo-French force from Beijing. Before the end of the remarkable year 1860, the foreigners even pulled away from Tianjin. The Qing Dynasty, after all, survived this terrible crisis.

Deep down in his heart, however, the prince knew how humiliating the episode was. He was inspired to initiate the Self-Strengthening Movement in hopes of making China strong and wealthy in the long run by emulating the West. Immediately, the most painful outcome was precisely the devastation of the Yuanming Yuan, which Prince Gong could not get over for a long while. His sense of guilt was beyond doubt; he even voluntarily sought punishment from the throne for the loss of the imperial garden (cited in *YMYJ* 1981, 1:209). The Xianfeng Emperor could not punish his brother for this; his anger was aimed at the foreigners who set fire to his beloved garden. Referring to the tragedy, he remarked: “How could I tolerate such an indignation!” (*haosheng fennu*). In fact, when the news of the burning reached him, the thirty-year-old emperor spat blood on the floor. Before long, the emperor died suddenly in Rehe. On his deathbed, he had the Yuanming Yuan very much in his mind. He personally handed the seal of the Tongdao Hall, where he had his last meal in the Yuanming Yuan, to his two widows and the young crown prince as a souvenir (cited in Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 204–205).

Guo Songtao, whose advice Prince-General Senggelinqin had arrogantly ignored, learned the tragic news of the burning of the Yuanming Yuan at his home in Hunan. Guo squarely blamed Senggelinqin for the disaster; in his opinion, the prince-general was too hawkish to prevent the war when peace was still possible and yet too feeble to resist the invaders after the war broke out. He was particularly disturbed by the fact that possessing a lot of guns and me

n as Senggelinqin had, the prince-general had lost both Dagu and Tianjin so quickly. Most regrettably, so far as Guo was concerned, had the general not turned a deaf ear to his warnings and advice, the disaster could well have been prevented (Guo 1981, 1:428). In particular, Guo had cautioned Senggelinqin not to underestimate the Western strength after the latter had salvaged twelve guns from the "English barbarians" in July 1860. Yet Senggelinqin did the contrary by telling the imperial court that "with the barbarians' guns in our hands, we are ready for war" (quoted in Tsiang 1929, 82). Nevertheless, as Guo predicted, China was not ready for combat with a modern army. Even though Guo had no intention of putting the ultimate blame on the Xianfeng Emperor, he was sure that the hasty decision for war was directly responsible for the destruction of the splendid Yuanming Yuan.

Aftermath

The Xianfeng Emperor knew in some detail the extent of the damages in the Yuanming Yuan prior to his premature death because in Rehe on November 16, 1860, he received a written report delivered by Mingshan, the director of the Imperial Household. This initial assessment made it clear to His Majesty that the Nine Continents, the Eternal Spring Fairy Hall, the Sky in Reflections, the High-Reaching Mountain and Outstretched River, the All-Happy Garden, and the Great East Gate were mostly burned down to the ground on October 7, 1860. The emperor also learned that the administrative buildings and the European section were demolished on October 18–19, and that the Exquisite Jade Studio caught fire on October 24, the day on which the peace treaties had been signed. Mingshan also reported on the plundering: no local bandits had been involved in it before the foreigners made a bonfire of the Yuanming Yuan; however, after the garden had been burned, the robbers and thieves in the neighborhood sneaked in to steal whatever they deemed valuable (*YMYA* 1991, 1:573–576).

The sacking of the Yuanming Yuan caught the general attention of Europe by the end of 1860. When the British House of Lords met in the new year 1861 to thank the expeditionary army, as the *Times* reported on February 15, 1861, it had a stormy meeting with regard to the rape of the Yuanming Yuan. Moreover, the Anglo-French controversy over looting and burning spilt from

China to Europe. The French newspaper *Le Siècle* , for example, rejected the British account about the looting. In general, the French blamed the British for burning the imperial garden, while the English press denounced the French as solely or mainly responsible for looting. The great French poet Victor Hugo (1802–1885), in a letter to Captain Butler written from exile in Guernsey, wrote, “We call ourselves civilized, and them barbarians; here is what Civilization has done to Barbarity!” (cited in Thiriez 1998, 58–59). For many twentieth-century Chinese, Hugo’s condemnation spoke with the force of justice. It was frequently quoted in Chinese writings, appearing prominently even at the beginning of the Chinese movie called *The Burning of the Yuanming Yuan.* A Chinese teacher made a pilgrimage to Guernsey in early April of 1989. He visited Hugo’s study, where he believed the French poet wrote the “admirable” letter on November 25, 1861. The visitor also found that Hugo was an admirer and collector of Chinese artifacts. A note of Hugo’s dated March 23, 1865, indicated that he had purchased from English officers a large quantity of Chinese silk goods, which they had “robbed” from the Chinese emperor’s Yuanming Yuan (Chen Zenghou 1997, 33).

The Qing authorities, who could not stop the wanton action of the foreign invaders, dealt with the native plunderers with unusual severity, including swift executions. Nevertheless, harsh punishment failed to deter hooliganism against the unprotected garden for a long time to come. Disappearing especially quickly were the movable objects, such as interior decorations, furniture, doors, and windows, which could be found inside the badly damaged structures in the Immortal Abode on the Fairy Terrace, in the Prudent Cultivation and Perpetual Thoughtfulness (Shenxiu Siyong), and in the Double Crane Chapel. Mingshan found a small sum of cash—approximately 106.621 taels of silver, “money orders” (*yinchao*) equivalent to 29,325 taels of silver, and hundreds of coins—in the garden in the aftermath (*YMYA* 1991, 1:573–576). Exactly how much gold, silver, lumber, and antiques were lost will never be known, as most of the Yuanming Yuan’s financial documents were consumed by fire.

The Qing authorities did try to recover stolen or missing properties that belonged to the Yuanming Yuan; however, the task was exceedingly difficult. There was no way to retrieve the objects taken away by the foreign invaders, which in Ruichang’s November 11, 1861 estimation accounted for the most precious items. Yet the less valuable objects stolen by the local thieves were t

oo numerous to trace. Moreover, the investigators soon discovered that many people had obtained Yuanming Yuan objects accidentally, either by incidentally picking them up as souvenirs or unknowingly purchasing the stolen goods in local stores. To be sure, the government could search every household in the neighborhood for the stolen goods. But Mingshan recommended against it. Instead, he suggested a month-long grace period, during which the government would allow anyone to turn in anything that originally belonged to the Yuanming Yuan without fear of prosecution (*YMYA* 1991, 1:571–572). As late as February 1997, during a public auction in Beijing, a remnant of *The Grand Southern Tour* (*Nanxun Shengdian*), from *juan* (volume) 101 to *juan* 103, was discovered and identified as a lost item from the Library of Literary Sources in the Yuanming Yuan. This book by Gao Jin recounts the Qianlong Emperor’s four southern tours and features 120 *juan* in the history category of the *Four Treasures* (Zhang Yuejin 1997, 19).

The Qing government put General Shengbao in charge of recovering stolen property. Before the end of the year, numerous small items were recovered from the neighboring districts of the Yuanming Yuan (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:576–578, 583–585, 587–596). These items, however, represented no more than a drop in the bucket and had no great value. The terrible losses were never publicized in detail by the court or the government. The official announcements of the demise of the magnificent imperial garden were always brief: the Yuanming Yuan caught fire, or catastrophe befell the Yuanming Yuan on a certain date.

The relatively valuable treasures taken away from the Yuanming Yuan by foreign invaders as war booty were put up to auction in Beijing in 1861. Large collections of Yuanming Yuan objects, such as jades, enamels, porcelains, silks, clocks, and watches, were also sent to Britain and France. The London auction started as early as March 1861, the Tuileries display opened in April 1861, and the Paris auction commenced on Thursday, December 12, 1861. Loot thus became a hot commodity. While some objects eventually found homes in major Western museums, in particular the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), many others entered into marketing networks around the world. They significantly increased the volume of Chinese “curiosities” outside of China. As late as 1987, the bronze head of a monkey, one of twelve animal heads in human garb around the circular fountain in the European se

ction of the Eternal Spring Garden, was sold in New York City to the collection of Hanshe (My Humble House) in Taipei. Three more bronze heads, the tiger, the ox, and the horse, appeared at a London auction on June 13, 1989. This time, Hanshe bought the horse (Siu 1988, 75–76; Sun 1998, 72–73).

Both Manchu and Han Chinese elites, saddened and ashamed, have since accused the European imperialists of vandalism and barbarism. Woren, the conservative Neo-Confucian scholar of Mongolian descent and a high-ranking official, specifically reminded the succeeding Tongzhi Emperor of the “shame of 1860” in his will (Woren n.d., 207). Shortly afterward, prominent Qing poets, such as Wang Kaiyun and Yang Yunshi, composed sentimental pieces to lament the garden burned into ashes and the precious imperial collection lost.

Kang Youwei (1858–1927), the great reformer of 1898, felt ashamed and heart-broken in 1904 when viewing a great number of Yuanming Yuan objects possessed by the Oriental Museum in Paris. He saw two imperial seals, numerous cultural relics, priceless vases, screens, dishes, Buddha statues, human figures, and a jade inscribed with characters referring to a hall of the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden, formerly the Variegated Spring Garden. These relics, as Kang learned, were war booty taken to France in 1861 and 1901. Kang called them “superb treasures” that represent “the cream of many generations of Chinese quintessence.” Kang regretted deeply the loss of so many national treasures to the foreigners.

Kang’s personal experiences with the Yuanming Yuan deepened his sadness. He remembered he had set foot on the destroyed garden in the 1890s. Back then he was still able to see abundant lotus in full bloom behind the old willow trees, the deserted bronze camel buried in the thistles and thrones, the broken bridges extending into the lakes in the midst of reeds, and the white marble court terraces behind the pine trees. Also, he recalled he had come across a white-haired eunuch sitting under broken tiles in despair in the midst of the sounds of wind over the stiff treetops. As well, he recalled the desolated Eternal Spring Garden, in which the broken European buildings displayed a waning elegance.

Like others, Kang easily related the tragedy of the Yuanming Yuan to the fate of his country. The great Qing Empire was still in its heyday when the i

mperial garden was as fresh as the spring cloud and as happy as the joyful sounds of the orioles. This was the time when King William of England ruled no more than half a million souls and Western civili- zation had not yet come of age. But soon the world changed. While China remained isolated and ignorant, steamships and railroads had paved the Western road to power and wealth. Consequently, the formidable European cavalry broke the Chinese gate, rushed upon the imperial capital, sent the emperor fleeing in great embarrassment, and burned the magnificent garden down to the ground. As a loyal reformer, Kang retained his wish for the restoration of the Qing Empire. He dreamed one day of the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan to its former glory, with the dragon flag again hoisted high on top of the shining palace roofs and proud royal troops marching through the gates (Kang Youwei 1975, 294–298).

Chinese mournfulness about the Yuanming Yuan persisted well into the twentieth century, and it contributed a vital element to modern Chinese nationalism. This outcome was surely beyond the wildest imagination of Elgin, who burned the garden to punish the Qing emperor only. Resentment was not at all confined to late Qing loyalists such as Kang. Many early Republican Chinese with many different political aspirations or educational backgrounds shared the antipathy. Professors and students of Yanjing and Qinghua Universities, due to their easy access to the ruined site, were frequent sojourners in the desolated Yuanming Yuan. Some of them left behind memorable words. The Yanjing scholar-poet Gu Sui composed the following lines when he strolled through the ruins on an autumn day:

> Watching the Double Ninth Festival pass by,
> I found neither warm sunshine nor gentle breeze;
> Evening cicadas choke back grief
> And hold tight to the frosty bough.
> From the remote sky,
> Come flocks of wild geese.
> How sad is the melancholy autumn.
> I see in my eyes our falling land
> And the deserted slope under my feet.
> Standing atop a higher ground,
> I look around my old country
> Thin streams, tall sky, evening glow, and a few people.

I stroll with a short stick,
I sit atop a hill,
Every look can be heartbreaking,
Few new huts and broken palace walls.
Where comes the cry of a cock?
Boundless sunset shines in splendor,
Up the rugged hills and withered grass,
Come down cows and sheep.
Let us grieve for
This desolate land of ours. [88]

Li Dazhao (1888–1927), the father of Chinese Marxism, toured the ruined Yuanming Yuan in 1913 with a friend. Li noted that when he climbed to high ground, he saw nothing but a desolate, wild scene of broken walls and debris and rugged roads. He conveyed his sorrow in the following lines:

Twice, the catastrophe befell
On this Round Bright Garden.
The spirits of our myriad ancestors,
How could we bear it?
The sounds of grief seem no end,
Debris and ashes are flying with evening smoke.
Crumbled to dust were jade palace and crimson chamber,
Over the wildness imprints.
Footmarks of animals and birds,
The broken steles are all buried.
The surviving palace maids aged so fast,
I feel hollowly blank,
Stirring up ashes from the wild radish. [89]

The famous conservative writer Lin Shu (1851–1924) shared the grief over the misfortune of the Yuanming Yuan with the Marxist Li Dazhao. Lin, also a painter, drew a picture of the ruined garden with this inscription: “I covered my eyes in tears when leaving here, and yet I could not help turning back to admire the setting sun” (quoted in *YMYZ* 1984, 316). As late as 1930, Chinese continued gathering to observe the anniversary of the burning. The noted historian Xiang Da remembered the event as “the worst case of vandalism in th

e history of Sino-Western relations” (Xiang Da 1983, 1:115). Even when East China was under Japanese occupation in 1940, the eightieth anniversary was not forgotten (Cai Shenzhi n.d., 113).

Hence, the ruined Yuanming Yuan became a powerful symbol of nationalism and patriotic outrage long before the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949. The triumph of the Chinese Communist revolution surely did not sweeten the bitter memory of 1860. The mainland Chinese scholar Wang Wei cries:

> The allies severely damaged Chinese relics. Such brutality has rarely been seen in modern history. The destruction of the Yuanming Yuan is a loss for human civilization beyond calculation. It is not just that the world’s foremost and unique palace garden was demolished, but also that much of the most precious and irreplaceable cultural relics China had preserved were gone with it. [90]

In 1980, General Zhang Aiping, who later became China’s defense minister, paid a special visit to the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan and composed a very passionate poem:

> Watching the ruins with my angry eyes,
> I cannot help condemning the intruding foreign forces.
> Rebuild it! Rebuild it!
> Let us rebuild the past beauty and its glory. [91]

In response to the Chinese reactions, the English writer Hope Danby made some defensive remarks early in the 1930s:

> They think of the Yuanming Yuan as part of their national possessions; they forget that it existed only for the pleasure of one person, the reigning Emperor. Like sons deprived of a splendid inheritance, they resent the loss of the art treasures and architectural wonders, and they point accusing fingers at the British, accusing them of an act of vandalism. The destruction by the French is practically forgotten, and the far greater pillaging by the Chinese themselves is conveniently ignored. But always, in the waves of xenophobia that arise periodically in China, the burning of the Yuanming Yuan is brought to the fore. It is one of the most powerful weapons of propaganda th

at can be used. [92]

It is true that Yuanming Yuan served the pleasure of the reigning emperor; and Elgin deliberately wanted to burn it in order to hurt the emperor. The Xianfeng Emperor, indeed, was hurt badly. But it is a matter of fact that modern Chinese, especially intellectuals, never considered the burning of the Yuanming Yuan an act that only punished the Manchu monarch. They were all ashamed. They were disturbed by the fact that the West violated its own international law, which prohibited looting the movable private property of the subjects and the heads of a state in wartime. The wanton destruction was hence to them utterly unjustifiable retaliation. Even leaving aside the legal issue, for them, burning down so many irreplaceable cultural relics was a great loss for humanity.

Henry Loch, Elgin's secretary, argued that "there was no utter annihilation of works of art or learning." He believed "nothing unique either in the shape of books or manuscripts was kept at Yuen-ming-yuan and in the subsequent search for both, previous to the burning, very few were found, and certainly none of any exclusive rarity" (Loch 1909, 168). Loch was surely wrong. On the contrary, "this act of unqualified barbarity," as several French scholars have recently reported, "annihilated an inheritance of gardens and monuments containing collections of art and a library of inestimable wealth" (Perazzoli- t' Serstevens 1988, 7, 34). Besides its unique architecture and landscape, the Yuanming Yuan was the home of priceless treasures, such as rare manuscripts, books (the complete library of Wenyuan Ge), porcelains, jades, paintings, and antiques accumulated by the successive Qing rulers during a period of one hundred fifty years. Arguably the most valuable Chinese painting, the *Portrait of a Lady* (*Shinv Tu*). by the great artist Gu Kaizhi (348–405) of the Jin Dynasty, was taken out from the Yuanming Yuan by the British, and it is now in the possession of the British Museum.

Modern Chinese could not forget the burning of the Yuanming Yuan also because they regard the great imperial garden as part of their brilliant cultural heritage, and it was wantonly destroyed by foreign invaders. They deplored the loss of an architectural wonder. They blamed Britain most harshly because it was the leading imperialist power in the nineteenth century. And so far as the Yuanming Yuan is concerned, the British committed not just looting but a

lone made the fatal decision to burn it down to the ground, despite the fact that the French and Chinese were also involved in plundering (cf. Cai Shenzhi n.d., 140–141). The British would have had the same hard feelings if Buckingham Palace had been demolished by foreign invaders for whatever reason, even though the palace always served the reigning British king or queen. In fact, the British general Grant himself testified to the arrogance of nineteenth-century British imperialism as follows:

> We procured for the civilized world protection from the oppression and barbarous outrages which the nation had been previously wont to inflict upon strangers; we struck a salutary blow at the pride of China, which, as experience shows, has been successful in convincing her that she is no match for the peoples of Europe; and, above all, we exacted from them the Treaty of Pekin (Beijing), which has proved far more lasting than any former engagements with that nation. [93]

In retrospect, the lesson Elgin wanted to teach the Qing emperor was learned by the Chinese in a hard way. Their mistrust and misunderstanding of the modern West was surely deepened by the looting and arson committed by the allies. To be sure, the presence of the mighty Western army in Beijing struck the natives with awe. “They (the allies) moved about in our midst at will,” a local resident noted in his diary, “as if in an uninhabited wildness!” (Wu Kedu 1978, 4:12). Li Ciming also witnessed the foreign brutality in indignation: “the occupation forces were running wild inside and outside the walled city, setting fire to houses, disturbing civil order, and harassing women in public” (1936, 9:74b–75a). Both Li and Wu, like many other Beijing residents, were shocked by Western power.

The formidable tide from the West induced China, willingly or unwillingly, to join the modern family of nations. But the dark side of modern civilization also loomed large in the minds of the Chinese people, evident in the barbarism of 1860, and this rekindled their historical memory of violent invaders of the culturally backward barbarians. Hence, for a long time to come, while appreciating the marvels of Western science and technology, they were somehow reluctant to sing praises of the moral values of the West. It is a fact that they recognized the West’s material superiority long before its spiritual compo

nents. They perceived in the image of the burning of the Yuanming Yuan that their country had been conquered by something more like Hun barbarism tha n by a splendid modern civilization.

Chapter 8 Repairs and the Final Blows

The inferno of 1860 disfigured the Yuanming Yuan so much that the imperial garden was no longer fit for royal living. Troops and eunuchs, however, guarded the destroyed garden estate to keep out unauthorized persons. The newly ascended Tongzhi Emperor, together with the two dowagers, Ci’an and Cixi, escorted Xianfeng’s coffin back to Beijing from Chengde. They all took residence inside the Forbidden City. They missed the pleasant garden life, and their memory was simply too fresh to forget. Tongzhi was born in the garden on April 27, 1856. The Dowager Cixi, the new emperor’s biological mother, had her romance with the late Xianfeng Emperor in the garden. Many other members of the family had in mind the sad moments when they had the last breakfast in the garden with the late emperor before the hasty flight to Chengde. They, of course, remembered the agony of the late emperor when he heard the bad news about the looting and burning of the Yuanming Yuan.

The best remedy, of course, was to restore the Yuanming Yuan to its past glory. But given the persistent rebellions and the financial crisis derived from excessive military expenditures and war indemnities, even the Tongzhi Emperor himself felt uncomfortable to raise such an issue. Not until the autumn of 1867 did the censor Detai speak on behalf of the royal family. Knowing how empty the state treasury was, the censor recommended that they seek donations and contributions from individual households in the country. This was clearly a trial balloon. When the general response of officialdom was negative, the emperor quickly backed off in a decree dated September 16, 1867, denouncing the censor’s idea as “inappropriate” and “ridiculous” (Wang Xianqian 1884, 73:35). The censor’s untimely proposal backfired. The court decided to exile him in the remote Manchurian frontier. He chose to commit suicide instead. Most likely, the royal family incited the censor to make the recommendation, and hence he felt betrayed and died in protest. Consequently, the garden remained in an appalling condition for many more years to come.

A Tour of the Desolated Yuanming Yuan

In the late spring of 1871, the Yuanming Yuan was still in desolation. U

nder the guidance of Liao Cheng’en, an ex-commander of the erstwhile garden battalion, the scholar-poet Wang Kaiyun (1832–1916) and his friend Xu Shujun made a tour of the imperial garden on May 27, 1871. The tour began at the Pure Ripple Garden at the foothills of the Longevity Hills, where they saw numerous shabby courtyards, broken halls, and half dried-up lakes, with trees in green standing in the midst of the bare scene. The shepherd boys and wood cutters seemed to be wandering in wildness. On their way back from the Kunming Lake, they discovered a bronze rhinoceros with the tail cut off, but the imperial inscription on the back was still recognizable. Most of the various small gardens owned by princes and distinguished officials in this neighborhood already bore no trace of the imperial garden’s grandeur (Wang Kaiyun 1973, 2:257; cf. *YMYZ* 1984, 324).

The conditions surrounding the Kunming Lake as described by Wang in 1871 seemed to have further deteriorated since a British attache’s observations in 1866. The attache had seen few delightful scenes in the midst of ruins, charred walls, and the departed pine trees. He specifically noticed a mass of lotus plants in full flower on the lake, several little islands covered with trees and buildings, and a great octagonal three-story palace with its white marble balustrade standing elegantly. The Briton had also seen some structures on higher ground, including a bronze temple, a gym, two little revolving wooden pagodas, many Buddha figures in a tower, and a large temple covered by yellow and green tiles (cited in Malone 1934, 195). But none of these, which in 1866 still retained a bit of the past glory, was visible five years later.

Wang and Xu spent the night with the Liao family in the neighborhood. They resumed the tour on May 28 and walked through the Lucky Garden Gate of the Yuanming Yuan. They came across an elderly eunuch named Dong, who volunteered to show them the way. They went through rubble and debris before identifying the Main Audience Hall. The hall was so badly damaged that the main stairs were not even visible. Walking further north, they recognized the Nine Continents, once the royal living quarters, behind the Front Lake, but the crumbling walls were all that they could see. The eunuch Dong specifically pointed out the ruins of a structure called the Family of Spring Between Heaven and Earth, where the dowager Cixi had once lived, together with many compounds in which concubines and princes had resided. But many celebrated structures on the Nine Continents, such as the Peony Terrace, the Five-Fo

rtunes Hall, and the Clear Sunshine Belvedere constructed by the Xianfeng Emperor, had simply vanished. When reaching the largest lake called the Sea of Blessing, the broad, desolate scene saddened them profoundly. Except for a few identifiable houses and chambers on the islet of the Immortal Abode at the center of the lake, none of the famous views was still in sight. Moreover, the eunuch tearfully told exactly where the director Wenfeng drowned himself just before the foreigners invaded the garden.

Then the visitors strolled to the northwest to see Double Cranes Chapel still standing in front of the Boundless Impartiality, where the poet Wang recalled the story of how during the Qianlong reign a dozen white cranes landed there. The Qianlong Emperor took it as a good omen and wished for the return of the cranes every year. The court officials hence manufactured on site the same number of gold cranes in different postures to please the emperor. Very fond of the craftsmanship, His Majesty constructed a studio to house the golden cranes, none of which was still in existence so far as Wang could see. The Wall of Sravasti was also in shambles; none of the 200,000 Buddha statues could be found (Wang Kaiyun 1973, 2:258; Xu Shujun's remark cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 324–325; cf. Peng Zheyu and Zhang Baozhang 1985, 126–130).

The tour to the devastated Yuanming Yuan was concluded at sunset. Before long, Wang Kaiyun transformed the sorry conditions as well as his profound melancholy into his celebrated poem on the Yuanming Yuan:

> Burned in the windswept smoke,
> The country royal estate has been ruined.
> The Jade spring flows as usual,
> But with sighing sounds.
> Alas! Kunming Lake has silted up.
> I come, but what can I see?
> Buried in thrones are the broken bronze rhinoceros.
> The great Green Rocks become
> The hideouts for crying wolves;
> And the fish under the Bridge of the Embroidered Ripples
> Seem to be sobbing.
> Alas! an old eunuch at the Happy Garden Gate
> Had once attended His Majesty.

The buildings here all disappeared,
Gone also the loud excitements of crowds of people.
The lonesome visitors stand in the garden's solitude.
The exciting past, the sorrowful present,
Distinguished guests shall never come.
Not any more!
When I peep behind the scenes
Of the Inner Palace Gate and the Main Audience Hall,
I find a lot of broken bricks.
North of the crumbling walls,
Gone is the Clear Sunshine Belvedere facing the lake,
Where the late (Xianfeng) emperor often enjoyed the morn.
They said His Majesty once had a strange dream,
An old man who says he is the guardian of the garden,
He wants to quit because peace can no longer be maintained.
The Buddha statues inside the Sravasti Wall,
Thousands of them, Where are they now?
Look around from side to side,
Cattail leaves grow wild in the lakes.
Mugwort grass rustling in the air, blocking stairways.
Some burned trees blossom anew,
But are cut and taken away for firewood.
The startled fish jump in the stream,
Trying to avoid nets.
The wonderful Peony Terrace,
Where three great rulers once met,
None of them could foresee misfortune.
The bamboo trees grow so disorderly
Out of the messy mosses.
One can no longer see in the spring days
The dropping dew and the blossoming peony.
Westward to the Smooth Lake,
A chamber is still there,
But where is its window paper?
Behind the bursting Chinese chives,
Emerged the gradually elevated road.

But where are the footprints of beautiful ladies?
The beauties left behind their block pigment makeup,
Imprints on windows in green everywhere. [94]

Wang Kaiyun did not go far enough to see the European section at the northern end of the Eternal Spring Garden. But two years later, in 1873, Ernst Ohlmer, the young German officer of the Chinese Customs Office, entered the European section when he served in Beijing from 1872 to 1880. He took many photographs of the tarnished Baroque buildings and thus left behind some images of ruined palaces. These photographs and illustrations were eventually published in book form in 1933 (Teng Gu 1933, 1–6).

By locating Ohlmer's and other Westerners' photographic works, the recent scholar Regine Thiriez has established a chronology of the evolution of the Yuanming Yuan's European palaces from "ruins to rubble." She shows a process of "relentless decay." In 1873, as Ohlmer's photographs show, "most of the scorched marble lintels had disintegrated, giving the openings of the palaces a strange vaulted look." However, "the inlaid decoration was mostly intact, while the tiled roofs lay in large heaps on the ground." Nevertheless, the continuous pilfering over a long period of time eventually brought the whole section into oblivion. Both the Great Fountain's and the Great View from the Distant Seas' top ornaments disappeared between 1873 and 1877. The Symmetric and Amazing Pleasure's marble balustrades fell to the ground before 1876, and its top level began crumbling no later than 1886. In 1901, in the wake of the Boxer catastrophe, the palaces were clearly reduced to rubble. Following the 1911 Revolution, with the fall of the Qing Dynasty from power, the removal of terracotta ornaments, marble, stone slabs, and even brick core from the scene was evident. The destruction in this section was mostly complete by 1940 during the Japanese occupation (Thiriez 1998, 62–64).

The Struggle for Renovation

Ohlmer's photographs and Wang's poems provide some sense of the desolated Yuanming Yuan prior to 1873, when the proposal for repairs was again raised. This time the emperor himself took the initiative. By now the Tongzhi Emperor was mature enough to assume his own throne. He was also intelligent enough to invoke the Confucian code of filial piety as justification for re

viving the imperial garden. He said he should show filial devotion to his two imperial mothers, Ci’an and Cixi, who had been guiding him through a most difficult period of time, by providing them with a pleasant retirement in a garden environment; and breathing new life into the dead Yuanming Yuan would serve the purpose. Having made up his mind, the emperor formally issued a vermilion decree on November 17, 1873:

> I have not forgotten for a single moment [how to repay my debt] to the profound kindness of my two imperial mothers since I assumed power on February 23 this year. I knew by reading at the Mind-Nourishing Study the poems about the Forty Views composed by the late Yongzheng Emperor that the Yuanming Yuan was the imperial garden where my forefather had lived and conducted state affairs. I have since been daily occupied with the thoughts of renovating it and of allowing the dowagers to live in it, lest I shall never rest with ease. I have seriously deliberated the matter and understand how bad the financial conditions are; however, at this point I have no intention of renovating the whole of the garden. I only proposed to renovate the most essential structures of the garden, such as the Ancestral Shrine for worshipping the deceased emperors [of our dynasty], the living quarters to accommodate the dowagers, and the necessary halls and courts for me to conduct state affairs. No structures for mere pleasure purposes should be renovated. I hereby welcome contributions of whatever sum from princes and officials; and [I instruct] the Imperial Household to award those who make contributions. [95]

The director of the Imperial Household responded to the decree by addressing the matter beginning on November 19. The first priority was given to the Spreading Spring Hall and the Cool Summer Chapel (Qingxia Zhai), ostensibly to accommodate the two dowagers. The first orders of the business, however, included raising much needed funds from princes and officials, looking for better models, studying geomancy, and selecting an auspicious date to begin construction. On November 20, Tongzhi waited no longer to rename the Variegated Spring Garden at the southeast side of the Yuanming Yuan the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden (Wanchun Yuan). He also redesignated the Spreading Spring Hall as the new Family of Spring Between Heaven and Earth, or the Benevolence-Receiving Hall (Cheng’en Tang). The Cool Summer Chapel

was renamed the Cool Summer Hall. Renaming was a practice to bring forth the new by weeding out the old (*YMYA* 1991, 1:627–628).

But before long, on November 21, the censor Shen Huai appealed to the throne for the postponement of the proposed project. He argued that renovation of the pleasure garden at a time when China was stricken by natural disasters in both the north and south and threatened unceasingly from the West would imperil the throne's great virtue (*YMYA* 1991, 1:629). Sincere and courageous though the censor was, the enthusiastic emperor was in no mood to back down. His Majesty accused the censor of being insensitive to his filial devotion. Rather than postpone renovation as the censor had requested, he actually wanted to accelerate its speed in order to show significant results by 1875 in time to celebrate Cixi's fortieth birthday (*Muzong Shilu* 1937, 310:58).

Although the censor's objection was cast aside, the shortage of cash could not be ignored. Even highly selective renovation, according to the estimate of the deputy financial minister Guiqing, would cost a sum more than the treasury could possibly afford. When the minister informed this truth to the emperor, he lost his job. Tongzhi continued to exert pressure on directors Ming Shan and Guibao, both of the Imperial Household, to make assessments of the damages regardless of whether the money was available. The final assessment showed that no more than thirteen places had escaped the 1860 inferno and stood in relatively good condition, most of them situated at the northern end of the garden.

With the exception of the Dignified Vision (Zhuangyan Fajie), which was located in the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden, the places that remained in good condition were all inside the original Yuanming Yuan. The Cross Pavilion stood at the south side of the Swastika House in the Universal Peace. The Spring Rain Gallery remained intact in the Apricot-Flower Villa. The Big Dipper Chamber (Kuixing Ge) at the southern end of the Ancestral Shrine stayed intact. So did the structures known as the Knowing-Your-Mistakes Hall (Zhiguo Tang), the Prudent Cultivation and Perpetual Thoughtfulness, the Scholar's Wonderland, the Fish-Leaping and Bird-Flying, and the Teaching Farming Gallery by the stream near the Northernmost Mountain Village. Double Cranes Chapel in front of the Boundless Impartiality at the northwest corner of the Sea of Blessing was also undamaged. The Purple-Blue Mountain Cottage at th

e northwest corner, the Octagonal Pavilion (Bajiao Ting) at the center of the northern end, and the Ploughing Cloud Hall near the right-hand side of the north gate entrance were standing as well. This assessment, however, seems incomplete. So far as we know, this list does not include the untarnished houses and chambers on the lake islets, such as the Immortal Abode observed by Wang Kaiyun in 1871. Doubtless, there were numerous still usable gates, dockyards, bridges, and temples. As for the Mind-Opening Isle in the Eternal Spring Garden, it retained its elegance up to the 1900 Boxer catastrophe (cf. Liu Dunzhen 1982, 298; Wang Wei 1980, 52–53).

At the emperor’s insistence, the Imperial Household redoubled its efforts to lobby princes and officials for contributing a share of much needed funds to start the project. Under the circumstances, even Prince Gong, the emperor’s revered uncle, donated 20,000 taels of silver from his private purse. Many others followed suit, contributing various sums (*YMYA* 1991, 1:629–631, 633–635).

But donations and contributions had their limits. The realm’s fast deteriorating finances soon compelled other censors to speak their consciences. Censor You Baichuan, for one, tried to convince the emperor to delay the renovation projects in his memorial dated December 5, 1873. The censor specifically raised the security issue: since the Yuanming Yuan was located outside of the walled Beijing, even if it should be successfully renovated, it would have no protection against potential foreign attacks. He suggested that the emperor and the imperial mothers should reside inside the Forbidden City for the sake of security and saving an enormous sum of money. Nevertheless, once again, the emperor refused to hear any arguments that he disliked. His Majesty not only condemned the censor’s deliberate misunderstanding of his filial devotion, the cherished Confucian value, but also questioned the censor’s sincerity by accusing him of shamelessly fishing for fame and recognition. The emperor thus dismissed the censor and vowed to punish anyone who would obstruct his renovation projects (*YMYA* 1991, 1:631, 637–638; Li Zongtong and Liu Fenghan 1969, 1:194–195).

Ground breaking was finally set for December 7, 1873, marking the official beginning of renovations in the Yuanming Yuan. The immediate work included cleaning the Grand Palace Gate and the Inner Palace Gate, fixing the d

amaged entrance gates and the attendants' rooms, dismantling broken walls, and removing mud and dirt all over. Construction to follow the cleaning began with the administrative halls and the structures on the Nine Continents. The Main Audience Hall, which was virtually nonexistent, had to be fully rebuilt on the old foundation. The severely damaged Diligent Court together with its subsidiary houses, corridors, and courtyards were in such dilapidated condition that they needed to be completely razed before reconstruction. As for the structures on the Nine Continents, no less than 437 out of 656 units of halls, apartments, studies, and courtyards needed almost complete refurbishment. [96]

The available blueprints for repairs indicate that renovation was never intended to be exact restoration. Flexibility was allowed for expanding a bit here or adding something new there in the process of reconstruction, even individual structures radically changed. The idea was to make the new better than the old. Most notably, the Family of Spring Between Heaven and Earth, designated as the Dowager Cixi's living quarters, was to be rebuilt on a new location, with a slightly different scheme, at the site of the destroyed Spreading Spring Hall in the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden. It was to extend five columns from east to west, approximately 183.3 inches wide between the central columns and 169.2 inches wide between the side columns. It was to comprise four connected houses with waving eaves from north to south. The depth of the three front houses was to be 394.8 inches and the rear house 366.6 inches. Corridors were to connect two courtyards, each of which was to stand on one side of the main construction. Its auxiliary structure, called the Inquiring Moon Chamber (Wenyue Lou), was renamed the Transparent Bright Gazebo (Chengguang Xie). The empty lot to the east was reserved for a theater, a stage, and a number of subsidiary rooms to entertain the retired dowagers. Many shabby buildings and pavilions nearby were simply torn down to make room for a larger courtyard (Liu Dunzhen 1982, 313, 338).

The Dowager Cixi was very much involved in the process of renovating this particular project. She personally studied the external models, inspected the interior decorations, and even tried her own hand at drawing sketches and blueprints (Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 120). As a result, renovation often meant new designs, new arrangements, and even new locations.

But the renovation projects were always haunted with budgetary proble

ms, which neither the power of the throne nor the enthusiasm of the dowager could have resolved. Construction thus often stalled for the lack of necessary materials, in particular large timber, due to financial stringency. Before long, numerous walls, roads, bridges, water gates, courtyards, and barges were left incomplete. Construction at many major sites had not even got started. They included the Cool Summer Hall, the Ancestral Shrine, the Sky in Reflections, the Swastika House, the Spring Beauty at Wuling, Apricot-Flower Villa, All-Happy Garden, the Wall of Sravasti, the Majestic Sunset-Tinted Peaks of the West Hills, the Northernmost Mountain Village, the Purple-Blue Mountain Cottage, the Octagonal Pavilion, and the Fish-Leaping and Bird-Flying (Liu Dunzhen 1982, 338–349; Li Zongtong and Liu Fenghan 1969, 1:194; Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 207–211). Only a few individual structures may have been completed before the renovation projects came to a standstill. Countless unused wooden pillars were discarded on the ground, construction materials of various sorts were piled in empty spaces in the incomplete rooms, and all construction sites were left protected only by modest wooden frames (Liu Duzhen 1982, 318; cf. 313–318; 320–332).

The Tongzhi Emperor seemed surprised by the fact that the empire could not afford a “small-scale” renovation of the desolated imperial garden. In any event, he was not about to give up. He was willing, however, to reduce the original project of renovating 3,000 rooms in the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden to 1,420 rooms, more than a 50 percent cut, for accommodating the retired dowagers. Apparently, the emperor was very anxious to get something completed in time to celebrate his mother’s forthcoming fortieth birthday. He thought the reduced budget would justify the resumption of construction.

At the emperor’s urging, indeed, the construction started again in early 1874. Even before three thousand much needed large pieces of heavy timber had been made available, on February 2, 1874, the emperor impatiently instructed that the gigantic timber frame in the main hall of the Ancestral Shrine be hoisted without delay. From March 7 onward, for a while, construction seemed to pick up speed. But in the end, the emperor’s preoccupation with garden projects provoked another round of opposition, and this time many highly prestigious people joined the criticism.

Most noticeably, Wenxiang (1818–1876), Prince Gong’s right-hand man

in charge of foreign affairs, appealed to the emperor on April 2 to cease construction on the grounds that the huge expenditure had already caused an uproar in the empire. He warned that the state would never find sufficient money to complete the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan. As for raising funds through donation, it would be a mere drop in the bucket, too small to cover the cost (*YMYA* 1991, 1:674–675).

Nevertheless, Wenxiang failed to convince the emperor. His Majesty became even more involved through a secret tour to the construction site near the Ancestral Shrine on April 27. This behavior was considered hazardous to the safety of the throne and deemed extremely inappropriate. It surprised, shocked, and alarmed many, in particular the senior members of the royal family and the top leadership in the government. Finally, Prince Gong, the emperor's uncle, and Li Hongzao (1820–1897), the Imperial Tutor, decided to intervene. Through their arrangement, a delegation consisting mostly of family members led by Prince Chun met with Tongzhi on May 9, 1874. They earnestly begged the emperor not to repeat the clandestine trip to the construction site and humbly wished His Majesty to end garden construction altogether (quoted in Li Zongtong and Liu Fenghan 1969, 1:200–201). This meeting, however, was a complete failure.

Before long, on May 24, the emperor returned to the site and threw a picnic party with his entourage at the Double Cranes Chapel. Tongzhi's defiance heightened the uneasiness and anxiety of the royal family. Meanwhile, officials from various regions also voiced their opposition to the reconstruction of the Yuanming Yuan. For instance, in his memorial dated July 13, 1874, Li Zongxi, the governor-general of Liangjiang (Jiangsu and Jiangxi Provinces) made two critical points. First, the Yuanming Yuan, even if fully renovated, would no longer be safe for royal living so long as the threat from the West remained. Second, His Majesty might want to emulate Emperor Wen of the Han and Emperor Renzong of the Song; both of them refused to spend money on gardens so long as the humiliation inflicted by foreigners was not redressed (*YMYA* 1991, 1:721).

This governor-general's memorial inspired the prestigious Hanlin compiler Li Wentian (1834–1895), who had earlier contributed money for renovation, to request on July 20 the immediate termination of all construction in the Y

uanming Yuan. The compiler’s long petition, though not officially recorded, was highlighted in Li Ciming’s diary, revealing such blunt language as “(the continuation of construction) would sooner or later drain the pond to get the fish,” the Chinese version of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Also, the censor cited recent natural disasters as warnings from Heaven, which the Son of Heaven— the Chinese ruler—should take very seriously. Last, but not least, the censor agreed with the governor-general that under the circumstances a renovated Yuanming Yuan could again easily fall prey to foreign invaders; hence, why bother to renovate it at all (quoted in Huang Jun 1979, 2:413–415; *YMYA* 1991, 1:724–726)? But none of these arguments won Tongzhi’s ear. The emperor was not interested in sense; he wanted to go even further. Laughing in the faces of those who tried to stop him, he proposed to expand the theater chamber at the All-Happy Garden to three stories (cited in Wu Xiangxiang 1953, 220).

Ignoring opposition and criticism as he did, the Tongzhi Emperor could not disregard the increasing problem of funding. It was common, as the record of the Imperial Household shows, for construction to begin before money was available (*YMYA* 1991, 1:677). Great efforts were made to solicit private donations and contributions; however, a mere 300,000 taels were collected by May 17, 1874, while the estimated cost ran as high as tens of million. And yet the insignificant sum of donated money had already created agony in officialdom; as the official Wang Jiabi put it, the campaign for funds had bankrupted many official families. Wang thus advised the emperor to find cash from more viable sources, such as the opium tax from the maritime customs office, or to take a slower and prudent pace in renovating the Yuanming Yuan (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:693–698, 698–699).

Moreover, large timber essential for building halls and chambers was as difficult to find as money. Tongzhi had repeatedly sought help from administrators in the timber-producing provinces, such as Hubei, Hunan, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Sichuan. He wanted at least three thousand pieces of heavy timber to meet the construction needs of the Yuanming Yuan. But as Governor-General Li Hanzhang of Huguang, Governor Guo Baiyin of Hubei, and Governor Wang Wenshao of Hunan reported to the court, no matter how hard they tried, they simply could not find enough heavy timber in their regions to meet His Majesty’s needs. To be sure, both Hubei and Hunan produced fir, cypress, and

pine. But a large num- ber of trees, in particular those near rivers or lakes, had been chopped down to build boats and ships during the Taiping War (1851–1864), and lumber still available in local markets was suitable for only making ordinary houses. The single promising news was Governor-General Li Hanzhang's promise to explore the deep forest in Guizhou in the future. "Should we find the timber," Li said, "we would try all possible means to ship it to the imperial capital" (*YMYA* 1991, 1:675–676).

Responses from other provinces were also disappointing. Governor Yang Changjun of Zhejiang stated simply in his April 25, 1874, memorial that nowhere in his province could he find any large timber, as the recent war had effectively reduced to the minimum the number of trees in the province. The shortage of lumber prevented numerous local temples that were destroyed or damaged in the Taiping War from being renovated. Governor Wu Tang of Sichuan admitted to the existence of large pieces of good-quality wood in the remote virgin forest of his province, but the problem was how to get access to them; given the transportation facilities at the time, it was impossible. And Governor-General Ruilin of Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces) reported in July that both cypress and fir produced in his region were not firm enough for construction in the Yuanming Yuan; however, he thought it was feasible to import foreign wood via Hong Kong and Macau (*YMYA* 1991, 1:678–680, 700–702, 710–712).

The desperate search for much needed heavy timber eventually provoked a scandal so large that it compelled the Tongzhi Emperor to call off all construction. Li Guangzhao, a fifty-one-year-old Cantonese merchant with a purchased title, approached the Imperial Household in 1873 to respond to the imperial decree calling for the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan.[97] He would present several thousand pieces of various sorts of hardwood worth several hundred thousand taels of silver, which he had collected for decades. What was more, in a period of ten years, he could deliver 100,000 taels of wood to the garden for renovation projects. He expected no rewards but tax exemption while transporting the materials to their destination. Additionally, he requested the company of authorized officials as well as permission to solicit contributions and cooperation around the country. Then on July 10, 1874, he reported that he had purchased, while traveling overseas, 1,500 pieces of foreign timber plus 550 pieces of planks at the value of 300,000 taels, and they were due to arr

ive in Tianjin. The overjoyed director of the Imperial Household recommended tax exemption for the cargo that would be used for repairs in the garden (*YMYA* 1991, 1:726–730).

Governor-General Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) of Zhili at Tianjin, however, soon accused Li Guangzhao of swindling. The latter had indeed purchased timber from a French merchant, but the price was a mere 54,000 taels of foreign silver, only 40 percent of the price he had claimed. Accordingly, the Grand Council, the highest decision-making body in the Qing government, asked the governor-general to look into the matter in consultation with the French and American legations in Tianjin (*YMYA* 1991, 1:736–738). The investigation confirmed that Li Guangzhao, who took advantage of the emperor's eagerness to acquire hardwood, had cheated Chinese officials and foreign businessmen. He was put on trial and sentenced to death on September 28, 1874. During the trial, the condemned man implicated several high-ranking officials in the Imperial Household and perhaps even the throne. The greatly embarrassed Imperial Court quickly controlled the damage by dismissing Chenglin, the Imperial Household man who had actually accompanied Li Guangzhao to South China, and by severely punishing two directors of the Imperial Household, namely, Guibao and Chonglun, (*YMYA* 1991, 1:741–742, 747, 750, 752).

The widely publicized scandal encouraged the voice of opposition in officialdom. The scandal was no doubt caused by the emperor's preoccupation with garden construction. On August 1, 1874, Yang Jun boldly memorialized to the throne that all construction inside the imperial garden should be stopped at once, lest the state treasury go bankrupt. The astronomical cost of renovation at a time of impoverished resources, however well intentioned, would threaten the very survival of the dynasty. On August 27, Governor Bao Yuanshen of Shanxi Province also requested the emperor to transform his "filial devotion" into concerns about the general well-being of all people by the immediate termination of the garden projects (*YMYA* 1991, 1:731–732; 738–739).

Only two days after Governor Bao had delivered his memorial, on August 29, Prince Gong made a petition to the throne which was endorsed by three other princes, two grand secretaries (Wenxiang and Baoyun), and two members of the Grand Council (Shen Guifen and Li Hongzao). These representatives of the highest echelon of the government spoke in one clear voice on severa

l key points. First, the Board of Finance could no longer pay the estimated ten to twenty million taels of silver demanded by the Imperial Household for garden construction. Second, the resentment in and out of the government over the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan was too profound to ignore. And third, a modest refurbishment of the Sanhai resorts, namely, Bei Hai, Zhong Hai, and Nan Hai in the neighborhood of the Forbidden City to accommodate the two dowagers appeared far more realistic (*YMYA* 1991, 1:739, 740). To highlight the urgency of the matter, they asked for an audience with His Majesty soon after he read the petition. The audience was granted; however, the emperor was extremely confrontational. Wu Rulun (1840–1903) recounted this tense and fiery episode of a type that was rarely seen in Qing history:

> When Prince Gong was reading his prepared statement, the Tongzhi Emperor suddenly interrupted him and said angrily: “Fine! Let us stop all projects right now; what else you have to say?” Prince Gong replied: “What we have to say in the statement is not just about stopping the projects. Let me read it to you aloud.” The emperor, though allowing the prince to finish his statement, was so provoked that he shouted a quite extraordinary remark to the prince: “How about I yield this throne to you!” [Clearly shocked by this unexpected remark,] the Grand Secretary Wenxiang, shaking and choking, brought himself to his knees and collapsed. He was escorted out of the court. The emperor then pressed Prince Chun, who was already in tears, to reveal the source about his embarrassing secret trip to [the construction site at] the Yuanming Yuan. When the prince told him the exact time and place, His Majesty was speechless and reluctantly decreed to stop construction. Shortly afterward, the emperor tried to summon Prince Chun again when the latter was out to inspect canons in Nan Yuan; instead, he summoned Prince Gong and as well pressed his another uncle to tell who revealed the secret. When the prince told the name Zaicheng, the emperor became angry at both of them. [98]

Hence, although construction came to an end, His anger appeared unabated. He wanted to dismiss both princes. The two dowagers, however, tearfully told the emperor that during the past ten years Prince Gong had done so much that “we cannot go thus far without him.” The emperor at last retracted the ea

rlier decrees. When he finally restored himself from rage, he said candidly that the purpose of renovating the Yuanming Yuan was not at all for his personal pleasure but really for two dowagers.

The emperor’s remark at the end was very truthful. Of the two dowagers, Cixi had the strongest interest in the Yuanming Yuan. Her pressure on the throne was beyond doubt, and she was really the one with whom Tongzhi had to consult. By this time, no one had ever underestimated her power in the course of events, and her power continued to grow. On behalf of the throne, Li Hongzao, the Imperial Tutor, first met with the dowagers. The revered Li in his sincere talk to the ladies struck an alarming note: the continuation of construction inside the Yuanming Yuan would almost surely blemish and injure both the emperor and his dynasty (Li Zongtong and Liu Fenghan 1969, 1:211–212).

This blunt talk by a highly prestigious scholar-official worked. On September 9, 1874, the Tongzhi Emperor came to his senses. Apparently with the consent of the dowagers, he summoned his two uncles to the court in the company of several top-ranking officials. In front of them, he announced his decision to postpone all construction in the garden for ten to twenty years until the recovery of the financial conditions of the dynasty (Weng Tonghe 1970, 7:2835). Postponement rather than cancellation was clearly for the sake of saving face. No one at the time saw any prospect of resuming the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan at all. The official edict issued on the same day reads:

> The Imperial Household under my direction to renovate the Yuanming Yuan selectively was to please the dowagers and to satisfy my filial devotion. After the construction had started early this year, I personally visited the site several times and realized how enormous the project was and why it could not be completed as scheduled. Our scarce resources, unbalanced finances, continuous military campaigns, and natural disasters in different provinces made the dowagers feel uncomfortable to continue the garden project. I hereby authorize the termination of all construction work [in the Yuanming Yuan] until the dynasty’s security is reassured and treasury replenished. Meanwhile I shall request the directors in [the imperial Household] to start a minor refurbishment at Sanhai in the neighborhood of [the Forbidden City for the retirement of the dowagers]. [99]

The emperor's decision to postpone construction was clearly made very reluctantly. When the renovation officially came to an end, a sum of 4,810,000 taels of silver had already been consumed (Liu Dunzhen 1982, 359–364). This sum of money, of course, bore some fruit. The grounds were largely cleaned up, and the trees and rocks looked "as beautiful as before," as the Sichuanese poet Mao Chang reported from his visit in 1877. Almost all structures in the Double Cranes Chapel were restored to perfect condition. But most other structures of the original Forty Views remained in disrepair. The unused timber and rocks were stored, and the hoisted heavy roof beams at the Ancestral Shrine were dismantled for preservation (cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 319).

The Rebirth of the Pure Ripple Garden

The Tongzhi Emperor accepted the harsh reality, but he was vindictive and henceforth dismissed no fewer than ten high-ranking officials who had voiced their objections to renovating the Yuanming Yuan. He even accused Prince Gong of sowing discord between the throne and the dowagers, a very serious charge, and thus stripped the prince of his inherited rank on September 10, 1874, disregarding the earnest plea for leniency by the influential Manchu nobleman Wenxiang. Only after the intervention of Cixi on the following day did the emperor withdraw his earlier decision to punish his uncle (*YMYA* 1991, 1:744–746).

The Tongzhi Emperor died suddenly on January 12, 1875, at the age of nineteen, and the Sanhai project was called off three days later. Cixi handpicked her four-year-old nephew Zaitian (1871–1908) to succeed the throne to be the Guangxu Emperor. With the death of Ci'an, she was now the only dowager sitting behind the screen to hear state affairs. As her power and influence grew, she came up to the front and developed her own plan for garden construction. Besides refurbishing Sanhai, she decided to renovate the Pure Ripple Garden, a subsidiary garden of the Yuanming Yuan.

The Pure Ripple Garden, which had taken fifteen years, from 1750 to 1764, and 4,480,000 taels to complete, was built by the Qianlong Emperor in his mother's honor and for her pleasure (Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1391). It is sited at a scenic location between the beautiful Longevity Hills and the Kunming Lake. The lake, large and clean, supplied ample water to all royal gardens in th

e area, for which an extensive network of canals was built leading all the way to the Gaoliang Bridge near the west gate of Beijing. Commonly, Qianlong s pent his days in the Pure Ripple Garden and returned to the Yuanming Yuan before sunset (Zhang Jiaji 1986, 160; Liu Tong and Yu Yizheng 1980, 307–3 08).

Cixi focused on the Pure Ripple Garden with good reason. She was surel y impressed by its attractive hills and lake, and perhaps more important, it wa s not so severely damaged as the Yuanming Yuan, so less money would be sp ent on renovation. Having made up her mind, she lost no time in instructing t he Imperial Household that she wished to see the garden renovated in time to celebrate her fiftieth birthday in 1884. Interestingly, virtually no opposition to the project came from officialdom. The dowager apparently had fully establis hed her dictatorial “female rule,” which was formidable enough to deter any voice of dissension.

The dowager herself was very much involved in the renovation of the Pu re Ripple Garden. She watched the progress of construction closely; frequentl y, she took part in designs or redesigns. It was, for instance, exclusively her i dea to rebuild the famous Marble Boat at the Kunming Lake, which had been severely damaged by the foreign intruders in 1860. The structure symbolizes the Confucian wisdom that the boat, referring to the government, could be eit her supported or overturned by the water, referring to the people, underlining the importance of the people to the government (Qianlong’s remark quoted in 1985, 3:1399–1400).

The budget for this renovation was not officially released; however, it w as estimated to be from 30 to 80 million taels. Where did she get the money t o finance her garden project? According to Duan Qirui (1865–1936), the pro minent Beiyang leader, “[Li Hongzhang] had raised 30 million taels for purch asing ironclads, and yet the real power holder [Cixi] used them for the purpos e of garden construction” (cited in Xu Fengtong 1986, 61). It seems most like ly that she diverted most of the funds from the treasury of the Beiyang Navy t o spend on the renovation of the Pure Ripple Garden. As if to thank the navy, she included a naval training school in her budget, plus the marble boat, near the Kunming Lake on January 27, 1887. But the marble boat did not float, an d Cixi was later blamed for the fall of the navy in the 1894–1895 war with Ja

pan (Liang Qichao 1926, 19:50a–50b).

In any event, the Pure Ripple Garden was reborn on March 13, 1888, with a new name, the Yihe Yuan (Cheerful Harmony Garden), officially announced by the Guangxu Emperor. The dowager then made the garden her home until her death in 1908.

Overall, the Yihe Yuan was a renovated Pure Ripple Garden with minor modifications in order to improve its original design. Meticulous effort was made to integrate all buildings and scenic settings into proper spatial relationships. Piled rockeries were artistically formulated, and the picturesque atmosphere of naturalistic settings and the poetic spirit of man-made artifacts were skillfully arranged for interest.

The Yihe Yuan, approximately 3.4 square kilometers in scale, rivals the Yuanming Yuan in terms of architectural excellence and artistic taste. Also like the Yuanming Yuan, the garden served administrative function in addition to providing enjoyment and pleasure for its residents. Moreover, it comprised the Kunming Lake and the Longevity Hills. This renovated garden seemed to have satisfied the dowager's pleasure in garden living. More important, this specific garden and its beautiful scenes have survived to this day and hence provide us with an invaluable source for understanding the imperial gardens of the Qing Dynasty. [100]



Overview of Yihe Yuan, formerly the Pure Ripple Garden. Plan by Sylvia Lu Wong. 颐和园总览，前身为清漪园，陆善仪绘制。

The layout of the Yihe Yuan can be generally described as follows. The well-known Buddha Fragrance Pavilion (Foxiang Ge), sitting on a 20-meter-tall rock—the "Tower City," rising 41 meters from halfway up the central front slope of the Longevity Hills—is a typical wooden, octagonal four-story complex of pavilions. Its main court, surrounded by the divine land of Buddha, which the Qianlong Emperor named the Temple of Great Gratitude and Longevity, made manifest the style of design of the Qianlong reign (Qianlong's inscription cited in Yu Minzhong 1985, 3:1396–1398). This particular pavilion cost 7.8 million taels of silver to repair. After completion, it was renamed the Cloud-Rising Court (Paiyun Dian); it is covered with bright yellow *liuli* tile and faces the large lake crossed by a white marble bridge. This court became the dowager's main residence. From a distance, the waterfront, the tall *pailou* gate, the front gate, the marble bridge, the inner gate, and the Cloud-Rising Court come into view in gradual elevation.

The Sweeping Pavilion (Kuoru Ting), an octagon consisting of three layers of columns, of which twenty-four are round and sixteen square, is the largest pavilion in the Yihe Yuan. It is situated at the southern end of the Seventeen-Hole Bridge (Shiqikong Qiao) and occupies 130 square meters of land. The pavilion's double eaves extend sharply upward on all sides and make a magnificent view. This unique pavilion, according to the Manchu prince Pujie, symbolizes a gigantic tent, a reminder of the nomadic life of the Manchu ancestors (cited in Xu Fengtong 1986, 54).

The Luxuriant Pavilion (Hui Ting), a pair of hexagonal pavilions, is located at the east hilltop of the Yihe Yuan. It is said that the dowager often came here to observe the full moon in mid-August, especially admiring the shadows of the two pavilions cast by bright moonlight coming together with those of the persons on the ground. When the full moon slowly moves up from east to west, it is said, all the shadows converge to become one big shadow, suggesting a feeling of being as perfect as the full moon.

The Bronze Pavilion (Tong Ting), also known as the Precious Cloud Pavilion (Baoyun Ge), has been praised as a wonderful piece of architecture. The pavilion was built entirely of bronze, weighing 207 tons and standing 7.5 meters high on a large white marble terrace. It was first built during Qianlong's time and survived the 1860 disaster, even though most of its interior decorations were stolen except for a bronze table. After Cixi had it repaired, Lama priests regularly assembled here to recite Buddhist scripts and to pray for the royal family at the beginning and the middle of every month.

Lama Buddhism, popular among Mongols and Tibetans, had also drawn great attention of the Qing rulers since the beginning of the dynasty. The religion no doubt served political needs by helping to control the Mogolian and Tibetan populations. Thanks to the blessing of the Qing Dynasty, numerous Lama temples rose in west Beijing. The Qianlong Emperor constructed a huge complex of Lama monasteries on the back slope of the Longevity Hills, covering an area of about 20,000 square meters. The design conveys the Buddhist view of the universe. The courtyards in this complex, two pairs of them, symbolize four Buddhist continents represented by four different colored pagodas, namely, red, white, green, and black. They also represent four sets of Buddhist wisdom, and the two contrasting terraces suggest the sun and the moon surr

ounding the Buddhist world (*YMYJ* 1984, 3:150–161). All of the structures on the back slope were burned to the ground in 1860, and they were not renovated as a part of the Yihe Yuan. A few surviving Buddha statues were stored in a hall on the ruins.

The famous Long Promenade (Chang Lang) in the Yihe Yuan, winding and undulating 728 meters from east to west in 273 sections with four octagonal pavilions in between, presents many different scenes to a viewer walking along its path. The dowager was immensely proud of this unique structure; indeed, this is arguably the most ingenious design of all in the Yihe Yuan. A viewer seated inside the promenade can enjoy the blowing snow on lake and hills and hear the sounds of rain on a misty day. The entire promenade looks like a long and colorful silk braid, which binds together the hills and the lake with the various structures dotting the landscape. Before the 1860 inferno burned the promenade to the ground, more than 8,000 Suzhou-style colorful drawings hung from the beams, showing flowers, birds, landscapes, 500 unidentified flying cranes, and human figures telling popular stories from well-known Chinese novels and folk traditions (Xin Wensheng 1998). The drawings in meticulous brushwork had been painted in different periods of time since the Qianlong Emperor, who asked his artists to copy the best views he had admired during his many southern tours. The solid foundation of the promenade made reconstruction in 1888 relatively easy, even though the priceless paintings in it could never be restored to their original excellence. [101]

The Long Promenade in the Yihe Yuan. Sketch by Joseph C. Wang and Xinbai Yu. 颐和园里的长廊，王绰和郁欣白绘制。



The Yihe Yuan has numerous bridges. On the large Kunming Lake alon

e, there are more than thirty bridges. The longest is the famous Seventeen-Ho
le Bridge, stretching out like a rainbow about 150 meters long and 8 meters w
ide to connect the lake's east bank with the southern lake isles. On its railings
stand 500 stone lions in different postures (Qiao Yun 1988, 33). A life-size br
onze buffalo, an excellent piece of sculpture with fine inscriptions dating bac
k to the Qianlong period, stands on the east side of the bridge. The bronze buf
falo is here, according to the popular legend, in order to "keep down" the floo
d. Its sheer size and weight prevented it from being removed from the scene d
uring the sacking of the Yuanming Yuan. The Jade Belt Bridge (Yudai Qiao),
one of the six bridges connecting a long embankment on the west side of the l
ake to the rest of the garden, is a white stone arch bridge rising so high above
the water that tall dragon barges could sail under it easily.

The dowager completed the Yihe Yuan in time to celebrate her fiftieth bi
rthday. She then made the garden her permanent home and on every tenth da
y of the tenth month according to the lunar calendar threw a lavish birthday p
arty to entertain well-wishers. The birthday celebrations normally lasted for a
week, during which the profusely decorated garden was the setting for endles
s banquets and entertainment. The emperor and many high-ranking officials
would arrive at the Cloud-Rising Court to perform the kowtow in front of her
and to present her with written and oral congratulatory remarks. Cixi's sixtiet
h birthday in 1894 had been planned as a unique event, for which a special co
mmission of princes was created. The scale of celebration was compatible wit
h that for Qianlong's birthday, including colorful and elaborate decorations o
n the road from the Forbidden City to the Yihe Yuan. But her time was not Qi
anlong's. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and China's humili
ating defeat less than a year later spoiled her well-planned birthday party. Un
der the circumstances, she had to scale down the level of celebration greatly.
She received some compensation in 1897, for that year's birthday party inclu
ded an eight-day program of Peking opera to be performed on the stages of v
arious theaters in the Yihe Yuan. For this party, she spent a sum of money wo
rth 324,000,000 kilograms of rice at the time, not counting the expensive gifts
presented to her by officials from all over the country (cf. Xu Fengtong 1986,
76).

From 1888 to her death in 1908, Cixi was the real power behind the thro
ne. She used the Yihe Yuan as her headquarters, especially after the 1898 cou

p, to conduct state affairs much as earlier Qing rulers used the Yuanming Yuan. Her living quarters, also the hub of the garden, comprised a large quadrangle (*sihe yuan*), or a compound of forty-nine large and small houses at the east end of the Long Promenade. The courtyard of this compound sits on a 3,000-plus-square-meter lot laying behind the Longevity Hills and facing the Kunming Lake. The dowager named her principal ten-room living hall the Enjoying Longevity Hall (Leshou Tang) and her audience hall the Longevity for Benevolence Court (Renshou Dian), comparable to the Main Audience Hall in the Yuanming Yuan. In the open space in the courtyard, she placed a bronze *kylin* taken from the Yuanming Yuan. Inside the court at the center of the hall, she hung a large horizontal board inscribed with four large characters: *"shou xie ren fu"* (Longevity Assists Benevolence). On each side of the front door hung two gigantic vertical scrolls printed with one hundred bats, each holding the word "longevity" (*shou*). The large screen behind her desk was inscribed with two hundred differently styled characters of *shou.* Benevolence and longevity were obviously as much cherished by Cixi as other rulers in Chinese history. [102]

One still can see in this hall two "Dragon Seats" (*longyi*). made of precious sandalwood, each of which was engraved with nine lively dragons, the symbol of imperial China. The dowager and the emperor each occupied a seat when they jointly granted audiences in the garden. Clearly, in an informal setting such as the Yihe Yuan, the dowager could disregard strict formality and sit equally with the emperor. In a more formal place like the court in the Forbidden City, however, she would have to sit behind the emperor's throne separated by a silk screen, even though the emperor was her mere puppet.

The dowager must have greatly enjoyed the beauty of the Yihe Yuan, surrounded by a large lake and green hills. Very often she went boating on the Kunming Lake just as Yongzheng and Qianlong had done on the Sea of Blessing. She also loved rock formations, and behind the hills at the courtyard of her living quarters, she used them to accompany precious trees and rare flowers. Also like Qianlong, during the blossom season, she was fascinated by the spectacular magnolia. Like Daoguang, she was a great opera fan. She built the Grand Theater (Da'xitai) in the Yihe Yuan to entertain herself constantly (Xu Fengtong 1986, 13–14, 104–107). Hence, she seemed to have forgotten the nearby Yuanming Yuan, which was in ruins.

In 1896, Li Hongzhang, having made his around-the-world trip, reported to the dowager in the Yihe Yuan. Afterward, Li stopped by the Yuanming Yuan for a short visit; but the eunuch-guards would not let him in and later accused him of being an intruder. When the dowager did not take the matter seriously, the eunuchs appealed to the Guangxu Emperor for action. The emperor's teacher and confidant Weng Tonghe, a political rival of Li, recommended to strip the offender of his “First-Class Honor” (*sanyan hualing*). as punishment. Even though the emperor consented, the dowager overruled the decision by reducing the punishment to a fine of one year's stipend (Cheng Yansheng 1928, 27b–28a).

A recent writer believes that Li simply stepped into the desolated garden out of curiosity on his way. The punishment for Li was really revenge for Li's earlier exposition of the scandal that resulted in Tongzhi's prompt termination of all construction in the Yuanming Yuan (Wu Xiangxiang 1965, 173). Perhaps the close guarding of the Yuanming Yuan might have been an attempt to conceal the fact that some sorts of construction had been going on inside the devastated garden. Indeed, as some records show, both the dowager and the emperor visited the Yuanming Yuan regularly from 1886 to 1898, presumably for supervision and inspection. The Imperial Household's budget for the fiscal year of 1897, for example, allocated as much as 96,500 taels for the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYZ* 1984, 381–382; cf. Wu Xiangxiang 1965, 171). This may suggest that the complete halt to construction inside the Yuanming Yuan was more apparent than real.

The Second Blow and Consequences

The partially repaired Yuanming Yuan would have been much better preserved had it not suffered a second major blow during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, which “invited” the invasion of China by eight major powers in the world. [103] The Dowager Cixi fled with the emperor to Xi'an on August 5, 1900, once again leaving Beijing at the mercy of foreign invaders. The invaders of 1900, even more numerous and vicious than those of 1860, repeated the pattern of plundering and burning but in much greater scope and duration.

The sites of looting included the homes of the wealthy and those of Manchu nobility. The looters were not just troops but also diplomats and even mis

sionaries. W. A. P. Martin saw on the spot that the scramble of looters could only be described as a riot “in the midst of booty” (Martin 1900, 134; cf. Dillon 1901, 28–30). Numerous Chinese prisoners were also brutally treated and mercilessly shot. The reports and testimonies of the extreme brutality made a contemporary American writer feel that “the Chinese were treated as Christians were in the reign of Nero” (Dillon 1901, 18). Noteworthy, just about a year ago, all the eight invading powers joined the Hague Convention of 1899, which clearly outlawed the wartime legality of plunder and wanton killing.

Both the newly built Yihe Yuan and the crippled Yuanming Yuan were victimized. The allies easily captured and occupied Beijing, and the energetic German cavalrymen chased the beaten army of Dong Fuxiang deep into Inner Mongolia. On their way back, the Germans camped in northwest Beijing with the English and Italian troops. They plundered all of the gardens in the neighborhood, including the Yuanming Yuan. They took doors and window frames from the Yuanming Yuan for fuel when winter arrived (cf. Wang Wei 1992, 59–60). In the end, all of the repairs completed since the 1870s were totally obliterated. As in 1860, to share the loot, a prize commision was established and an auction market opened at the British legation (cf. Barrow 1942, 64).

Upon the eventual withdrawal of the foreign troops, native bandits, thieves, and riffraff seized a period of anarchy to rob whatever they deemed valuable. Even Manchu bannermen, who were supposed to secure all of the royal gardens, participated in looting. On September 7, 1900, for instance, over one hundred bannermen, disregarding the warnings of the Yuanming Yuan guards, intruded into the round-shaped Mind-Opening Isle in the Eternal Spring Garden with axes and shovels in hand. They destroyed the wooden bridge leading to the isle, but they were driven back by the guards, and scores of them were killed. Nevertheless, sixteen bannermen returned a week later, when lakes in the garden were frozen solid. They robbed the Yuanming Yuan at will, tore down buildings, carted away useful wooden material, and chopped down huge pines and cypresses for profit. This wanton destruction spared virtually no halls and chambers in the garden. The stolen materials, from pillars to frames, were piled up like a “small mountain” for sale in the nearby market at Qinghe. Even small pieces of wood and tree branches taken away from the garden found a market after being burned into charcoal. In the end, the structures, especially those made of wood, and trees in the garden simply disappeared. The c

atastrophe of 1900 leveled the Yuanming Yuan as much as the flames of 1860 consumed it (cf. Zhao Guanghua 1986, 4:13).

The foreign invaders damaged the Yihe Yuan as well. James Ricalton was traveling in China during the Boxer Rebellion. When he walked a mile about the lake inside the Yihe Yuan, he “passed many curious structures, all showing unmistakable signs of the looter and the iconoclast” (Ricalton 1901, 344). Nevertheless, the Yihe Yuan was not so badly burned as was the Yuanming Yuan in 1860. Hence, its renovation was easier and less expensive. In fact, upon the return of the dowager in 1902, it was ready for her to live. She added a peasant hut named the Pleasing Farming Gallery (Lenong Xuan) to be a reminder of her bitter experience in rural China where she had sought refuge (Xu Fengtong 1986, 84). Ostensibly, the catastrophe had made her humble. No longer xenophobic, she now tried to please the foreigners. For example, she began entertaining Western ladies in her lovely garden after 1902. From this time on, though still having the dynasty under her control, she rarely left the Yihe Yuan, where she died in 1908. The young but fragile Guangxu Emperor also lived in the garden, in a chamber surrounded by water, basically under house arrest. He died just a day ahead of her.

The fate of the Yuanming Yuan in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion was sealed. The second fatal blow eliminated the feasibility of preserving the garden as a historic site let alone the prospect of renovation. The huge indemnity after the rebellion further strained Qing finances; for instance, in 1904, the Imperial Household had to reduce the number of the guards and eunuchs in the Yuanming Yuan. Even though as many as 16,718 Manchu bannermen remained in the Yuanming Yuan in 1909 (*YMYA* 1991, 1:763), they were mostly members of the former Garden Household, including women and children, and they were more destroyers than protectors of the Yuanming Yuan.

The decline and fall of the Qing Dynasty further exposed the Yuanming Yuan to robbery and destruction. In the early autumn of 1911, Tan Yankai (1880–1930), president of the provincial assembly of Hunan, could no longer see the scenes observed by Wang Kaiyun in 1870. All that he could see were wild grass and disorderly rocks. The only remaining structures were but half-fallen Baroque buildings at the northern end of the Eternal Spring Garden (cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 334; cf. Cheng Yansheng 1928, 21b). They remained visible

only because of their solid brick and marble foundations. They could have been renovated relatively easily, according to a famous European architect, as late as 1914, but China's deplorable conditions at the time made any historical preservation efforts virtually impossible (Danby 1950, 224). Without preservation, the half-fallen Baroque buildings gradually collapsed; eventually, only few large marble pieces remained. A set of twenty photographs taken by Ernst Ohlmer in the 1870s, which was published in 1933, appears especially precious in viewing the physical appearance of these European buildings. [104]

The transition of China from monarchy to republic did not affect the status of the Yuanming Yuan. The Xuantong Emperor (Henry Puyi), the last Manchu ruler, was allowed to keep his court inside the Forbidden City and he retained title to all his properties, including the imperial gardens, as part of the abdication agreement of 1912. The Yuanming Yuan continued to be supervised by the Imperial Household. But the problem was that the unsettled Republican government could rarely keep its promises. The defenseless royal family easily fell prey to the abusive politicians and ruthless warlords of Republican China; for instance, many of its tombs were being dynamited for the search of treasures. The Yuanming Yuan, though in desolation, was still a target of greedy eyes due to its great fame.

The early Republican authorities openly made requests to the hapless Manchu court in the Forbidden City for interesting objects in the Yuanming Yuan. In 1915, for decorating the newly refurbished Zhengyang Gate in downtown Beijing, the interior minister asked the Imperial Household for permission to remove two rock *kylin* at the Comfortable Hall (Anyi Tang) near the northwest corner of the Yuanming Yuan. In the same year, the Beijing military command wanted artificial hills and rockeries in the Yuanming Yuan. However reluctant, the Imperial Household had no way to reject such requests. Not surprisingly, requests under the circumstances forced the Manchus to respond graciously. At least on one occasion, the Imperial Household, at Puyi's consent, not only gladly granted the request but also voluntarily helped the government to select fifty-one pieces of Taihu rock and ship them from the Yuanming Yuan (*YMYA* 1991, 1:766–769).

The political situation turned from bad to worse following the death of President Yuan Shikai (1859–1916). The social disorder that followed made th

e protection of the Yuanming Yuan ever more difficult; the desolate garden was virtually subject to open theft. Receiving the reports of the invasion of thieves into the garden by the eunuch supervisor Wang Hexi, Puyi could do nothing but seek assistance from Beijing’s government. The police at last captured three thieves who admitted that they had stolen hundreds of rocks in the garden. Before long, however, policemen and even soldiers themselves became the thieves. On an autumn day in 1919, scores of soldiers freely picked up Taihu rocks at the ruins of the Library of Literary Sources and transported them away in dozens of carts. The royal family lodged a strong protest against the military command in Beijing, supposedly the guardian of security, but to no avail (*YMYA* 1991, 1:770–772).

In 1919, Deputy Commander Gao of the Third Artillery Regiment, who was stationed at Xiyuan, committed robbery inside the Yuanming Yuan, and this act of lawlessness provoked Puyi to protest to the Minister of the Army. Reportedly Guo and about a dozen men intruded into the garden and carried out bricks in three carts in broad daylight. Puyi reiterated that the Yuanming Yuan was strictly his private property and was entitled to protection from the authorities, but legal protection becomes meaningless when protectors become bandits. Thus, people in and out of the government continuously violated the integrity of the Yuanming Yuan. A brutal incident took place in 1921 when two regiments of soldiers from the Sixteenth Division beat the guards who tried to block them and forcefully marched into the garden to commit robbery. They tore down the walls in the Wall of Sravasti, took away numerous carts of Taihu rocks, and spent two full days in their plundering. No one dared to stop them; in fact, they laughed at a score of helpless eunuchs when leaving the garden (*YMYA* 1991, 1:773–779).

The republic’s civilian sectors likewise set their greedy eyes on the Yuanming Yuan. In 1921, the Longquan Orphanage in Beijing pressed Puyi to donate the walls and rocks in the west side of the garden as building materials for constructing its expanded dormitory with the argument that the wasteful materials should be put to good use. In 1922, for building the Morgan Garden on campus, the missionary administrators of Yanjing University requested to move a large quantity of rocks from the neighboring Yuanming Yuan. These two uses may arguably have served the public interest; however, many others simply satisfied personal greed. Later in the same year, Xue Zhiheng, Beijing

’s police chief, wanted to “borrow” some construction materials from the ruins for his own use. The police chief was not the only influential official to do so. Certain commissioners Xiao and Wan, for example, came to the Yuanming Yuan and shipped out sixty carts of Taihu rocks, disregarding the protest of the supervisor Wang Hexi, the royal family’s man on the spot (*YMYA* 1991, 1:780–785).

In an effort to stop the ceaseless drain of materials from the garden, in September 1922, the three directors of the Imperial Household, namely, Shaoying, Qishou, and Baoxi, impressed the commander of the Beijing gendarmerie Wang Huaiqing with the importance of prohibiting anything from being taken out from the ruins. The commander promised to better protect the historic site. Ironically, however, Commander Wang himself had once sent hundreds of workers, with picks, axes, and shovels in hand, into the Yuanming Yuan to tear down the solid ramparts around the Wall of Sravasti, rip the walls at the Ancestral Shrine, and break apart the brick walls of the Baroque buildings. All of these materials were used in Wang’s own private garden near Lake Fan (Shan Hu) (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:789–790).

In the spring of 1923, as a letter from the Imperial Household indicates, even the long outer walls surrounding both the north and west sides of the garden were torn down (*YMYA* 1991, 1:800). Shortly afterward, when Beijing was under his sway in 1924, the Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin (1875–1928), took a great amount of white marble from the Yuanming Yuan to ship to Liaoning, where he began constructing his future mausoleum. Meanwhile, to build his Emerald Flower Garden, a wealthy German arms dealer also took away various sorts of materials from the Yuanming Yuan. As a result, the walls in the garden disappeared quickly.

After all the walls were torn down, people wanted the land. When Tsinghua (Qinghua) College started its new academic year in the fall of 1923, President Cao Yunxiang formally asked the royal family to yield the lots neighboring the campus, which were integral parts of the Yuanming Yuan, in order to expand the college. The president believed that granting the land to the college would better serve the purpose of historical preservation. President Cao wished to pay cash for the land; but budgetary restraints prevented him from doing so. Instead, he proposed to offer scholarships specifically to Manchu stude

nts amounting to 260,000 *yuan*. The proposal seemed attractive, as there was at the time not a single Manchu student attending this highly prestigious college. Nevertheless, Puyi left the proposal on his desk without a response ostensibly because he was reluctant to sell any part of the land. He knew in so doing the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan would eventually disappear (*YMYA* 1991, 1: 803–804).

The integrity of the land had been temporarily preserved, but materials continuously made their way out throughout the year of 1924. Most notably, Wang Lanting, the Beijing government's chief of staff, simply notified the Imperial Household that he needed one hundred carts of rocks and remnants from the artificial hills in the Yuanming Yuan to build his private garden; and the Manchu royal family could not prevent the loss. Then, before the end of the year, a company of cavalrymen camped at the ruins without even bothering to inform Puyi's office. The missionaries who administered Yanjing University stepped into the neighboring Yuanming Yuan in 1925 and simply moved stone pillars and artifacts from the Ancestral Shrine to their campus. When the Manchus asked police to interrogate the missionaries, the reply was that these pieces would be safer on campus. The officials of the Central Park (Zhongshan Gongyuan) in downtown Beijing also believed that those remnants left on the site were unsafe, so they suggested to Puyi that the remaining artificial hills and rocks be moved to their park for better preservation. Similar requests were made later on. But the ex-Qing emperor did not believe that relocation was a better alternative (cf. *YMYA* 1991, 1:802–823).

Nevertheless, relocation of some identifiable monuments did take place. Several elegant-looking bronze animals and rocks had earlier found a home in the Yihe Yuan. The new palace gate at the entrance of the Ten-Thousand Spring Garden, which included rooms, decorated walls, arch doors, and stone lions, was sold by an ex-Manchu nobleman to a philanthropic institution for a proposed middle school (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:15). The pillars from the Orchid Pavilion, together with bronze figures, Taihu rocks, and carved stone balustrades, were moved to the Central Park. Some other rock pieces from the Yuanming Yuan were relocated to the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing. The objects brought to the Yanjing campus, including a pair of white-marble Chinese unicorns, a fountain terrace, several stone screens, a stone bridge, numerous carvings of the European buildings, and three spectacular tall columns with orna

mentation, were taken away from the Ancestral Shrine. In 1930, Beijing Library took quite a few objects from the Yuanming Yuan, most noticeably, a pair of ornamental columns taken from the Ancestral Shrine, two stone lions from the Eternal Spring Garden’s Grand East Gate, and two pieces of stone inscriptions from the Library of Literary Sources (Wang Wei 1980, 63).

Besides shipments of solid materials in large quantities, there was petty stealing committed by former eunuchs, ex-bannermen, and local residents too numerous to count. Beijing residents in the 1920s witnessed that stone carvings, bronze inscriptions, Taihu rocks, bricks, tiles, and numerous other building materials were carted away from the Yuanming Yuan almost on a daily basis (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:15; *YMYA* 1991, 1:798–802; Wang Wei 1980, 62–64; Danby 1950, 225). No wonder, “in many a humble stone-mason’s shop in Peking (Beijing),” as Danby observed in the 1930s, “one can see exquisite pieces of carving on stone or marble, with twining garlands, flowers and foreign motifs. These have come from the European palaces and for a dollar or two they changed hands” (1950, 226).

From this time on, the robbery by men and onslaughts by fire and weather transformed the Yuanming Yuan into a desolate wilderness. In March 1931, in an effort to awaken public interest in historical preservation, the Chinese Association of Architects used the commemoration of the 821st anniversary of the death of the great Song architect Li Mingzhong to host a public exhibition of Yuanming Yuan history and relics. The items shown to the public included maps, models, manuals, rocks, stone inscriptions, documents, poems, and books (*YMYZ* 1984, 354–360). The event drew great attention and large crowds; but, given China’s sociopolitical condition at the time, historical preservation was easy to discuss while difficult to implement.

Then came the war. With eastern China under Japanese occupation from 1937 to 1945, the starving peasants, ex-eunuchs, and former Manchu bannermen in the neighborhood of Beijing, then called Beiping, dug into the ruins and transformed the Yuanming Yuan into a farmland. Consequently, the hills were leveled and the lakes were either filled with earth or made into fishing ponds. For the first time, the ruins were under the threat of being erased from the face of earth.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, no immed

iate effort to preserve the Yuanming Yuan site was made; instead, the Chinese Academy of Sciences wished to make it a large plantation. Even though the idea did not materialize, the rice fields and farming houses, which had existed for many years, seemed to stay indefinitely. Not until the late 1950s did the state obtain much of the land under requisition; however, it was a formidable task to relocate so many farming households. The situation actually worsened during three famine years from 1959 to 1961, when many more peasants occupied and used the land. The Yuanming Yuan thus encountered a renewed threat of annihilation. More hills were leveled and its lakes were filled in; huts were built in increasing numbers, and roads were willfully paved.

The fury of the Cultural Revolution, which covered the decade from 1966 to 1976, rendered still more damage to the Yuanming Yuan ruins. During these years of turmoil, about 800 meters of broken walls were taken away, 1,000 trees were cut down, and no less than 528 carts of stone materials were removed (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:16). What was more, professors and students of Peking University, as they later testified, went to the site to do farm work at the orders of the Red Guards. As the revolution progressed, rice fields, factories, schools, target grounds, and pastures spread all over the ruins. The revolution, however, did not last long enough to erase the historic site entirely. Miraculously, a single structure named Zhengjue Si, a Lama Buddhist temple, even survived, though in bad disrepair. Consisting of a dormitory for Lama priests and a few pavilions in which to store Buddhist statues, this temple was first built by the Qianlong Emperor in the Eighteenth century. It escaped the fire of 1860; it was occupied by the Boxers in 1900 and then by German troops in 1901. Both occupants used its doors for fuel. In the 1910s, the influential Republican politician Yan Huiqing dispersed the priests, removed the statues, and made the temple part of his country home. Many beautiful tall pine trees nearby the temple were sold to Tsinghua University for constructing a housing project. For two decades from the 1960s, the Haidian Machine Factory continuously cut down old pines surrounding the temple to build workshops and apartments (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:17).

Historical preservation finally returned to the agenda at the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976. A special office was created to look after the ruins. In August 1980, the Chinese government finally proclaimed that the Yuanming Yuan grounds were designated national “key relics” subject to state prot

ection. The endless blows to the ruins at last came to a halt.

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[41] Note that *fengshui* (geomancy), between pseudoscience and outright nonsense, has been a Chinese custom for millenia. It still has its market in the contemporary Chinese communities around the world.

[42] Large pieces of stone that originally belonged to this stone paved road, according to the author Wang Wei, could still be seen along the road leading to the Yuanming Yuan as late as 1953. Due to continuous urbanization, however, nothing related to this road is visible anymore (Wang 1992, 19).

[43] Yu Minzhong 1985, 1:1326.

[44] *YMYJ* 1983, 2:55.

[45] There is a discrepancy about the date. We commonly follow Yu Minzhong and give 1737; however, the recently available archive source yields a year earlier.

[46] Yu Minzhong dated the completion of the Ancestral Shrine as 1742, but a recent archival document shows that the shrine was completed as early as 1735 (*YMYA* 1991, 2:21–48).

[47] Cited in *YMYJ* 1983, 2:70.

[48] As Harold Kahn points out, the Qianlong Emperor justified the costly tours on the following grounds. First, he fulfilled filial duty by accompanying his mother in her old age to see the beautiful south. Second, he submitted to the sincere desires of the people. Third, he inspected the river conservation works in the Huai and Yangzi areas (1971, 91–92, 93–95). He missed one more goal, which was that Qianlong wanted to see the southern scenery and unique gardens and bring some of them back for replicas in the Yuanming Yuan. Sometimes he rebuilt an entire southern garden, such as the Lion's Cove from Suzhou, in his imperial garden.

[49] For a detailed description of Qianlong's life in the garden, see Chapter Six of this book.

[50] The 1793 Qing document identified those who were granted audience by Qianlong in Chengde. They were the ambassador Lord George Macartney (Ma-ge-er-ni); the deputy ambassador George Leonard Staunton (Shi-dang-dong); the deputy's son, George Thomas Staunton (Ma Shi-dang-dong); the chief commander Lt. Col. George Benson (Ben-sheng); the secretaries Edward Winder (Wen-dai) and Louis Lamiot (?) (Lou-men); the physician Balang (?); the deputy commander Lt. Henry William Parish; the officer E-lu (?); the attendants Bai-lin (?) and Yin-deng-le (?); the sea captain William Mackintosh; five musicians; eleven servants; and forty soldiers (*YMYA* 1991, 1:356; Mageerni 1916, 2:5–6, 48). Altogether, sixty-eight British were present in Rehe.

[51] *Suishou Dang* , cited in Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Danganguan 1996, 555.

[52] Cited in Duyvendak 1938–1939, 67.

[53] The newly available archival source shows that Qianlong first requested in late 1769 to prepare a large horizontal board to inscribe the name of the Qichun Yuan (Variegated Spring Garden).

The inscribed board was officially hung in early 1770 (*YMYA* 1991, 2:1660). The date may be considered the beginning of the new Variegated Spring Garden. After renovations in the Tongzhi reign, its name was changed to the Wanchun Yuan.

[54] Gong Zizhen, a native of Hangzhou, was born to a celebrated scholarly family. He acquired a wide range of scholarly interests and distinguished himself especially in New Text Confucianism and poetry. His poems had a profound impact on later generations. Although his government career was not at all successful, his sharp observations of the sociopolitical conditions of the time and recommendations for change made him a significant pioneer reformer in modern Chinese history (cf. Hummel 1975, 431–434).

[55] Cited in Huang Jun 1979, 2:409.

[56] Yang Yunshi n.d.

[57] Guo Songtao (1818–1891) was an exceptional Qing literatus who knew a great deal about the Western world. Later, during the Guangxu reign, he became the first Chinese minister to Britain and France (cf. Wang Rongzu 1993).

[58] The structure and function of the Imperial Household as described in the *Qingshigao* (*Draft History of the Qing Dynasty*) (1976, 12:3421–3433) show that the agency was exclusively at the service of the emperor.

[59] Traditionally the Chinese took sandalwood as the gift of good luck. The Zhu family from Yangzhou gained its fame by making sandalwood furniture of excellent craftsmanship.

[60] Refer to the *Qinding Zongguan Neiwufu Xianxing Zeli* (*Royal Regulations Concerning the General Management of the Imperial Household*) (*YMYA* 1991, 2:983–1019).

[61] Cited in *YMYJ* 1983, 2:65.

[62] The emperor's wardrobe and style of clothing are vividly described in the *Chuandai Dang* (*The Archive on the Royal Apparel*) (*YMYA* 1991, 2:827–911).

[63] John Bell 1788, 14–15.

[64] Whereas swallows' nests have been considered exotic in the West (Braudel 1967, 1973, 123), they were extremely popular in the Chinese menus of royalty and the rich. They are considered one of the four Chinese delicacies. The other three delicacies are shark's fin, bear's paw, and *beche-de-mer* . The black nests require more cleaning before use than the white nests. It took a silver needle, according to Yuan Mei, to remove tiny black feathers from the nests (1892, 5a). The white nests are considered better quality because "they consist entirely of nest-cement, a salivary secretion, occasionally with a few feathers of the nesting birds and bits of green vegetable matter (Simoons 1991, 427). The price of swallows' nests remains high today. The market price in Hong Kong in the early 1980s of the highest quality nests was nearly U.S. $300 an ounce, compared to about U.S. $400 for an ounce of gold (de Groot 1983, 72).

[65] Attiret 1982, 32–34.

[66] Zhao Yi 1982, 11–12.

[67] Cited in Cheng Yansheng 1928, 13b.

[68] Danby 1950, 185.

[69] Cited in *YMYZ* 1984, 330.

[70] The Xianfeng Emperor (born in 1831) celebrated his thirtieth birthday in 1860 not just because of the Chinese way of counting age but also because superstition holds that for longevity one is advised to celebrate birthdays in the years ending in nine rather than zero or at the completion of a cycle.

[71] For the Chinese side of the story, see the Xianfeng Emperor's decree to the Grand Council dated September 4, 1860 (cited in Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:255–256).

[72] For details, see the prince and the minister's notes and the allies' replies (Jiang Tingfu 1931, 1:261–262; cf. Walrond 1872, 351; Jia Zhen 1930, 6:2233, 2254, 2256).

[73] Elgin doubted that there had been "a deliberate intention of treachery on the part of Prince Tsai and his colleague." But he apprehended that "the General-in-chief, Sangho-lin-sin (Senggelinqin), thought that they had compromised his military position by allowing our army to establish itself so near his lines at Chang-kia-wan (Zhangjiawan)." Hence, Senggelinqin "sought to counteract the evil effect of this by making a great swagger of parade and preparation to resist when the allied armies approached the campaign ground alloted to them" (Wal- rond 1872, 357). Elgin's assessment explained the resumption of hostility.

[74] The fact that Prince Gong remained in the Yuanming Yuan—in fact, he refused to go into Beijing to assist with the defense (*YMYZ* 1984, 125)—is an interesting issue. Li Ciming noted that the prince stayed in the garden under His Majesty's instructions (1936, 9:44a). Weng Tonghe indicated that the emperor specifically wanted the prince to seek peace (1970, 1:186). A recent scholar, however, believes that Xianfeng, who did not really trust his younger brother, deliberately prevented the prince from entering Beijing, where he might seize political and military powers (Bao Chengguan 1990, 63–67).

[75] Cited in M'Ghee 1862, 245.

[76] Swinhoe 1861, 301.

[77] Wolseley 1862, 224–225.

[78] This claim originally derives from an unspecified French account on the 1860 event given to Wang Kangnian, a famous late Qing journalist in Shanghai, by Gu Hongming (Thomson Koo) (1857–1928), the European-trained advisor to Viceroy Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909). Gu's particular remark was translated into Chinese and it can be found in Wang Kangnian's notes (1969, 1:39).

[79] *YMYA* 1991, 1:558.

[80] *YMYA* 1991, 1:557; *Qingdai Chouban Yiwu Shimo* 1930, 65:32–33.

[81] *YMYA* 1991, 1:555.

[82] Cited in Boulger 1896, 1:46.

[83] Wolseley 1862, 1972, 279.

[84] Wu Kedu 1978, 4:12–13.

[85] Swinhoe 1861, 330.

[86] *YMYA* 1991, 1:551.

[87] Weng Tonghe 1970, 1:205–206.

[88] Gu Sui 1986, 481.

[89] Li Dazhao 1981, 12–13.

[90] Wang Wei 1980, 48.

[91] Zhang Aiping 1981, 1:10.

[92] Danby 1950, 204.

[93] Knollys 1873, 224–225.

[94] *YMYZ* 1984, 331–332.

[95] *YMYA* 1991, 1:628–629; Li Zongtong and Liu Fenghan 1969, 1:190–191.

[96] An impressive sum of material concerning the renovation of the Yuanming Yuan has been collected and analyzed by the modern architect Liu Dunzhen. For an excellent study of the subject with in-depth technical details, see Liu's long article (*YMYJ* 1981, 1:121–171). Refer also to Wang Puzi's work (*YMYJ* 1983, 2:38–39).

[97] Late Qing government, due to financial difficulties, let wealthy merchants obtain official ranks by contributing a significant sum of money. This policy of "office purchase" (*maiguan*) provided men like Li Guangzhao with the opportunity to seek even greater financial compensation through official connection. Had Li Hongzhang not pursued the matter so thoroughly, Li Guangzhao might well have gotten away with his scheme.

[98] Wu Rulun 1963, "*Shizheng* ," 11b–12a.

[99] *YMYA* 1991, 1:743.

[100] Cixi's determination to renovate the Yihe Yuan incidentally left behind a well-preserved imperial garden, which is now one of the most popular sites for tourists in China.

[101] The paintings on the Long Promenade, which number more than 10,000, were again seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution. The Red Guards, who denounced the traditional style painting as feudal, smeared them willfully. When I visited the garden in 1981, I was told that many of the paintings about folk stories could not be restored. Instead, an attempt was made to paint new pictures. Two studies on the Long Promenade paintings, Xin Wensheng 1998 and Xu Fengtong

1986, 46–47, are worth consulting.

[102] I saw this hall in 1981 while touring the Yihe Yuan, and I believe that its interior setup, such as the location of the two thrones, remains unaltered to this day.

[103] The Boxer Rebellion was a major event in modern Chinese history. It may be considered the beginning of the end of the Qing Dynasty (cf. Tan 1967).

[104] The modern scholar Teng Gu located this set of photos in Berlin and published them in book form with illustrations in the 1930s. This book is entitled *Yuanming Yuan Oushi Gongdian Canji* (*The Remaining Ruins of the European-style Palaces in the Yuanming Yuan*). Refer also to the recently published *Barbarian Lens* (Thiriez 1998).

第二部 历史

圆明园的兴起

圆明园的历史始于康熙时代。康熙皇帝从1662年至1722年统治中国，他是天子，也是天朝大国的统治者，北京是他的帝国首都，也是其帝国世界的中心。当他在17世纪后期完全巩固其无上权力之时，就已经在北京西北近郊的西山脚下，重修了许多辽金时期以及明朝亲王们遗留下来的残破苑囿和园林。康熙的第一座重要宫苑就是畅春园，他自称是在原来属于明代武清侯李伟已经破旧的清华园基础上建造起来的。[162] 根据朝鲜人的观察，与圆明园相比，畅春园是一座非常朴素的皇家宫苑。[163] 在1720年，俄国公使因接受康熙的款待，而有机会一窥这座宫苑。这些俄国人称之为“Tzan-shu-yang”，就是“畅春园”的俄语发音。他们所看到的是一座优美的庭园、一排排的林木、正大光明殿以及许多漂亮的皇家房舍。[164] 1722年，康熙卒于畅春园，终年69岁。[165]

1709年，基于风水方面的考量，康熙选择在距离畅春园五六百米远的一个地点，兴建一座崭新的宫苑，不久就将其命名为“圆明园”。[166] 当圆明园的第一阶段工程完成时，康熙很慷慨地把它赏赐给他的第四子胤。[167] 这位皇四子确是合法的皇位继承人，尽管一直有流言说他以不当手段夺取皇位。[168] 他最终继承他父亲的皇位成为雍正皇帝，并且将圆明园变成主要的帝王宫苑，把畅春园留给皇太后和太妃们居住。雍正之后的帝王们继续把圆明园用作皇家御园，无可避免地取代了康熙的畅春园。不过，畅春园作为皇太后们的居所，在很长一段时间中仍是一座重要的帝王宫苑。此园拥有令人印象深刻的宫门、庭园、殿堂、楼阁、廊馆、藏书楼、码头，甚至一条虚构的买卖街。乾隆皇帝经常到畅春园探望他的母亲。1778年，为表达对母亲的敬爱，他在园内建造了恩母寺，正如雍正建造恩佑寺来表达对父亲康熙的敬意一样。[169] 直到嘉庆皇帝把绮春园作为太后、太妃们的居处之后，畅春园才逐渐式微。

从亲王苑囿到帝王御园

皇四子胤于1709年圆明园完工后不久，就迁入使用。这个时候的圆明园规模仍然不大。不过，此园并不是明代残破旧园的翻修，而是一座

卓尔不凡的新园。根据周维权的估计，圆明园一开始就已经包含了前湖和后湖之间大约91英亩（约552亩）的土地。可是，张恩荫对这个估算提出异议，认为从皇子胤咏圆明园的几首诗可知，这座园林已经延伸至后湖的范围以外了，所覆盖的范围不会小于180英亩（约1093亩）。[170] 不管谁对谁错，圆明园在完工时的面积不到它以后整个面积的三分之一。无论如何，圆明园在1722年已经很壮观了，足以让皇子胤邀请他的年老父亲康熙和他的儿子弘历（未来的乾隆皇帝）来到牡丹台，欣赏盛开的牡丹花。[171]

皇子胤于1723年继承大统成为皇帝之后，就开始扩建圆明园，但是由于皇太后突然去世而延后了正式宣布圆明园为新皇帝的主要皇家庭园。作为一个孝子，他遵守了一段居丧期，因此暂停享乐的生活，并延迟移居圆明园。[172] 直至1725年8月27日，在大臣们多次请求之下，雍正才决定停止服丧，于1726年的农历新年，正式住进圆明园。他乘坐一辆镀金的马车，在11辆马车的护送之下，从北京出发到达他的帝王宫苑。亲王和大臣们向皇上呈献3000个灯笼，以示庆祝。[173]

虽然雍正只在圆明园住了两天就返回紫禁城，但他已经决定把这座宫苑除了当作休憩之处外，也要用作处理政务的地方。他正式向吏部和兵部作出谕示："朕在圆明园与宫中无异，凡应办之事照常办理。"[174] 此后他又颁布命令，重申这项谕示，即自1725年园居起，每天在圆明园内处理政务，与在紫禁城内一样。显然，他想要确定他的园居不会妨碍日常政务的进行，这说明雍正对可能批评他疏忽职守的言论十分敏感。因此，他把自己在圆明园内处理政事的地方命名为"勤政殿"，并非偶然。

虽然雍正说话算数，但是至少在一开始，官员们在安逸的庭园气氛中，并不认真处理事务。1726年1月20日，当雍正坐在勤政殿的龙椅上准备听奏时，居然没有一个人进奏。雍正的不悦形之于色，力言园居绝非怠忽政事；刚好相反，就他自己而言，在圆明园这样舒适和愉快的环境当中，可以把事情处理得更好。他语带威胁地警告，如果大臣们继续在园里随便处事的话，就视之为大臣们反对他在圆明园里生活。[175]

不久之后，皇帝和大臣都习惯了在帝王宫苑内处理政务。雍正明显地被诱人的周围环境和天然景致所吸引，因此居住在圆明园内的时间越来越多。尽管他不得不时常返回紫禁城，他越来越不情愿离开这座宫苑。由此，他开启了清朝皇帝经常性园居生活的传统。[176]

雍正皇帝决定于园内处理政务之后，在圆明园和北京之间开了一条沿途种有漂亮柳树的优质石板路，根据马戛尔尼的估算，这条路大约有6英里（约9.7公里）长。[177]这条石板路从紫禁城开始，穿过西直门，跨越护城河上的高粱桥，最后往西北转入海淀，然后就可抵达圆明园的大门。[178]这条路使皇帝在两座宫殿之间的频繁往返更为方便。每当皇帝抵达圆明园的前门时，王公大臣、南书房的亲信文士以及数队士兵都会列队迎接，以示尊崇。

这条路当然也方便了经常被召至圆明园的很多人，上至官员，下至工匠。一般来说，要在早朝前及时抵达圆明园，就必须半夜从紫禁城出发。[179]因此，经常要在两地之间往返，尤其对上了年纪的大臣来说，可说是一件苦差事。雍正仁慈宽厚，恩准老臣不必出席圆明园的早朝。在冬天，尤其当严寒彻骨的北风从西伯利亚吹来，雍正会豁免大部分的官员来圆明园觐见，紧急情况除外。[180]到了嘉庆二十年（1815年），朝廷允许副手先代呈奏折，正员可以在当天稍晚时到达圆明园。[181]

历史学家普遍视雍正为俭朴的皇帝，但是如果从他扩建和美化圆明园的做法来看，其实他是一个很能花钱的人。早在1724年初，即他登基后的第二年，他就批准在园内加建多座建筑的计划，并授权采购木料。[182]最初的工程是要满足行政管理之需，包括巨型的正大光明殿和殿堂旁边用来容纳侍从和宾客的别馆。由是，圆明园不同于一般的中国园林，它成为全国政治的中心，而非退出政治圈后的避所。在这些行政大楼没有完工之前，雍正就在“九州清晏”（在前湖和后湖之间排成半圆形的九座人工岛）的寝宫里设置临时理政厅。我们由此可知，至迟于1726年，也就是雍正在位四年左右，在“九州”上的建筑大致已经落成了。[183]

雍正在1727年仍然感觉到需要为他长居圆明园作出辩护，因为他自觉儒家行为的道德规范不容许逸乐。他在谕旨中表示，他真的需要圆明园宜人的环境，来尽他作为天朝大国君主的职责。似乎是为了证明他说到做到，他不但要求官员在园内更努力工作，他自己也加倍努力，尽他所能地勤政处事。他为了不断警醒自己，在正大光明殿里悬挂了一副巨大的对联，上面写着：

心天之心而宵衣旰食；乐民之乐以和性怡情。[184]

这还不够，在他的御案后面还展示着两个引人注目的大字：“无逸”。他还在其宫苑中理政厅的墙壁上，刻上一篇文章，内容是表示他如何严肃看待自己在维持和平与繁荣上的责任，如何决心维护这个帝国，如

何了解自己维持帝国的责任并不比父祖辈艰难创业立国来得容易。[185]

雍正的许诺并非空言，他在理政厅内花非常长的时间来批阅奏章以及与亲信议政。由于有太多的问题要等他来决断，如他自己所说，他在圆明园里的日子，即使夏日炎炎，也丝毫不敢蹉跎。事实上，不管什么季节，雍正很少会错过他在圆明园里的理政时间。据我们所知，雍正有一次在理政厅里聚精会神地工作直至深夜，浑然忘了时辰。他作了一首诗记下这次经历，希望黑夜中的明月能为他工作至深夜作见证。[186]

雍正在圆明园北端开辟了一大块稻田，称之为“多稼如云”，是园内的景点之一。此景与其说是为了玩乐，倒不如说是用一种不同的方法来表达关切。他每天视察如何犁地、播种和收割农作物等等，来表现他对广大农民生活的关注。[187] 1729年8月，他在园内又添加了蚕桑农场，并指派一名首领太监负责监督。于是，在养蚕场工作的人，也就是蚕户，成为人数不断增多的园户（即园内工作的男男女女）当中的新成员。蚕丝品生产最终使得万寿山脚下建起了织染局，以便于工人们行取蚕茧和织染所需的矿物染料。[188]

一旦雍正皇帝把圆明园用作日常的居所，这座皇家庭园的安全与护卫必须得到加强。园内原本只有包括180名骑兵和440名步兵在内的620名绿营官兵，但雍正登基之后的1724年，园内已增兵至1000人，包括200名骑兵和800名步兵。[189] 翌年春，军用练兵场也告完工。每一名士兵因其身负护卫这座帝王宫苑的荣耀职责，可以得到20两白银的额外奖金。[190]

由于圆明园的地位越来越重要，圆明园八旗的护卫兵力达到3232人。这支军队的所有官兵都是清一色的满人，他们武艺精湛，是从可靠的部族当中精挑细选出来的。不久之后，这支御林军固定为3256人，包括136名军官和3120名士兵，归两名满洲亲王指挥。几朝皇帝下来，这些御林军都驻守在圆明园的四周。他们有两个主要职责：平时守卫圆明园的安全，在特殊的节日里增援皇帝身边的侍卫，使皇帝和他的侍从出入畅行无阻。平常日子的训练则包括骑马和射箭，偶尔皇帝也会参与操练。在园里的西南边就有一座巨大的操练场，并且有一座高耸的阅兵台，就是为了这个用途。根据1747年的记录，又有2328间额外的营房完工，以便容纳更多的军队。[191]

尽管雍正在圆明园内勤于政务，但他肯定不会抑制自己不去享受园林之乐。他特别喜欢在福海这个园内最大的湖泊上泛舟，他经常邀请宾

客（一般都是大臣和喜爱的嫔妃）在平静的湖上观览风景。他乘坐的龙舟后面，通常会有大约30艘船随行。到了晚上特别是节庆之夜，在漫游之后则有精彩的演奏。在这种环境中长大的乾隆皇帝即位之后，更加喜欢在湖上漫游。教士王致诚曾有幸成为皇帝贵宾之一，分享了泛舟的乐趣。他描述湖中有许多镀金和锃亮的船只，用途各异：有时候是用来透透气，有时候是用来垂钓，有时候是用来比武、作战或其他消遣。[192]看来皇帝和他的侍从们一边泛舟，一边观赏各种不同的湖上活动。

庆祝农历五月初五的端午节，是湖上一年一度的大事。这个节日是为了纪念古代的爱国诗人屈原（公元前340—公元前278），他为了唤醒楚王的良知而投河自尽。以龙舟竞赛作为纪念活动，不会晚于公元6世纪，赛龙舟是为了寻找这位溺水的爱国诗人。清朝皇帝显然是在这座帝王宫苑内，观看这一传统节日的主要庆祝活动。每年一度在福海里的龙舟竞赛，除了大雨天之外，很少会被取消。在正常的情况下，当皇帝和他的宾客在这个特别的日子里抵达福海时，几艘多彩的龙舟就会在湖中打鼓舞旗，开始竞赛。这跟全中国一般民间过节的情况没有什么两样。热闹的比赛过后，主人和他的宾客就在湖边的花岗石岸登陆，然后走向一座半月形的台阶，最后沿着两旁花团锦簇的林阴大道回宫。[193]

湖边是在日落之后观赏烟火的最佳地点。当烟火照亮了黑暗的夜空时，也照亮了许多建筑物屋顶上挂着的不同造型与色彩缤纷的灯笼。乾隆亦喜欢在湖边欣赏满月。有一则流传的逸闻：在一个仲夏之夜，当乾隆和他的侍从正在明亮的月光之下于“蓬岛瑶台”上赏戏时，突然响起一阵阵吵闹的青蛙声，场面十分尴尬。这时候聪明的大学士刘墉（1714—1779）半开玩笑地乞请乾隆下谕旨，命令青蛙闭嘴，皇帝同意并让太监对湖宣旨。青蛙立即奇迹似地停止了叫声。刘墉赶紧恭贺皇帝法力无边，连连奉承。但没多久，青蛙又恢复了它们烦人的叫声。惊慌的官员和太监们只能焦急地投石入湖，希望可以把青蛙吓跑。[194]

据说雍正特别喜爱位于福海北面的那栋华丽楼阁，在那里可以观赏到夕阳斜照的西山之巅（这个景点完成于1728年的7月）。相传这里的环境让他感觉开朗而彻底忘忧。在这座主楼的后面，是被一排玉兰树所围绕的含韵斋，根据在宫里当差的于敏中所记，当玉兰盛开之时，空气中充满芳香。在农历七月份的第七天，就是七夕节，那天日落之后，雍正会到这里与一些皇室成员和后妃们举行盛宴，同时观看牛郎和织女在银河相会的景况。[195]

雍正皇帝对于“洞天深处”——位于圆明园东南边一个隐蔽的区域——

亦有特殊的情感，因他曾在这里度过童年的许多时光。他亦因此在这个地方竖立了一块碑作为纪念。后来，就在这个景点上成立了皇家学塾，并建有教室和宿舍。当乾隆还是皇子弘历的时候，就跟其他皇子一起在这里上课。他一直记得那些让他忘掉时日的清静白天和美丽夜晚。[196]

1730年秋天那一场突如其来的强烈地震，打破了这座皇家御园的平静。[197]根据一位目击地震的耶稣会传教士的记录，这座美丽宫苑的震后情况，令人哀叹。9月20日，当地面开始震动时，雍正皇帝逃至龙船上避难，整夜在船上度过。由于担心余震，他跟家人有一段日子住在大帐篷里。直至10月5日，他仍然在帐篷内接见欧洲的传教士。[198]地震让他变得谦逊，就如同在他之前的天子一样，视地震为来自上天的警讯。他因而下诏罪己，以期获得上天的宽恕和原谅。至于修缮震后的圆明园并非难事，因为皇家的银库仍然充裕。

雍正在圆明园内度过他大半生的时间，他很少离开这座宫苑。整体来说，他享受了美好的时光，他的愉快和欢乐充分表达在他的一首诗作里：

禁园宜雨复宜晴，
别馆春深枕簟清；
数片落花惊午梦，
一声渔唱惹闲情；
暂移榻向松间坐，
恰听禽来竹里鸣；
唯有东风知我意，
满池新绿浪纹生。[199]

他在园内的乐趣是多样的：他沉浸在周围美丽的环境中，观看日出和日落，在优雅的楼阁里阅读和写作，或与官员和亲人在殿堂上或斋阁里聊天，在花卉盛放的庭园内招待宾客。[200]最后，他于1735秋发病后的第三天就在圆明园内去世，享年58岁。[201]雍正隐秘的宫廷生活及突然辞世，无可避免地引起许多谣言。有个说法是，雍正是被著名的明朝忠臣吕留良（1629—1683）的女儿吕四娘所刺杀，但是许多严谨的学者认为，这是毫无根据的虚构故事。雍正的暴毙似乎是因为误服丹药所造成，有很多道教术士住在园内，包括张太虚和王定乾等，为他炼丹制药治病，这并非秘密。[202]

圆明园的黄金岁月

太子弘历的继位，无可争议。雍正皇帝在圆明园里留下一份密诏，钦定弘历是他的合法继承人。当雍正身后的诏谕被宣读之后，皇太子弘历就在园内继承大统，然后护送雍正的灵柩返回紫禁城。乾隆皇帝服满三年丧期后，就正式于1738年进住圆明园。这位年轻皇帝原是在圆明园内出生和成长的，并被赐以“长春仙馆”作为居所。在他只有六岁的时候，就在“九州”的牡丹台，跟他的祖父康熙和父亲雍正一起共享了那次传诵一时的赏花会。数年之后，也就是1722年的时候，这位年幼的小皇子再一次跟他的父祖在他们心爱的宫苑里庆祝赏心悦目的牡丹花季。这两次在圆明园的牡丹台三朝清帝聚会的盛事，被引以为傲地记录在清宫的帝王系谱之中。乾隆皇帝后来在牡丹花会的现场立了一块石碑，刻上这两次盛会的事迹，以表达他对父祖们的感恩之情，并提醒自己从父祖身后继承皇位所负的极大责任。[203]

乾隆继续把圆明园视为最主要的帝王宫苑，并且在他长久的皇帝任内非常热衷于扩充它的规模。对他来说，园内没有一处比“长春仙馆”更有意义，因为他在那里度过他的童年。此馆的殿堂有非常宏大的庭院，由三楹宽的前院建筑和五楹宽的主建筑所构成。乾隆回忆里的一大乐事，就是坐在高耸的松柏树阴之下读书。他在非常暖和的房间里过冬，在夏夜山丘上的露天凉亭里消暑，度过了许多快乐的时光。[204] 当他登基成为皇帝之后，就让他亲爱的母亲住进“长春仙馆”，颐养天年。

乾隆跟他的父亲一样，对曾经就学的“洞天深处”亦有一份很深的感情。他清楚记得，月光在这座优美校舍中央的粉白墙上投下竹影，四周林间种满兰花与松树。他喜欢在迷人的竹声中读书。[205] 另一个令乾隆难忘之处就是于1727年落成的“万方安和”，它建在四周环水的坚固的石砖地基上，室内冬暖夏凉。[206] 乾隆特别着迷于秋月下的字型楼宇投在湖面上的金光倒影，这让他联想到佛法金光。他后来把这个景点改名为“万方安和”以纪念佛恩。从这里稍微往北，就是桃花坞的所在地，这是一个幽静而宜人的隐身之处。

乾隆1736年刚刚登基不到一个月，就委派宫廷艺术家郎世宁、唐岱和沈源绘制巨型的圆明园图。这幅集体创作于1738年完成，并悬挂在“九州清晏”中央寝宫西侧的清辉阁北壁上。[207]

不过，圆明园图的完成，并不代表这座园林的工程已经结束。乾隆

似乎在很早以前就已经下定决心要把圆明园扩展得更加雄伟，但同时他也顾忌到会招来过于追求享乐的非议。他终于在1740年中止所有圆明园的扩建工程，原因是中国西部发生严重的水灾，于是在言官刘藻的请求之下停工。[208]一直到1742年，乾隆仍然誓言不会进行任何园林扩建工程。但就在这个时候，一座花费超过60万两白银、既新又壮丽的“鸿慈永祜”已经完工。[209]也许他是以孝顺祖先的理由令这项特别的工程合理化。事实上，为了显示孝顺的诚意，在“鸿慈永祜”完工之后，他经常来到这里探视。农历四月初五就是清明节，乾隆会在父祖辈们的牌位面前，亲自主持祭祖的仪式，其他皇族的成员紧随其后。在他题为《清明日拜谒安佑宫》的诗里对此就有详细的描述：

昨岁寿皇思莫穷，今年寒食御园中；
亲支率领谒安佑，驹影推迁信幻空。
已觉烟含堤柳绿，谁怜风妒坞桃红；
东西瞻眺二陵邈，不隔精诚一念通。[210]

当1744年完成四十景及其两百幢建筑物时，圆明园到达历史高峰。乾隆欣慰地在宫廷艺术家唐岱和沈源所绘制、令人印象深刻的画册上，为每一个景点题写了一首诗。乾隆在诗作中表达他对园中生活的满意。长寿的乾隆一生中写作了不下42000首诗，其中有许多诗作都是在圆明园里完成的。

诗篇中所呈现的图像，可以帮助我们捕捉作者的情感，而他的情感则源自于他观察随季节变化的园景。乾隆喜欢趁晚春时分的雨夜过后，站在殿堂的前门外，去感受清新的早晨。他体味着春日花卉盛开带来的焕然一新的气息。他最喜欢春天，当晨间的清风初起时，夹带着醉人的幽香和野花的芬芳。当初夏来临之时，他注意到茂密的绿阴遮蔽庭院，巧妙地呈现出许许多多不同的楼影和树影。炎炎夏日，凉风轻送，让他在午时昏昏欲睡。当归燕忙着重筑旧巢，这提醒了他：夏日即逝。这时候可聆听到柳树上的蝉鸣；不过，这种烦人的叫声并不特别为乾隆所喜。他观看秋风渐渐吹落树上的枯叶，山丘也染上了或红或黄的颜色，构成一幅锦绣般的美景。秋天跟春天一样让人心情愉快，当太阳照在南边书房的窗帘上，他欣然享受暖和的阳光。他在庭院里散步，看到树上如珍珠般的露水和池塘中半沉半浮的鱼儿。他经常察觉到晚间的阵雨来得既急且冷，梧桐树在雨中湿润而疏落。他最欣赏菊花面对9月中旬的风霜之勇敢。他有时候会把菊花和梅花放置在小型的温室内，来延长它们盛开的时间。当深冬到来，他完全在室内活动。他经常坐在玻璃窗边，

观看已结冰的水道，眼前是无边无际一片白茫茫的景象。[211]

就在四十景完成之前，乾隆顾及儒家提倡节俭的价值观，承诺不再启动任何新的园林工程。但事实上，他不久又在这座帝王宫苑里开始似无休止的营建。除了乾隆个人对园林美景特别钟爱之外，有两个重要原因促使其“热情”凌驾于“道德关怀”之上。首先，乾隆在位期间正值清朝帝国的巅峰，国库殷实，足以让他为所欲为。第二，他一再南巡江南，迷恋江南的园林和长江下游的风光，诱使他想在自己的帝王宫苑里重建他最喜欢的江南景色。

按照官方的说法，南巡是要视察国土和民生，但是他没有错过任何观赏景色的机会。他第一次南巡是在1751年的2月到5月之间，途中经过92个地方。他在1757、1762、1765、1780及1784年一再重复类似的路线，就显示出他一直对江南独一无二的自然景色和优美建筑着迷——特别是优雅的苏州庭园。他带着许多工匠和艺术家一起同行，以便复制江南的奇景，让他可以在长春园内重新建造出来。他经常带回完整的园林蓝图，在他帝王庭园内指定的地方，根据原来的规模，重新建造一座同样的园林。[212] 许多从江南借取回来的庭园、建筑和景致，都在圆明园内的长春园里被先后重新建造出来。当乾隆于1790年庆祝八十大寿时，圆明园已经达到最辉煌的全盛时期，这使这位老皇帝极为自傲。[213]

当乾隆在他的帝王宫苑里庆祝大寿时，外面的世界正出现戏剧性的变化。如日中天的大英商业帝国希望将其贸易延伸到这个“迟滞不动”的天朝大国。文化的排外性和缺乏沟通与了解，最后造成了“两个世界的冲突”。[214]

英使马戛尔尼来访

伦敦于1792年派出资深的外交官马戛尔尼勋爵（1737—1806），以庆祝乾隆皇帝八十寿辰为名，到中国来扩展贸易。不过，广东的地方官员在上奏朝廷时，指英国君王是派遣马戛尔尼给乾隆的大寿庆典带来“贵重贡物”。[215] 显然，这个使节团被清政府视为进贡团。乾隆指派盐政征瑞（他一开始的官职是在圆明园内担任内务府侍郎）接待这些远来的宾客。[216]

马戛尔尼和他的随员“不辞辛劳地赶往中国帝都”。这位使节在1793年8月21日到达了北京，清朝在使节抵达时曾鸣枪示意，还为所有客人

在城内歇脚处准备好了茶点。之后这位使节沿着花岗石路继续前行，在8月23日来到了海淀镇。这些英国人被分配到一座占地12英亩（约73亩）的花园别墅住宿。别墅里小径蜿蜒，还有几座分开的凉亭竖立在这个小庭园的四周。据副使斯汤顿的描述，这位英国使节留宿的地方很明显就是宏雅园，是邻近圆明园的一座雅致的客馆。[217]

8月24日的清早，由总管内务府大臣金简安排这些宾客参观圆明园内的正大光明殿。马戛尔尼卫队的一名士兵塞缪尔·霍姆斯描述圆明园内“包含了大量各种类型的优雅小建筑”。[218]为了表示对使节团的关心，乾隆又指示其宠臣，也就是已经成为帝国官场明星的和（1750—1799）来照顾这些外国人。根据金简和伊龄阿向朝廷的奏报，给英国人留宿的地方完全打扫干净，粮食供应充足，并有军队守护，保障安全。他们表示，这些外国人对宽敞舒适的住处和充足的食物供应都是感到满意的。[219]

斯汤顿也记录了使节马戛尔尼和随员的状况。斯汤顿形容“房间都很气派，并不马虎，有些房间用水彩山水画来作装饰”。遗憾的是这座客馆显因“久无人居住，而年久失修”[220]。另外，那些守护客人的卫兵，让这些英国人感觉有意限制他们走出这座华丽庭园的自由，他们甚至视之为一种侮辱，并有“遭到软禁”的感觉。[221]尽管食物都很可口，特别是中国北方的面食，但这些英国人还是抱怨身处在“迷人和舒适”的林区里，远离了中国都城的心脏地带。[222]这位大使和他的顾问似乎并没有发现圆明园作为当时中国政治活动中心的重要性。

马戛尔尼爵士的住处看来很气派和舒适，但约翰·巴罗和丁威迪博士以及两位技师却觉得他们住的地方破旧、肮脏、让人难受，甚至说那是个“猪比人更适合住的地方”。[223]事实上，他们就居住在圆明园里，距离正大光明殿几乎不到200码（约183米）。他们住在主殿的附近，显然为了方便他们将使节带来的礼物安置在大殿上。清廷的官员完全有可能没把他们视作多么尊贵的客人，所以把他们分配到二宫门内的杂役房舍中居住。不过，在圆明园内工作的74个英国工匠和杂役，每人都得到内务府赏白银十两。[224]

在马戛尔尼的请求之下，这个外交使节团于8月26日前往北京城；不过，使节的个人秘书巴罗和天文学家丁威迪博士被留在圆明园内，以便帮助安装包括天文器材等在内的送给皇帝的礼物。乾隆希望在圆明园内展示英国贡品中的八大件，并将从热河返回后观赏。[225]马戛尔尼也

热衷于展示英国的礼物，使清帝印象深刻，以便有利于谈判的进程。

巴罗居住在圆明园的时间因而比使节团的其他成员都来得长，但他并不认为这座帝王宫苑令人难忘。对他来说，圆明园的整个面貌不过是“由很多山丘和溪谷组成，缀有树木和丛林以示变化”。众多的水道、河流与大片水泽“都显得凌乱或未经修饰，斜坡也不像个斜坡，花费了大量的人工，用在如此不规则而又随意的布置上，就是要呈现出自自然界的任意之手”。简而言之，圆明园在他的眼中“远不如威廉·钱伯斯爵士所描述的中国园林那么奇特且奢华”。虽然如此，他仍然欣赏“那些湖中隆起的轮廓鲜明的太湖石、那些建立在特定地方供游乐的房舍以及那些按照大小植放的树木”。[226]

巴罗亦承认曾经“偷偷”溜到圆明园内“闲逛”，他的尊严使他极不愿意被太监或内廷侍卫所阻拦。恶劣的居住环境再加上对被“监视”而产生的不安，很可能影响到他对中国的看法，认为“中国人之缺乏比例观念，就像他们在建筑上欠缺西方人视之为必要的所有法则和原则”。[227]他的负面看法跟马戛尔尼的观察明显地相反，这位使节发现圆明园内的部分建筑物，作为砖砌建筑而言，无论在用料还是在技艺上，都超过在汉诺威广场西南角的泰可尼宫，而泰可尼宫在英格兰已经堪称个中极品了。[228]事实上，巴罗察觉到自己的主观性，所以大量引述了马戛尔尼对中国建筑和园林非常正面的观察。[229]

马戛尔尼相当仔细地观看了承德避暑山庄，但他也有机会在8月23日参观了圆明园的部分园区。他对于那些艺术性的创造以及在壮丽山水之间“经由巨石切割出来的小径或仙境般的走廊”连接起来的无数亭阁，都留下深刻的印象。[230]印象特别深刻的是那长150英尺（约46米）、宽60英尺（约18米）的正大光明殿，他欣赏了壮丽的殿堂，表示了对龙座的敬意，并用了拉丁文里的“正直、伟大、辉煌、显赫、安详”来诠释这座大殿。[231]

英国人把带来献给清帝的八大件礼物安放在圆明园内，并安装好呈给皇帝御览。[232]地球仪和天体仪被放置在大殿里龙座的两侧，玻璃吊灯悬挂在天花板上，花了18天才装配完成的天象仪被摆在殿内的一端，瓦里美钟表（英王御用）、气压计、韦奇伍德瓷器（英皇室御用）和威廉·弗雷泽的太阳仪就被安放在另一端。[233]最醒目的是英国战舰的模型和六门小型野战炮，分别陈列在正大光明殿和淡怀堂。佩雷菲特认为，这看来就像在国际博览会上英国展示馆的预展。[234]事实上，许多满

洲亲王、鞑靼将领和汉族官员都来到这里参观这场“展览”。[235]

乾隆在他的公函中记载了这些令人印象深刻的来自遥远国度的“新奇贡物”。他下令中国的仆役和工匠，向英国人学习如何安装和拆除这些外国设备。当他听到大型的天体仪零件一旦安装后就不能拆除，不免感到烦恼，因而强调负责的官员一定要了解装卸的技巧。他似乎没有意识到这些仪器背后的科学意义，而只是担心这些外国人离开之后，中国的仆役不晓得怎样处理这些仪器。[236]

9月2日，马戛尔尼留下21人在北京或圆明园，然后一行70人前往承德觐见乾隆皇帝。这些英国人穿过万里长城，花了6天时间才抵达乾隆的承德避暑山庄。[237] 由于在外交礼节上的分歧，一直到9月14日乾隆才召见这些英国人。中英之间历史性的相会就在大幄之内举行，正式觐见之后就是官方宴会。第二天，马戛尔尼跟随乾隆皇帝去参观佛寺，并游览了热河的宫苑，就是著名的承德避暑山庄，英国人游览得很愉快。[238]

1793年9月17日是乾隆皇帝的83岁寿辰，他在山庄内的“澹泊宁静”里接见了包括蒙古亲王和缅甸使臣等前来祝寿的人。根据军机处档案记载，马戛尔尼和他的副使斯汤顿走到龙座之前，行三跪九叩之礼。[239] 毫无疑问，英国人虽然坚拒行跪拜之礼，但乾隆和他的官员却一开始就坚持这个天朝法度，即使英国人也不能例外。这些从远方而来的外国人被认真地告诫熟悉三跪九叩之礼的重要性。乾隆在上谕中表达得很清楚，只有遵守久已确立的体制，即在殿上行跪拜之礼，才能为他所接受。乾隆甚至强调，即使英国国王亲自来朝，亦要行此大礼。[240]

跪拜在现代西方话语中是一种屈辱和贬抑的行为，尤其在英国，跪拜通常会被联想到臣服之意。然而，清帝国象征着儒家世界的秩序，视跪拜为理所当然，不过是由来已久的一种向宗主国表达尊敬之意的动作，对行礼者本身并不构成侮辱。[241] 乾隆不可能准许马戛尔尼只屈一膝而破坏存在已久的觐见礼仪，他也不需要在这种情况下作出退让。事实上，军机处特别在8月18日向征瑞发了上谕，要这些英国人“其瞻觐时自必能恪遵仪节（跪拜之礼）”。[242] 再说，如果英国使节拒绝行跪拜之礼的话，清帝极不可能邀请他和随员在9月18日晚上走访万树园、参加夜宴和观赏烟火。[243] 很有可能的是，这位英国使节最后在极不情愿的情况下行了跪拜之礼，希望能因此达成这次出使的任务。无论如何，行跪拜之礼的是马戛尔尼本人。不仅军机处档案证实了中国方面的说法，

而且俄罗斯的口译人员瓦里底基也证明“这位英国使节的确行了三跪九叩之礼”。[244]

这个英国使节团在9月21日离开了热河，并于9月26日返回北京。[245] 在英国人离开之前，乾隆已经获悉他们请求在北京长驻使节和扩大沿海通商等要求。因此乾隆在给英国国王的敕谕中表示，如果这些要求获准的话，将无可避免地要变更中国的体制，所以心烦不已的乾隆在谕旨中说：“断不可行。”若非已经事前承诺，他真想取消在圆明园正大光明殿为款待这些英国人所设的宴会。这是对英态度的一大转折。乾隆在最初还热心地于8月14日经由军机处向金简发出上谕，要尽情招待这些外国宾客，包括提议在圆明园内举行龙舟表演。[246] 但是英国妄图挑战天朝体制，则使他倒足了胃口。

马戛尔尼为了再与乾隆沟通，不顾关节疼痛引致的走路蹒跚，在9月29日星期天前往海淀，希望在乾隆的回程路上跟他会面。但既然所有英国贡物已经在圆明园内展示过了，乾隆便想尽快结束这次出使活动。不过，尽管很不愿意，但为了对远来的宾客表示他的慷慨，乾隆回京途中还是由军机处向总管内务府大臣金简发出上谕，要他妥善安排这些即将离开的外国宾客的居所、饮食和游乐，包括游览圆明园和附近的万寿山。另外，他们也获准出席在圆明园大东门为欢迎乾隆御驾回京所举行的典礼。[247]

在9月30日那天，这些英国人在凌晨4点钟就起床，并且大约6点钟左右就到他们下榻处的庭院内集合，以便加入在圆明园北边迎接乾隆回京的数千人行列之中。乾隆坐在八抬大轿里面，后面跟着一辆马车。身着盛装的各队列之间相隔50码（约46米），当号角吹起，乾隆的队伍在新铺的道路上缓缓前进，路上已经洒过水以减少扬尘。据巴罗观察，“一阵号角声宣示皇帝即将到来，接着奏起轻快的音乐，这时，所有人都会听到喇叭、笛声、琴音、长号、弦乐等各种乐器齐奏……”。乾隆经过骑在马背上向队伍敬礼的英使，可是马戛尔尼并没有机会跟乾隆说话。他跟权臣和于10月2日在圆明园内短暂会面后，筋疲力尽地返回北京。[248] 原定在圆明园招待英国宾客的宴会，也被改在紫禁城里举行，作为饯行的晚宴。[249]

乾隆设定10月7日（根据中国历法是九月初五）——也就是饯行晚宴后的第五天——为英国人离开中国的最后期限，因为被视为一般朝贡队伍的英国使节团任务已经完成。在献上全部贡物及收取天朝回赠礼物

之后，按中国人的看法，英国人已经没有再留在中国的理由。[250]

军机处档案收藏了一首乾隆就马戛尔尼觐见所作的诗。仔细品味并准确理解此诗，会发现它反映了一个不需要怀疑的事实，就是乾隆决意要把英国同样置于以中国为中心的世界秩序规范当中：

博都雅昔修职贡，
英咭唎今效荩诚；
竖亥横章输近步，
祖功宗德逮遥瀛。
视如常却心嘉笃，
不贵异听物诩精；
怀远薄来而厚往，
衷深保泰以持盈。[251]

对于乾隆来说，他并非采取闭关政策，而是在捍卫他自己的世界秩序，这对他庞大帝国的安全与和平至关重要。在他的思维里，让英国在北京常驻使节或把异国的民族国家体系强加到中国，是完全不可能的。不过，乾隆同时关切军机处奏报，当得知英国人被要求离开时表现不悦，他敕谕沿岸的总督要多加注意和提防，以防不满的英国人可能借故扰乱沿岸的安宁。[252]

荷兰使节团来访

1795年，也就是马戛尔尼爵士离华后不到两年，荷兰使节团就在艾萨克·蒂进（1745—1811）和范巴澜（1739—1801）的带领下来到中国。范巴澜于1790年开始在广州管理一家荷兰工厂，他对中国有强烈的兴趣，并希望能代表荷兰出使北京。他趁着1795年至1796年间乾隆登基60年大典之机，向巴达维亚（即今天的印尼雅加达）的上级建议派出祝贺团。巴达维亚的荷兰总督接受了这个建议之后，却任命曾经在日本长崎港内的出岛掌管一家荷兰工厂的蒂进为使节，范巴澜只成为他的副使。[253]

蒂进于1794年8月15日从巴达维亚起航，两天后范巴澜与他在船上会合。然后荷兰使节团在严冬季节从广东出发前往北京，一路上饱受恶劣的居住环境和食物之苦，对他们来说，这趟旅程“跟强行军没有什么两样”。[254]他们的窘境引起了清廷的注意，乾隆皇帝特别于1794年12月22日敕谕，在荷兰使节团回程的时候，要给予他们跟英国人同等的礼

遇。[255]

这个荷兰使节团于1795年1月9日抵达了清帝国的都城北京，而第一次觐见皇帝是在1月12日。他们在清晨5点钟乘马车来到紫禁城，当乾隆皇帝出现的时候，他们全都行了跪拜之礼。他们发现这位身穿黑色裘皮的老皇帝“有雍容和慈祥的外表”。[256]也许因为他们十分顺从中国的礼仪，因此荷兰人比英国人更受到善待，日程包括在1月27日跟乾隆一起参观天坛。毫无疑问，他们比英国人看到了更多北京和附近郊区的景观。[257]

荷兰使节团跟随乾隆于1月30日来到圆明园，并在海淀留宿。第二天清早，荷兰使节在这座御园内，如同在紫禁城内一样，也行了跪拜礼。在太阳初现之后不久，84岁的乾隆端坐在位于“山高水长”大校场里一个蒙古包内的扶手椅上，接见荷兰与朝鲜的使臣。朝鲜的使臣是专程来敬贺乾隆登基60周年的。接着，乾隆邀请这些来自朝鲜与荷兰的宾客，跟他一起在大校场这个“林间空旷地”同进早膳。每一张桌子摆满50道酒菜，并且有惯常的杂技和舞蹈表演。上了年纪的乾隆亲切地跟他的宾客们讲话，并以中式音乐和相声来娱宾。可是，范巴澜并不喜欢这种中式娱乐表演，他因为不能理解表演的内容而很快感到厌倦，所以一点趣味都感觉不到。

其后，他们一行人很不寻常地被带去参观“九州清晏”内的皇帝寝宫。蒂进的观察记录如下：

无论是实景或图画，我都从来没有看过比这更迷人的地方。我们乘坐用黄绳拉动的雪橇，从这里跨过雪地到另一边。我们在那里参观了五座庙宇，它们跟北京那些庙宇一样漂亮，但它们所在的位置却优于北京的庙宇，除了它们是建筑在山坡上的台地之外，也因为周围的景色和假山以及水景一览无遗的视野。对岸漂亮的建筑跟整个区域构成一幅难以言喻的美丽图画。在庙宇之巅，辽阔的视野尽览了北京城和这座迷人的宫苑……在中国绘画里所能欣赏到的景致以更高的规格展现在这里。美景让人心荡神移。[258]

荷兰人刚好赶上与他们的中国东道主共度热闹的元宵佳节。他们于2月3日晚上在大校场看戏和欣赏烟火。第二天早上，他们跟乾隆一起在圆明园里的正大光明殿共进早膳。他们于2月5日再一次欣赏烟火，并观看了两条舞龙追月的节庆表演。次日，他们离开圆明园回到北京。[259]

荷兰人之所以能如此深入地参观圆明园，似乎主要归因于乾隆宠臣

和的热情款待，荷兰人称他为“和中堂”。和耐心地向荷兰人讲解如何分辨不同种类的金鱼，陪他们在结冰的水道上游览，甚至参观乾隆的寝宫。范巴澜注意到，皇帝的寝室“由整齐的中式家具布置，摆设了少量的书本和一些价值连城的珍宝”。[260]

荷兰使节团也参观了万寿山下一座“极其壮美”的新宫苑，应该就是清漪园（19世纪晚期改名为颐和园）。他们更观看到乾隆乘坐雪橇在结冰的湖（应当是昆明湖）上滑行。范巴澜唯一遗憾的是没有浏览到长春园内西洋楼的欧式建筑群。我们无从得知为什么和没有让这些欧洲人去观看那些属于他们自己风格的建筑，但是，和代表乾隆送给荷兰使节相当珍贵的礼物，并以角力、摔跤、乐曲、烟火和乾隆御前盛大的宴会来招待他们。范巴澜也看到了以汉白玉铺地并挂有许多灯笼的正大光明殿。当时的欧洲人中，很可能再没有谁能比范巴澜所观赏到的圆明园景区更多了。[261]

荷兰人跟英国人不同，他们没有挑战东道主的体制，所以不会有芥蒂，而他们正巧跟恭贺乾隆登基60周年的朝鲜使臣一起抵达，也给了这位骄傲的老皇帝一个好印象。很明显，荷兰使节团对于跟朝鲜使臣一起向这个天朝大国进贡，似乎也无怨言。

荷兰使节团在1795年2月8日又从北京回到圆明园，出席在“山高水长”举行的又一次盛会。在这个场合里，蒂进和范巴澜对乾隆的风采留下非常深刻的印象。他们注意到乾隆身躯挺直，没有任何人扶持，他的身材要比一般人更高。[262]荷兰使节于2月10日在紫禁城再次接受召见，乾隆除了赠予礼物之外，也写了一封信给荷兰国王（当时已经流亡到英格兰），强调自己的宽宏大量以及在维护中国体制上不可动摇的立场。荷兰使节团在2月15日离开北京，在他们南归的路上，顺道游览了杭州，于1795年5月9日回到广州。我们可以清楚地看到，这个使节团的出访，其礼仪性远超出实质性。

阿美士德使节团来访

由于乾隆皇帝把英国人与荷兰人视同朝鲜人，均为进贡使臣，因而他未能领会到欧洲人在中国出现的历史重要性。即使马戛尔尼爵士在圆明园里刻意地公开展示当时最先进的野战炮来试图引起乾隆的注意，乾隆却完全不显忧虑和不安，连他庞大的官员群里也没有人立刻意识到这些令人印象深刻的枪炮的潜在威胁。当英法联军在1860年占领圆明园时

，两门山地榴弹炮依然安静地摆在正大光明殿附近的建筑物里，跟无数的玉石、瓶瓶罐罐、珐琅器和钟表放在一起。[263] 这些枪炮被收藏的方式跟珠宝和罐子没有两样，显然乾隆把这些枪炮仅仅视为新奇的玩意而已。

这些由马戛尔尼爵士带来献给乾隆皇帝的枪炮和三辆由朗埃克的哈切特制作的优美舒适的马车，从来没有被使用过，一直作为进贡的纪念品被放置在一座建筑物里。荷兰人范巴澜见到的马车“仍然是油饰精致、亮漆完好，并且整车镏金”。五十多年后，当英法联军占领圆明园时，英军统帅额尔金的传译官罗伯特·斯温豪在园里发现，由马戛尔尼献给乾隆的三辆马车中的两辆仍然“完好无缺、运作良好”[264] 。乾隆皇帝为什么继续使用他粗糙笨拙的马车，而从来不使用英国人给他带来的雅致而又容易操作的马车，这个问题发人深省。哈切特设计的马车明摆着没有把中国的礼俗考虑进去，所以驾马车的人坐在隆起的驾台上，高于皇帝的座位，并且背对着他。从这里可以知道，乾隆为了御座的尊严，不惜牺牲现代工具的便利。

马戛尔尼使华多年之后，伦敦于1816年又派出另一个使节团到中国，希望消除“因广东贸易造成的不满”。显然，嘉庆皇帝跟他的父亲一样，对英国有多强大基本没有概念，只把它当作又一个来自异邦的进贡团。依照1793年访问的先例，嘉庆同意亲自接见，提供盛大的宴会，并在圆明园内招待来使，而且排定了七天的日程。第一天在圆明园里款待英使；第二天在同乐园听完戏之后，于正大光明殿正式召见来使；第三天在正大光明殿设下盛大宴会；第四天带英国使者游览万寿山一带；第五天在圆明园内与使者告别；第六天，在礼部设官方的告别宴会，并在紫禁城举行赠予英国人礼物的仪式；最后在第七天与即将离开北京的来使告别。[265] 这个日程显示出嘉庆对使节团的理解跟乾隆并无不同，都认为像一般的进贡团一样，仅仅只是一种仪式的、惯例的、游乐性的活动，跟英国要扩大贸易的目的明显地大相径庭。

威廉·皮特·阿美士德伯爵（1773—1857）率领第二次来华的英国使节团。尽管距离马戛尔尼使华已经超过20年，但中英之间的彼此了解并没有任何改善。更何况随着英国国力的增强，伦敦作出妥协的意愿很低，特别是在跪拜问题上，更无妥协的余地。

阿美士德抵达天津之后，即表示他将脱下帽子三次和点头九次，作为对中国皇帝的敬意。中国官员驳斥说，马戛尔尼在1793年来华时曾经行过跪拜礼，甚至点名要在阿美士德一行人中的年轻的斯汤顿作证——

当年仍是孩童的他，曾经跟随马戛尔尼使华。当斯汤顿回答说，他已经忘记20年前曾经发生过的事，中国官员勃然大怒，并强调天朝所定的礼数是要求所有大小官员和来自朝鲜、安南（越南古称）等数十个属国的使臣，都要在觐见皇帝时行跪拜礼。他们坚持说，如果英国人拒绝遵从中国礼仪的话，皇帝肯定不会接见他们。阿美士德因而一再受到中国东道主要求遵从跪拜礼仪的压力。[266] 这种争议引起并加深了双方的恶感。

当阿美士德坚决拒绝服从之后，他们的队伍就停滞在距离北京十公里的通州，虽经十天的紧张谈判，仍然无法解决问题。在模棱两可的情况之下，阿美士德一行75人继续往圆明园进发。他们在一个炎热的夏夜抵达海淀留宿。嘉庆皇帝显然不知这些远客有多么疲惫，立即要求按照原定日程，在第二天的一大早于圆明园的正大光明殿接见英国使节。但是阿美士德不愿以疲惫不庄重的模样出现，请求更多的休息时间。但是，没有一个中国官员敢更改钦定的日程，因而粗暴地强迫英使准时去觐见皇帝。阿美士德勃然大怒，断然地拒绝中方的施压，这立即引起中国官员的反感。他们上奏朝廷，斥英国人态度恶劣与妄自尊大。嘉庆不胜其扰，立即终止使节团的一切活动。这等于将英国使节团驱逐出境，他们就此回国，甚至连近在咫尺的圆明园也一眼都没看到。嘉庆在给英国国王的国书里，特别抱怨阿美士德拒绝接受马戛尔尼在1793年行过的跪拜礼。他直截了当地把责任推给英国使臣。[267]

圆明园的黄昏岁月

乾隆于1795年禅位，并非真的要交出权力，而是他曾经向神明许下诺言，为了感谢上天赐予他的长寿，他不会在位超过60年，因为60年在中国传统纪年里是代表一个甲子的循环。他因此在1796年2月9日中国的农历新年，召集他的儿子们来到圆明园的勤政殿，任命他的继位人选，第十五子琰也就是嘉亲王被选立成为嘉庆皇帝。不过，这个传位的结果仅仅是一种形式，因为乾隆仍以“太上皇”之名，在幕后继续操持朝政。[268]

不仅如此，乾隆甚怕失去权力，实际上把嘉庆置于他的监控之下。他最信任的心腹和向他汇报嘉庆的一举一动，事无巨细，包括到圆明园所走的路线、从哪一道大门出入、他为母后服丧的百天之期内穿什么衣服等细节。[269] 在这种情况之下，嘉庆皇帝行事非常低调，并尽力做一

个孝子。有一次他为了讨好皇阿玛乾隆，开设一个孝敬父皇的千叟宴，广邀资深的儒臣出席，有的甚至年逾九旬，象征着他希望皇阿玛身体健康和长命百岁。[270] 不过，乾隆最后于1799年2月7日驾崩后，嘉庆立即掌握大权，腐败的和很快就被收监问审并处死。顺便提一句，乾隆这位圆明园最重要的金主，是突然驾崩于紫禁城，而不是如他所愿死在圆明园中。

嘉庆皇帝等到乾隆崩驾之后，才以皇帝的身份住进圆明园。嘉庆跟他的皇阿玛一样，继续在园林工程上挥金如土。他支付了一笔天文数字般的款项用以完成新近被纳为圆明园一部分的绮春园尚未结束的工程。[271] 嘉庆于1812年将大宫门和正大光明殿整修得面貌一新。在短短的六个月内，嘉庆就在圆明园工程上花了4万两白银。然后他又陆续修缮了安澜园、舍卫城、同乐园和养日堂。最后，他在圆明园内增添了许多重要的新景观，包括烟雨楼、敷春堂、省耕别墅和新的稻田。[272]

尽管圆明园的工程不断地进行，但此时在财政上应付庞大的支出仍然没有问题。至关重要的是，嘉庆从高利润的盐政部门（即垄断利润丰厚的盐业生意的官方机构）那里得到资金的挹注。例如，早在1800年初，嘉庆就从圆明园拨款10万两白银到盐政那里赚取利钱。另一个叫广储司的政府机构也曾经拨给圆明园5万两白银作为储备金。[273]

事实上，除了巨额经费之外，圆明园还从别的地方接受名贵的礼物。在“竹亭”于1814年完工之前，两淮盐局就捐献了超过200件珍贵的紫檀木家具，都是出自扬州朱家设计的著名产品，这是自明朝以来传统工艺品中的佼佼者。各种不同设计的檀木家具，被视为用来祝愿人们幸福与长寿的珍品。几年之后，也就是“接秀山房”于1817年完工之前，两淮盐局又捐献了200件檀木窗框和格栅。这些都不是个别的例子，每当一座新的宫苑建筑完成的时候，各专卖局或个人都会争相献出珍品，这些通常都是具有艺术和实用价值的部件，用来装潢新完工的宫苑。[274]

嘉庆也极度关注圆明园的安全，因为随着整个帝国在世纪交替时期的动乱频频，所有帝王宫苑的护卫工作亦不断升级。嘉庆于1799年掌权后没多久，就从整顿过的满洲旗营里再挑出五队士兵来守卫圆明园，结果让守护这座御园的卫兵人数增加至6408人。[275]

虽然如此，威胁到御园安全的事还是发生了。第一次是在1803年，当嘉庆皇帝从圆明园起驾回紫禁城的途中，一个满洲旗兵就企图攻击他，尽管这次行刺的举动很快就被制伏，但已经让嘉庆感到惊恐。[276] 后

来，1813年的秋季，一支由陈爽带领的“反贼”潜入紫禁城的庭院之内。虽然没有一个“反贼”活着逃脱，但已经让嘉庆和他的大臣们感到震惊，因为从来没有哪次“反贼”能如此接近皇帝。[277] 这类警讯自然唤起更严密的守卫。内务府立即在1815年拨出14万两白银，在圆明园附近再兴建1096座营房，以容纳更多的兵力。[278]

不过，动乱的威胁不单单来自内陆，沿海的危机亦日见严重。尽管广东贸易体系仍能维持稳定，但不断强大的英国海上实力及欧洲贸易商的不满，都无可避免地威胁到现状。英国人在1802年占领澳门，又于1808年攻击中国的藩属尼泊尔，再于1814在广东外海扣押一艘美国轮船。在这几桩事件中，大英帝国凭借武力强行得逞，无视中国方面的抗议。

前已述及，1816年阿美士德的使华是彻底失败的。嘉庆一度感到有点惋惜，但显然并不觉得事态严重，所以没有采取任何重要的行动去应对潜在的英国挑战。他继续花在圆明园工程上的钱，要比花在海防上的多。阿美士德离开中国之后的六个月内，他已经在圆明园的工程上花了4万两白银。当嘉庆于1819年庆祝六十大寿时，皇家内库仍然能够支付铺张的庆典费用，道路上五彩缤纷的装饰从北京城一直延伸到圆明园门口，可跟乾隆大寿时的盛况相媲美。[279] 清朝统治者仍然没有显著的危机意识。

嘉庆于1820年到热河作每年例行的巡狩时，突然驾崩。有一个无法被证实的说法是，他被闪电击中而亡。[280] 嘉庆的继承者二皇子道光，在127人的队伍及一队御林军的陪同下，护送嘉庆的灵柩返回北京。[281] 这位新登基的皇帝于1823年结束服丧期之后才住进圆明园，并对这座帝王宫苑作出了几项重要的新安排。他把皇太后和嫔妃从畅春园（康熙原来的御园）搬到绮春园。[282] 在皇帝嫔妃和大批仆役离开之后，畅春园无可避免地逐渐湮没无闻。另外，他还慷慨地把喜春园赐给他的兄弟亲王，加上嘉庆曾于1802年把春喜园赐给固伦格格，圆明园由五园最终定型为三园。[283]

道光有一首诗，反映出他第一次以皇帝的身份骑马进入圆明园大门时的心情。这座著名的宫苑给他从未有过的美丽印象。他注意到闪亮的霜雪仍然覆盖在溪流和远山之上。他甫一步入理政场所“勤政殿”，就感受到新登上皇位的重大责任感。园里的环境让他缅怀过去欢乐的日子，并对他的父祖留下如此壮丽的宫苑由衷感激，感恩之情让他誓言一生要以父祖们所树立的勤政仁君形象为典范。[284]

虽然道光是以稳重、仁慈和节俭著称的君主，[285]但以圆明园的花费而言，他不能被视为俭朴。事实上，他跟他的父祖们一样热衷于让圆明园变得尽善尽美。更何况，在他登基之初，圆明园的财务状况仍然充裕。查看1824年度圆明园的银库记录可知，国库大有结余，仍然相当殷实。1818年园里银库的会计记录为结余92343.925两白银，在其后的五年之内，园里又累收1486757两现银。[286]除利钱和地租外，收入的很大一部分来自有钱单位的“进贡”。广储司继续拨给圆明园现银作为储备。[287]

充裕的经费让道光得以在1830年于“九州”内建造新的寝宫“慎德堂”。这座殿堂的外观特色是在方形结构上有三层连接在一起呈波浪形的屋顶，这个波浪形屋顶的斗和出檐生动呈现出中国园林艺术的非凡特色，尤其在最常用的屋顶形态（诸如“硬山”、“歇山”和“挑山”）当中十分特别。这座新殿堂不如一般中国宫殿富丽堂皇，因为它在布局和设计上显示出鲜明的特色，就是具有极大的自由度，明显地有别于由僵硬的儒家理念所启发的建筑。当慎德堂于1831年完工时，总工程费用是252000两白银，比原来估计的多出121700两白银。[288]虽然1836年10月4日的一场大火烧毁了这座新建殿堂的三个部分，但是不论当时的财政状况如何，皇帝起居部分太重要了，得以很快重建出来。[289]

由于道光对表演艺术有着异乎寻常的热爱之情，戏台就成为他最喜欢的建筑形式，他在圆明园内又建造了许多戏台。道光不再满足于嘉庆在1814年于长春园内淳化轩附近所建造的新戏台，于是他在舍卫城南边的同乐园里，建造了一座巨大的戏楼。这座新戏楼有两翼，北边是两层楼高的侧厅，而南边是三层楼高的边房。另外，他在绮春园里的敷春堂增添了七个表演场地以及一座拥有更大型戏台的三层高建筑，据说可以在同一时间里，容纳数百名演员和女伶在台上表演。

有些证据显示，道光在特别节庆时，如中国农历新年、自己或母后的寿辰，都会安排连台大戏。根据一则清宫秘史，某一年一场为庆祝道光母后生辰的大戏正在戏台上表演时，道光皇帝突然性起，化上装，走到演员和女伶中间，跟他们一起同台表演。更不同寻常的是，这位天子突然决定更改脚本，以至于场面变得狼狈和混乱，这场表演也因此而变成一场闹剧，在喝彩与大笑声中落幕。[290]道光不单在圆明园内建造比父祖们更多的戏台，并且开启了在御园里上演大戏的传统。

道光在位期间，大诗人龚自珍（1792—1841）曾经于1823年的晚春

时节游览圆明园，这座帝王宫苑给他留下了深刻的印象。[291] 他敏锐的诗眼，捕捉了园里几个最美丽的景象。他尤其被具有江南风格的庭园所深深吸引，因为这勾起他对浙江故乡的乡愁。他发现这座豪华的宫苑是一处真正的清幽之地，让皇帝可以沉思、休闲和享乐，以及讨皇太后的欢心。另外，他观察到，道光皇帝经常在园里设下盛宴，来招待包括外国访客在内的贵宾。他也注意到，圆明园从雍正即位之初开始，已经大大地扩张了，更不用说园里的松树和柳树都已成阴。对龚自珍来说，整体而言，圆明园的建筑、内部装潢以及周围的景观，都呈现在最好的状态之中。[292]

龚自珍并非唯一一个把他的见闻说出来的学者，另一位文人不仅看到风景优美的宫苑摆设，还有许多建筑物里华丽的内部装饰，并且把他的观察记录如下：

所见珍物，已几于目眩神迷，舌挢不能下矣。据所见仅玉器一类，有四方玉花瓶一，高十四五寸，色白逾乳，雕刻人物，极精细，疑非人工所为。有玉盘一，径二尺许，上连冬松一本，叶绿根白，大与真者无异。有珊瑚树数柯，高等身，粗如儿臂，红润照人眼，光灼灼不可逼视。有碧玉甜瓜一，蒂叶皆具，瓜上有一蚱蜢，苍头碧翅，作摇摇欲跃势，色泽皆天然。此外若玛瑙之碗，水晶之壶，琥珀之杯，质美而镂工，多人间罕见物云。[293]

这使我们难得地一窥这座壮丽帝王宫苑所典藏的珍宝。除了玉石之外，还有在园内各处摆设的各式各样的大量手工艺品、珍贵家具、无价字画、稀有古书、精美丝织和古董等。

1842年冬，在灾难性的鸦片战争结束几个月后，道光在圆明园“山高水长”内的大校场检阅他的军队。这可能是一次例行性的操演，尽管道光因为战败而对国防变得更为关注，但他并没有完全领悟到这一历史事件的意义。他没有特别致力于加强海防，遑论提出重大的改变以应付史无前例的挑战。最后，他于1850年初，也就是全国日渐动荡的关头，安然地于其喜爱的慎德堂内去世。[294]

19岁的皇子在这个不幸的时代登基，即咸丰皇帝，面对皇朝衰败的悲惨命运。他因为帝国的种种困境而遭人责骂，所遭受的人身攻击十分恶毒，例如被说成是一个纵欲过度的人，“老是在北京三教九流的地区、妓女聚集的花街柳巷及圆明园内”，沉溺于难以启齿的放荡行径。[295] 但是，皇帝是不可能出现在花街柳巷的，让妓女跑到圆明园里来，更

是不可思议之事。可以肯定的是，咸丰跟他的父祖们一样，拥有很多后宫嫔妃，并在他喜爱的宫苑里寻欢作乐，而这样做并没有不合规矩或是特别放纵。圆明园就是为清帝享乐而建造。咸丰之所以因在园内寻欢作乐而受到严厉指责，主要还是因为他统治的是一个弊病丛生的帝国。在一个凄惨的时代里，即使是皇帝的享乐，看来也是不合时宜而应该受到谴责的。

不过，咸丰所面对的危难的确是相当严峻，他不仅要应付沿海地区来自西方的可怕威胁，还要面对中国西南颠覆性的太平天国运动的兴起。咸丰的确采取了几项积极的措施，包括重新起用在道光年间被无理撤职的干臣林则徐（1785—1850），并令地方大员曾国藩（1811—1872）、袁甲三（1806—1863）和胜保（1798—1863）去平定太平军。在圆明园里，咸丰常常为国事操劳至深夜，是毋庸置疑的。一次，他曾在安排好去天坛祭拜的前夕痛哭失声，这一切都看在大内侍从的眼里。[296]

咸丰的感伤可以从晚清才华横溢的文人杨云史（1875—1941）的诗句中表达出来：

建康杀气下江东，百二关河战火红。
猿鹤山中啼夜月，渔樵江上哭秋风。
军书旁午入青锁，从此先皇近醇酒。[297]

在这种情况之下，圆明园的扩展也就到此结束。急速增加的军费使得中国的经济处于崩溃当中，任何在园工上的花费不仅在道德上说不过去，而且在财政上也无法筹措。事实上，圆明园于1858年2月从山东方面只获得1212两白银的小钱，并在同一年的4月急向广储司借调银两，要求赶快调度现银，这正显示圆明园里财务的恶化。[298]这座帝王宫苑已难以维持，更不用说扩展了。

和他的父祖们一样，咸丰亦把圆明园当做处理政务的地方，而他却是最后一个可以这样做的清朝皇帝。举例来说，当学者兼外交家郭嵩焘（1818—1890）接受委派到天津协助蒙古亲王僧格林沁帮办海防之后，[299]就在圆明园内获得觐见。郭嵩焘于1859年2月18日第一次来到圆明园的正门。当天中午，他见到了穿着毛皮大衣的咸丰皇帝，咸丰坐在大轿上，在众亲王的簇拥之下抵达，后面还跟着一班军机大臣、帝师和内务府大臣，依次走进圆明园的二宫门。[300]看来这次咸丰并未召见郭嵩焘。

郭嵩焘于八天之后，又再度来到圆明园。他到附近歇脚休息之前，

在凌晨2点先向大宫门的侍卫报到，然后在清晨6点返回大宫门。当天咸丰下御旨由太监宣召七人觐见，郭嵩焘排在第四位。最后在早上9点钟，他被“叫起”，由太监带领走往勤政殿里的东暖阁（乾隆以来，皇帝喜欢在此召见臣工）。根据郭嵩焘的观察，这个阁由几扇屏风隔为前后两个部分，而那个温暖的书房连接着北边一间大小适中的厢房。咸丰从屏风的后面走进室内，并坐在朝向南面的椅子上。根据清代学者姚元之（1773—1852）的说法，在这东暖阁里，除了南边大门的前面有门廊和御座的左边摆放一个暖炉之外，在1837年之后，御座的背后还有一扇很大的玻璃窗。[301] 郭嵩焘从南面的门口进入室内，并立即面向坐在龙椅上的咸丰皇帝下跪。

在书房里的对谈显示，咸丰皇帝有相当的准备，他首先告诉郭嵩焘到天津出勤的目的。在回话当中，郭嵩焘指出建造西式战船的重要性，因为它是加强海防的手段。咸丰认为在当时财政困乏的情况下，这是十分冒进的做法，虽然郭嵩焘勉强同意这个说法，但还是坚持认为，西人既然从海上来，中国就要面对海上的挑战。

当咸丰要求直陈有关国内的问题时，郭嵩焘强调要清楚了解国计民生的重要性，因为以他的看法，大部分政府官员所知不多，故无法解决问题。他希望咸丰在关注国事上树立一个榜样，来提高士气，去除腐败和堕落的风气，只有这样做，才能召集能干的文官武将到政府里任事。咸丰点头称是，然后开始闲话家常，问及郭嵩焘要带多少家人陪同他到天津；又问到郭嵩焘是否留宿在圆明园里供翰林编修居住的宅院——咸丰知道郭嵩焘出身翰林，故有此问。但事实上郭嵩焘因园舍无空位而留宿在朋友家里。最后，咸丰从龙椅上稍一欠身，示意这次会面就此结束，郭嵩焘立即起身，往后退了几步，再次跪下，然后一边呼喊“愿吾皇吉祥”，一边慢慢地退出房间。[302]

咸丰和郭嵩焘在圆明园内结束这次会面之后不到两年，这个宫苑就因为入侵的外国军队而沦丧。不过，海防上的失败并非郭嵩焘的错。事实上，郭嵩焘在字里行间抱怨，尽管获得皇帝的信任，但无法让亲王僧格林沁听从他的建议。他觉得当时中英之间的问题仍然可以透过外交途径来解决，但这位蒙古亲王对于反对他向英国挑起军事冲突的忠告，却充耳不闻，而且这位强硬派的亲王还公开辱骂郭嵩焘懦弱和毫无爱国心。[303] 结果，郭嵩焘在他到天津就任后没多久，就离职而去，因此他没有亲眼目睹僧格林沁在大沽炮台所挑起的灾难，这导致了北京的遭劫和圆明园的焚毁。

当郭嵩焘于1860年从天津返回北京奏请开缺回乡的时候，他在一个四月天与几位友人一起到圆明园的别苑清漪园，作了一次愉快的游历。郭嵩焘在他的日记里描述，他们一行人首先穿过园里的左侧门到勤政殿，然后沿着殿后的石山走到玉澜堂，他跟友人们还看到殿里的龙座。

他们在玉澜堂后面散步，然后抵达东暖室去欣赏一尊大佛像。当他们登上夕佳楼时，饱览了昆明湖的景色，山阁相映，气象万千。然后他们泛舟至以万寿山做背景的大报恩延寿寺。他们从这里爬上了独一无二、全部以铜铸成的铜殿，跟着就到山上一座凉亭，俯瞰整个园林。在山的另一边，他们发现了一座壮丽的庙宇和饶有趣味的买卖街。这条刻意造出来的市集，包含了街道和店铺、小桥流水及凉亭，“颇有江南景致”。

之后，他们再次坐着舟船到鱼藻亭，然后回到勤政殿的后方，他们在那里发现两部进贡来的脚踏车，“制法极精巧”。他们在勤政殿附近的东朝房用午膳。到了下午，他们驻足在三层高的文昌阁，郭嵩焘在第二层楼见到一座自鸣钟。接着他们游览灵雨寺，从寺左的云香阁以及寺右的月波楼，可以欣赏到山坡上松树间的亭台楼阁。可是，由于风大，他们在半途中止游览，短暂休息之后，他们就离开这座宫苑了。郭嵩焘对此从未见过的、极其精妙的美景，已经留下了深刻的印象。[304]

这座清漪园跟圆明园一样，在英法联军入侵期间，遭到严重的破坏。不过，此园后来由慈禧太后重建，并改名为“颐和园”。这座颐和园成为今日北京近郊唯一保存良好的帝王宫苑。郭嵩焘在日记里记载的这次四月之行，距离英法联军入侵仅六个月，为遭遇破坏和修复之前的园林原貌留下了惊鸿一瞥。郭嵩焘应会后悔自己在起程回家之前没有再去细看一眼壮观的圆明园。当他在湖南老家先后听到圆明园被毁以及咸丰皇帝在热河驾崩的消息时，震惊不已。[305]

圆明园的组织与功能

我们在前几章已经详细描述了圆明园的外观和历史演变。这一章将检视圆明园的内部运行：诸如这座御园是如何管理的？谁负责日常事务？如何维护园里的安全？当园里的秩序遭到破坏或发生罪行的时候，将怎么处置？由于清宫档案的开放，园内的人文活动至少能够部分重现，就让我们利用这些资料来检视这150年间圆明园到底是怎样运行的。

园政及其运行

在行政管理上，圆明园直属内务府管辖。[306] 清代的内务府源自满洲的旗营传统。在满洲人夺得天下之后，这一机构就被重整为清朝皇帝的私人账房。张德昌指出，内务府在乾隆时已经定型。[307]

乾隆于1796年禅位的时候，内务府的人员编制已经有1623人之多。他们的主要职责只是“照顾皇帝的私人生活”。[308] 内务府最后确立的编制有三个具有特色的部门，分别是上驷院、武备院和奉宸院，圆明园就是归奉宸院管理。

掌管内务府的是总管大臣，由皇帝从一批满洲高官里面挑选出来。实际上，显然可以任命不止一个总管大臣。乾隆皇帝于1749年任命的总管大臣具有显赫的正二品官衔。一般来说，辅助总管大臣的两名副手各自负责诠选和传令，而副手又各自有36个笔帖式相助，其中有一半笔帖式可以是汉人。笔帖式是一个早就建立的满洲制度，最早可追溯至1631年。[309] 在这一制度管理之下，一群助手负责各种职责，诸如后勤供应管理、会计、守卫、刑狱、营造和修缮、管理牛羊畜牧作为牺牲和祭祀之用、绣织生产、安排仪节以及处理皇帝的私人事务，包括日常宫廷事务在内。[310]

内务府的收入来自皇家的领地，包括圆明园附近所得的地租，也接受来自各省的进贡，包括各地的名食特产以及藩属的贡品；亦从专卖特别是人参和毛皮的专卖中获利，从关税中取得剩余配额，并从其他各种途径取得罚金和充公之物品。内务府在盐课上也扮演了重要的角色。托伯特指出，内务府的各种牟利活动“保障了有持续而稳定的钱财流入皇帝私人的金库里”。[311] 总之，直到19世纪中叶整个帝国财政枯竭之前

，内务府的财库是巨大而充裕的。

圆明园在内务府奉宸院的管属之下，有它自己的管理组织。1723年初雍正登基时，就正式使圆明园成为最重要的帝王宫苑，并设立了总管机构。次年，随着编制扩大，园内的行政管理部门就有了6个总领和12个副总领。在1730年，这些总领享有六品的官衔，而副总领的官衔则为七品或者八品。乾隆年间圆明园大面积扩展，总领和副总领的人数也随着急速增加。到了1741年，也就是乾隆在位的第六年，又增编了两名新的委署副总领，十年之后增加至7名之多，到1767年数目已上升至16名。[312]

园政的主要任命，通常由特旨颁布，凸显出圆明园对清帝的重要性。主管被任命之后，他们可以推荐自己的副手，不过还是需要得到皇帝的御批；相对低阶的笔帖式通常是从内务府的正式人员之中抽签选出。圆明园里的升迁和降级等人事变动，全由内务府负责，然必须得到皇帝的认可。在圆明园范围内工作的每一个人，都必须日日尽全力让皇帝感到满意，而工作的表现有经常而严格的考核，定期提出考绩报告，任何人若被断定为工作不力，将立即被赶出御园。[313]

圆明园银库是于1749年成立的，由乾隆皇帝任命一名地位可跟总领相当的库掌、一名委署库掌和六名库守。他们主要的职责是处理各方面的出纳以及保证日常的供给无虞。这些职位的任用全都要符合严格的条件，例如具备很好的学识和殷实之家背景之人，才合乎任用的资格。乾隆很明显要可信任和忠诚的人来管理财源充沛的圆明园银库。[314]

1750年新创立的官署器皿库，乃是圆明园银库的一个扩充机构。新官署人员的任命与其他人员一样，从一班声誉良好的官员中挑选出来，不过他们的任期只有三年，作为防止滥权的保证。从1763年开始，又推行一套新措施来防止欺诈的行为，其中一项政策，就是库守要轮流值夜班，并配置十名守卫跟值班的库守在一起。再者，乾隆皇帝为了让圆明园的财务健全，要求每一年清点账册，每五年给银库作一次彻底的复核。督察员会谨慎地审阅呈报账目、申请补贴、归还未消耗的物资和报销手续等程序。如果在既定的期限之内无法厘清账目的话，就会受到严厉的惩罚。[315]

随着圆明园的扩建， 各个位阶管理人员的数目不断地增加。每当一座殿堂、庙宇或楼阁完工时，就立即需要一批新的工人和主管去维护和守卫这个新的地方。御园行政管理部门的扩展迟早需要更多的高阶层

行政人员。到了1742年的夏天，内务府就给圆明园新增了副使和笔帖式各两名。两年之后，也就是四十景完成之际，乾隆又增置了新的职位：六品主事、七品郎中和八品员外郎。

内务府在乾隆的批准之下，于1749年又任命了新的六品库掌，专门监管圆明园内的大量白银、丝绸和器皿的库藏。这位新库掌从笔帖式中挑选一名副手并任命六名库守来协助他。当长春园于1751年完工时，又任命了另一组管理人员，包括一名六品的主事、两名七品郎中和两名八品员外郎。在1759年，分别把主事与郎中改称为苑丞，员外郎则改称为苑副。当绮春园于1774年被并入圆明园之后，就需要委任新的六品苑丞、七品苑副、八品苑副以及笔帖式各一名。[316]

当道光皇帝于1821年继承大统之时，圆明园行政管理体系已经固定下来。人员包括2名郎中、1名员外郎、1名主事、1名委署主事、1名六品库掌、8名六品苑丞、1名七品库掌、1名七品苑丞、8名八品苑副、15名委署苑副、14名笔帖式、18名库守、2名学习笔帖式、6名效力柏唐阿、35名园户头目、615名园户、53名园隶、148名匠役、54名水门侍卫和3名水手蛮子等。[317] 这些数字显示，圆明园从18世纪初建园以来，人员的编制已经增加了三倍。

圆明园内太监的总数在乾隆禅位的时候已达到502人，他们由内务府委派、调动和奖惩。他们是园内最大的群体之一，并且在不断增加：他们的人数于1805年已经增加至620人，其中包括88名太监主管和532名一般太监。[318]

太监是皇帝御用的忠仆，负责必要的杂务，诸如清理房间、侍桌、守门和植树种花。他们中的很多人必须随时听候差遣，以满足皇帝的需求。他们负责卑微而且吃重的工作，但所得月俸相对微薄，以1754年为例，他们的月俸按照资历计算，大约是在0.66两到1.3两白银之间。当时1两白银的价值差不多是1.5美元。例外只见于极少数获得皇帝特别宠信的资深太监，像在皇帝书房养心殿侍候的五品太监头目，每个月的俸钱最多可得到7两白银外加7石米。[319] 如果我们以1000文钱兑换1两白银的话，按照乾隆晚期的物价，7两白银可以买到14只鹅或70只飞禽。不过，一个普通太监的所得，只相当于一个中国农民的收入。[320]

除了太监之外，还有为数不少的僧侣和道士在圆明园内生活和工作，他们的人数也随着园内扩建庙宇和道观而增加。许多僧侣和道士看来都很年轻，例如在1753年，乾隆意外地发现有20名男童在道观里当道童

；这个意外的发现使乾隆觉得园里的僧侣和道士可能过多，因此要求大幅削减。[321] 然而，由于圆明园里特别是新建的长春园内有各式各样的宗教建筑和祭典，新落成的庙宇和道观更需要新进僧侣和道士在那里供职，结果是僧道人数不仅未削减，反而持续上升。

雍正皇帝于1729年第一次引进园户到圆明园，所有园户的成员都属于某个满洲旗营。他们是可靠的工人，提供各方面的劳务，例如有些人被安排在“北远山村”充当蚕户，他们于1762年与位于万寿山脚下的织染局建立了工作联系。

在园内的汉人仆役被划分为匠役，根据工作的性质分为花儿匠、工匠、木工、水手蛮子、瓦匠、搭材匠、僧道及兵丁。在圆明园内工作的满汉仆役人数，随着日子一天一天地过去，也在同步增加。长春园于1760年刚一完成多座大型喷水池，就立即新聘了不少于30名花匠和工匠。园户的人数于1770年有600人之多；17年之后，亦即1787年，又增加了67家园户住在园里面。这些园户都由园户头目监管，而头目的人数也在同一段时间里从18人增加到20人。不久之后，园方由于园户人数的快速增加，又多委任了15个头目。[322]

圆明园的日常维护既繁重又复杂。理论上，圆明园是依赖内务府的支援，但实际上圆明园有它自己独立的财源以应付不断增加的开支，其中一个财源就是征收圆明园附近土地的地租。[323] 据说，这些地租至少在18世纪期间可以支付园内的维修之需——其时圆明园的财政状况是良好的。圆明园的行政部门也接受有钱人如富裕的两淮盐商的现银捐献，例如商人黄源德于1757年向圆明园孝敬了100万两白银。[324] 有些钱显然是园方从盐商获利甚丰的生意中所得到的利息。[325]

当乾隆在18世纪末龙御归天的时候，圆明园的财政仍未有吃紧的迹象。事实上，刚登基不久的嘉庆皇帝于1799年的2月，发现圆明园的账册里尚有693290两白银的盈余，这个数目还没有把铜钱算进去。当时1两白银相当于1.388美元，所以圆明园的结余大约是962287美元。乾隆在圆明园已花费巨额金钱，居然还有这个盈余数字，当然让人印象深刻。乾隆在1794年到1799年的五年里透支了448582两白银，大约是622732美元。[326] 如果乾隆活得更长的话，他可能会耗掉园里所有的盈余。

嘉庆采取财政上的预防措施，调动10万两白银到获利甚丰的两淮盐局去赚取利息。到头来，富裕的盐局给他的不只是可观的利润，而且还赠送窗框等珍贵物资去美化圆明园。园内的许多窗户的框格，夏天是以

纸糊或竹子制作，冬天就换上以毛皮做的帘子。[327] 嘉庆皇帝虽不像他的父亲那样挥霍，但他仍然需要巨额的金钱来维持园内的运行以及保持它的体面。况且，嘉庆对1772年就已并入圆明园而尚未多有兴建的绮春园也花费了大量金钱。绮春园的营造于1809年达到巅峰，因为在这一年内，有173间厢房、260条廊道、6座亭子和2座精美的牌楼完工，总共花费了328775.331两白银。[328] 嘉庆最后给绮春园命名了三十景。

嘉庆在位期间，圆明园看来并没有出现财政困难。就在1815年的上半年，也就是在以失败告终的阿美士德使节团访华之后，嘉庆在园内的工程上花了4万两白银。没有一幢新建筑由于缺钱而进度滞后，每当一座新殿堂或楼阁完工时，来自热心官员们的丰盛礼物也很充足，他们进献的通常是可以用作装潢的珍贵檀香木料。[329] 在1819年，也就是嘉庆六十大寿那一年，圆明园的行政部门仍然可以负担一场盛会，铺张的程度足可媲美乾隆的寿辰庆典。[330]

继承嘉庆的道光皇帝有谨慎、仁慈和俭朴的美誉，[331] 不过他仍然保持了一大笔预算用于圆明园的花销。他于登基后不久的1824年发现，在圆明园的财政里有一笔结余；不过，这笔结余并不实在，因为很多不足的差额都已由各级政府机关抵付。例如广储司有一次向圆明园挹注5万两白银作为储备。[332] 显然单靠内务府已不能够给圆明园供应充裕的资金。虽然如此，道光并没有终止园内工程的打算。最让人瞩目的是，他在1830年斥巨资完成著名的“慎德堂”——一座位于“九州”的新寝宫。这座慎德堂于1836年10月4日被一场大火烧毁了三幢建筑，但不到一年的时间就全部修复。[333]

圆明园的行政管理部门在处理日常事务上，并不会比其他重要的政府部门更有效率。让皇帝和皇室成员在园里居住时感到舒适，必然是最优先的关注。行政管理部门的日常事务非常琐细繁重：除了管理财政和监督工程之外，还要负责给新完工的建筑物取名和维护园内的设施，加强园里的安全、调查各类事件以及把各种文件归档也是其职责所在。行政管理部门也要负责执行礼仪，例如规定内外官员应如何表达谢主隆恩。圆明园兼并了绮春园和长春园之后，立刻碰到来自万泉河的淡水供应不足问题。园里的主事者为了解决这个问题，着手进行新水道工程的计划，把位于玉泉山下的大蓄水池昆明湖的水引进园里。[334]

在所有行政管理的任务当中，以工程的监督最为劳累，因为园内的工程事实上从来没有真正停止过。园里的很多主事者确实都曾担此大任

，他们要看管财务的运作、监督工人，还要在签收之前核查所负责的项目——每一项都是冗长且需小心谨慎的过程。园工之重要导致创立一个名叫“督催所”的特殊机构，以便监控所有送到园内的文件和准时递交清算好的账目的手续。既定的规定是，任何超过一千两白银的账目都要在一个月内清算，超过一万两白银的账目要在两个月内清算，更大金额的账目要在三个月内清算。这个机构要求所有的申请表、清单和账目都先向其办公室登记，以确保在期限之前能完成清算的工作。[335]

圆明园的行政管理层亦有其自己的销算房去估算支出。举例来说，这个部门在执行一项工程时，有责任在10天之内决定金额和材料两大项目的估价，然后把结果送到督催所作登记。[336]假设工程密集的话，这个部门的工作量就会增加至难以负荷的程度，所以1777年就制定了一个简化程序的办法。此后，一个计划只需要经过档房送到督催所，也就是说在议定具体事情之前不必到督催所去登记。遇到紧急情况时，申请人可以先以自己的签名继续跟进项目，同时办理必需的官府手续。[337]

器皿库旨在保持园内物质供应线的畅通。库中储存了大量可以用在日常琐事上的供应品，包括纸张、扫帚、蜡烛、灯笼和火药等小物品。供应品的申请无论数量或质量，都必须要事先得到批准，才可以取得；不过，很少会不被批准。例如在1752年这一年中，档房从器皿库领到6300张纸、60支毛笔和16盎司（约454克）墨。同一年，大宫门领到270把大小不同的扫帚、27个畚箕和13支大大小小的鸡毛掸子。文源阁快完工时，就领到62把扫帚、25支掸子、42个畚箕和50码（约46米）布。在“鸿慈永祜”里的“安佑宫”，每天要消耗6.5磅（约2.95公斤）木炭和13磅（约5.9公斤）木柴，给所有茶壶保温。[338]从这些少数例子可以看出，要供应圆明园内好几百个单位，消耗的物品数量是极其惊人的。乾隆皇帝曾注意到日常供应品的过多消耗甚至浪费，他因而于1757年指示，要适度减少分配到圆明园内各处的煤炭和木柴。[339]

圆明园的行政管理部门无疑对园内的安全措施最为关切，防火这一项就是最重要的安全措施之一，因为园内的建筑物大都是木造的。光是长春园一处就配备了75个巨型的激桶以作灭火之用。每年春秋两季固定要举行认真的救火演练。[340]然而，尽管安全措施非常严密，火灾意外仍然不时会发生。[341]

不让没有得到许可的人接近圆明园也是这座皇家宫苑必要的安全措施，所有在园里生活的人因而都要受到严密的控制。经内务府批准，园

内的总管太监在他园内的办公室里留有一份所有园内人员的个人档案资料，包括每一个在圆明园内生活和工作的人的外貌特征，这些措施很明显是要防止陌生人或未经许可的人潜入园内。当来自各省的贡品送至园内的时候，在贡品获批通过河道到达指定陈列的地方之前，总管太监的职责是要先对所有贡品作彻底的检查。[342]

在1749年一个平常日子里，乾隆从他的御舟上岸时，巧遇一名司法官员和他的家人在一起，但家人是不应该在禁地出现的。这个安全疏失被乾隆看到，让维护安全的官员极为难堪。圆明园的行政管理部门就在第二天规定：除了少数极尊崇的亲王和大臣允许携带两名随从之外，其他人等都不能有这项特权。园方请进来工作的一般百姓，诸如农民、工匠和大夫，都要预先呈报他们的姓名，以便作最细密的检查。这些人进入园内之前，都先要在大门口集合，并接受点名。[343]

内务府于1752年又新增两项措施来加强园内的安全：第一，即使皇帝不在园内，也要定期执行彻底的检查工作；第二，启动一项户口清理计划，以彻查园内未经授权顶替或冒充园户的人。结果，查出的非法居留者以及那些内务府认为年老、无用、不可靠或狡猾的人全都被立即驱逐出园。[344]

为了进一步改善园内的安全，所有住在里面的人从1757年开始都必须随身带着标示身份的腰牌，类似今天的身份证。每一个人进出圆明园都要接受彻底的搜查，这通常由太监来执行。对来客的管制也加紧了，任何一个来客都必须从圆明园的同一个大门进出，这样来客的行踪可以被精确地汇报。严格禁止冒名顶替在园里生活和工作，类似的欺诈行为将遭受最严厉的惩罚。[345]

圆明园的行政管理结构看起来就像一个小型社会。尽管在理论上圆明园是用来服侍天子一人，但每天都要确保最高、最好的服侍规格。圆明园繁琐的社会机能就是靠着扮演不同角色的数千人而有条不紊地运行。

罪与罚

皇家园林最关切的既然是安全问题，所以圆明园里绝不能容忍任何犯罪行为，即使琐碎细微的罪行，也要遭受到严厉的惩罚。内务府指派资深官员组成无确定人数的小组负责检控和刑罚事务。他们希望防止园里发生任何不愉快的事情，但如果有人违反规定或犯了重大过错，他们

就会大力追查并施以严厉的惩罚，以维护圆明园的绝对安全。现有的资料显示，在圆明园150年的历史里，不曾发生过像杀人和抢劫那种暴力罪行。

事实上，任何人在园里违反法规，无论是有意或无意，甚至是在没有批准之下擅自进出圆明园，也会被视为一种犯罪，必须受到惩罚。

例如在1774年，一个在长春园西洋楼工作、名叫二格的满洲男孩正要爬墙外出时，被一名巡逻太监捉到。双方的供词都记录在案。这名男孩供称：他想要从圆明园逃走，因为他上次外出回来时迟到，受到主管狠毒的笞杖，主管一再用同样严厉的惩罚来威胁他。长春园的总管太监，也就是监督男孩上级的主管，发现这名男孩之所以惹了这个麻烦，是因为他“难以管教和懒惰”。一开始男孩就因为没有得到批准便擅自出园而犯规，被鞭打了30下，罪有应得；可是，在受罚之后不到两天，他又从圆明园潜逃出去。在他回园之前，他的直属主管陈进忠一路找他找到北京城。这名男孩此次未遂的越墙逃跑，显然是害怕因屡犯而遭到更严厉的惩罚。

这宗逃跑事件的调查结果，经负责的官员在内务府结案之后，就奏报给乾隆皇帝。建议作出惩罚的根据是：依大清律例，攀爬皇城城墙可定重罪。尽管认识到之前因迟到而杖打有点武断，但并未因为违规者年纪太轻而给予任何怜悯，皇帝和他的内务府显然拒绝因为宽大而牺牲安全性。因此，这名满洲男孩在被千里流放之前，先要接受一百大板重罚。不过，由于他是满人，可以戴两个月的枷锁来替代流放。这个惩罚案最后经皇帝御批后执行。[346]这个案例可以反映出，像潜逃之类是严重的罪行，必须要接受非常严厉的处分。在美丽的圆明园背后，无疑存在酷刑，这都是为了严格执行保安工作而必须付出的人力成本。

许多无心之失，都会受到惩罚。乾隆于1744年看到太监刘玉坐在栏杆上，认为这是极为无礼的举动，就把他交给其主管，责以四十大板。在同一天，一名太监在当班的时候偷睡，也受到同样的惩罚。[347]苑丞常贵于1770年的夏天，因为“谐奇趣”的喷水池水位比往常低了1.5英寸（约3.8厘米）到2英寸（约5.1厘米）被指责，并要前往内务府就此应答。苑丞明德和庆德于1773年为大宫门丢失的零头布和栅栏承担责任，由于他们两人在巡查时的大意而被罚六个月的俸银。在1779年的夏天，好几名苑丞因为池塘里的莲花太少、太稀疏而遭到责罚，他们被指控植莲不当和浪费公帑等过失，每个人都被罚俸三到六个月。在圆明园里工作的福长安和金简两人于1787年因为在“山高水长”大校场施放烟火期间，点

亮灯墩的时间落后于预定程序而遭到严厉的惩戒。而1796年，年迈的乾隆皇帝由于不满烟火平淡无奇和没有新花样，责令那些负责采购烟火的官员要归还所有烟火的费用，他们还被罚停止发放3到12个月的俸银。[348]

在圆明园里种田的佃户并不是作为点缀之用，他们必须要跟国内其他的佃农一样勤奋劳动。因此，当1787年春天农田里的麦子显然因照料不周而显得杂乱和不饱满时，内务府就立即谴责相关主管之疏于检视农田和教导佃农，结果苑丞长福和他的副手们每人都因疏于职守而被罚一年的俸银；至于他们的上司员外郎祥瑞也因此被罚半年的俸银。在1797年秋天，圆明园的麦子收成不好也引起园里高层的注意，他们立即着手调查此事。当调查的结果显示是人为疏懒而非天气原因造成麦子收成不好时，麦田的三个主管每人都被罚三个月的俸银，麦田村的头目丁永则受到最严厉的处罚，他被重打三十大板。[349]

即使是无心之失，只要是发生在圆明园之内，都会受到相当严厉的惩罚。1790年4月19日发生的一件事可以说明这一点。那一天根据和的奏报，有一班贝子和格格在横渡福海到“广育宫”参拜的时候，为暴风雨和大浪所惊吓。和指责陪伴在这些贝子和格格身边的总管太监刘秉忠和萧云鹏未能阻拦这次暴风雨天气中危险的渡湖行为，以至于无心地危害到贝子和格格们的安全。和认为更不可原谅的是，负责皇族安全的太监们居然没有想到把行程改为陆路。

内务府报告没有任何人在这次事件中溺毙或受伤；虽然如此，根据和的奏报，刘秉忠、萧云鹏和陈这三名太监以及龙舟上的船长和水手们都受到两年俸银的重罚，而这项惩罚得到皇帝御批后执行。最让人惊讶的是，三名负责领航龙舟的太监遭受最严苛的惩罚，每一个人都遭到毒打，全然不顾他们是遵守命令还是自作主张。没有人问：这些皇室成员自己到底是否要负些责任？这种惩罚揭示了在帝王制度之下的司法本质；不过，皇帝为了表示他的仁爱宽厚，最后将上述受罚者的刑责减半。[350]

在圆明园的管辖范围之内，偷窃之类的轻微犯罪行为时有发生。例如在1757年，园里的管理部门收到这样一个报告：一个名叫酆四的男子潜入勤政殿偷走了几件玉器。[351]尽管这件案子看起来无关紧要，但给禁地的安全漏洞敲响了警钟，唤醒了内务府要加强遵守安全措施守则的警觉。于是，每一个住在园里的人，除了需要向主管单位登记他们的年纪和画像之外，还要随时携带辨识身份的证件。

更有甚者，偷窃事件也促使主事者发起又一轮查核园户的调查，不料发现园户里仍然有相当数量的黑户。特别调查小组负责人吉庆估计在“西峰秀色”工作的人里面，十个人中有八个冒用其他工人的身份。若全部计算在内，圆明园及其附园里所列园户1314人当中，有144名工人是没有获得许可的。发现在禁地之内有约一成的非法住户，肯定让负责安全的官员十分难堪。补救的措施包括立即驱逐所有未经许可的黑户，并对那些违反规定、允许未经授权的人住进园里的违法者，不论是什么原因，一律重责一百大板。有几名太监也因为这件事而遭到不同的惩处，因为他们没有尽职去仔细查核园户。[352]

圆明园里的窃案大部分都是内贼所为，这并不让人感到惊讶。奉三无私殿的楼房突然于1764年农历五月五日的龙舟节起火。当大火被扑灭之后，隶属紫碧山房、协助救火的太监王进福挖开灰烬时，发现大约113两白银。他的同事崔文贵太监指认他偷窃，主事者因而严肃地处理这件事。这个太监并无同谋，最让内务府不悦的是，他居然在灾难发生时趁火打劫，令人厌恶。不仅仅由于偷窃，更由于其居心叵测，这名太监遭受不寻常的处分：他被发配到偏远的黑龙江（俄罗斯称阿穆尔河）地区为奴。[353]

当清朝的国势在19世纪每况愈下时，圆明园里的偷窃也变得更为猖狂。内务府1832年的记录显示，一个在安澜园工作的名叫王得顺的太监于道光年间闯入库房，偷去14种纱线并拿到北京市区典当。更严重的是，他的主管张进贵隐瞒了这件事。当事情被揭发后，这两个太监双双被移送至内务府审问。偷窃和隐瞒暴露了在宫苑里工作的为数众多的太监纪律之松弛现象。据报，1837年，五个被分配到圆明园工程处的太监被人发现偷偷地在溪中抓鱼，这证实了纪律的废弛。到了第二年，一名64岁来自台湾岛的老太监郭耀竟敢在园里到处宣扬灾异和预言，这是绝对禁止的，以防因谣言而引起混乱。[354]

圆明园的权力中心十分关切这些案件，因为太监在园里不仅人数众多，而且日日与皇帝及皇室成员接触，然而他们却不再严格遵守规定。太监违法经常要遭受比一般人更严厉的惩罚，诸如承受鞭打、监禁和流放到满洲边疆为奴等，因此他们在工作时偷懒、玩忽职守甚至偷窃，就特别让人感到是不好的征兆。警惕和勤勉的消失必然引发了圆明园焚毁前夕园内安全和有效运行的问题。

在圆明园里最经常触犯的“罪”莫过于与营建相关的违规，最常见的就是工作进度的滞后。例如1764年，两名分别叫做森玉笏和阿的营造商

无法将园内某处工程按进度完工，他们辩称，进度落后是因为要优先完成奉三无私殿的工作。虽说如此，内务府总管大臣三和还是驳回了他们的辩解，并视之为疏忽职守的托词。这两个营造商在压力之下，就马马虎虎地匆匆完工。结果三和要求他们自掏腰包把这些工程重做一次，员外郎查尔泰、苑副五十四和笔帖式舒通每人都被罚一年俸银。甚至连三和自己也以本身疏于监督的罪名向乾隆皇帝谢罪，虽然乾隆宽恕了三和，但惩罚了他所奏请处分的其他人。[355]

有关工程质量的案例，多半由工程监督人负责。“上下天光”于1771年被发现有工程瑕疵，有些连接到六角亭的桥栏杆不够垂直，负责监督的官员苑丞征瑞和苑副阿尔邦阿为此承担责任。他们每人遭打四十大板和被罚六个月的俸银，之所以要责打是因为这些瑕疵可能构成安全上的问题，因而连他们的主管副都统和尔经额也被罚三个月的俸银。尔后，在同一年，舍卫城内部楼阁柱子上的油漆自十年前即1760年上漆之后不断剥落和龟裂。五个负责上漆的人之中，有三个人已经去世，而其他两个人也早已离开圆明园。由于找不到人来受罚，因此罚责就落在内务府总管大臣三和身上，他和助手副都统五福因为疏忽职守的罪名，各被罚了三个月的俸银。[356]

“方壶胜境”于1770年被发现其中的亮丽彩画正在以令人忧心的速度褪色，这些彩画是大约十年前花费12418两白银完成的。因此当时负责这项特定工程的官员苑丞陆金以及苑副阿尔邦阿都受到责罚，他们各自要缴纳相当于半年俸银的罚金。他们的主管即内务府总管大臣三和也因为这件事而受到牵连，他必须要分担这项昂贵工程处理不当的后果，缴纳了相当于三个月俸银的罚金。[357]

三和于1771年因为粗心大意，以柏木代替松木作为双鹤斋的建材，再一次被罚三个月的俸银。[358] 1776年，文源阁前门的墙壁因为偷工减料而出现裂痕，负责这项工程的副都统和尔经额以及其他包括征瑞在内的三名高层园务主管都遭到降级处分。[359]

园务主管故意浮报建材价格和挪用公款等滥权行为是更为严重的罪行。[360] 例如在1769年，园务主管苑副吉荣因为在“鱼跃鸢飞”的彩绘工程的估价当中浮报了将近一成（大约136两白银）而被定罪；在定罪之后，吉荣遭责打五十大板并失去职位。[361] 1770年春天，员外郎五保和他的手下因为在进行圆明园内至少十个地点的营建工程时侵吞了1330英尺（约405米）珍贵楠木而被定罪，五保被革职并下狱成为囚犯。[362]

正值多事之秋的咸丰皇帝下诏罪己，可说是一种既特殊又独特的处罚。1852年，他为了惩处自己而取消在圆明园里定居，因为他觉得实在不好意思在太平天国叛乱之际园居取乐。虽然如此，他的自我处分并没有维持太久。咸丰于1854年的春天又回到圆明园来欣赏花季。最初，他的户部右侍郎王茂荫反对咸丰重返圆明园的决定；这位侍郎虽然勇于进谏，但亦因而遭到失宠的处罚。不过，王茂荫的谏言未能迎合上意所得到的下场，并没有吓退其他官员继续冒言直谏。御史薛鸣皋提醒皇上，御驾重返圆明园定居需要相当可观的维修费用，这些花费在当前的艰难时刻将难以负担。咸丰为此不悦，辩称他并没有要在圆明园内寻欢享乐的意图，而是宜人的园林环境有助于他在危难之时好好地处理政务；再说，他离开圆明园之久甚于任何一位先皇；他因此希望臣民能够明白他专心平乱之志，并希望他们看到他的政绩而不是以他居住的地方来作评断。咸丰将重返圆明园居住的行为合理化，也就驳回了这位御史指责他耽于逸乐的言下之意。错怪皇帝将是一件严重的罪行，这位御史后来被指控侮蔑圣上以博取清名和美誉。他的禄位虽保，但也因而受到应有的调查与惩罚。[363]

导致火灾之人，即使是无心之失，也会被彻底调查并追究责任。蓄意纵火在圆明园内虽然很少发生，但却被视为最严重的罪行之一，甚至在防火和救火上表现稍微不够机敏也要受罚。1756年2月，一班太监因为在“春宇舒和”值班期间没几天就意外地两度发生火灾而遭受严惩。调查断定，太监杨明在打扫这座避暑楼阁的二楼时吸烟，可能因此引起火灾，这个太监于是被发配到黑龙江附近的满洲边陲为奴。太监曹玉善则因为跟杨明同在二楼却未能阻止他在值班时吸烟，也同时遭到流放，只不过流放的地方没有那么艰苦。这两个太监的主管杨进朝也被指疏忽职守，因而被判戴上枷锁两个月、打一百大板及做苦工。更高位阶的总管太监李玉与陈进忠每人缴相当于一年俸银的罚款，以分担这次起火事件的责任。当天晚上起火的时候，两个平时在现场的工人临时被调派到别的地方，因为不在现场而被宽恕。[364]这些案例中集体负责与受罚的事实凸显了火灾的严重性。

超过一个世纪的小心火烛之后，圆明园最终在1860年被焚毁。这座帝王宫苑在外国侵略与军事失败之余被征服。纵火者是战胜的敌人，无论帝都或宫苑都只好任由他们摆布。包括亲王载垣在内的多位负责守护圆明园的大臣莫不为宫苑成为炼狱而自请降罪，但咸丰皇帝宽恕了他们。咸丰心里很清楚，除了他自己之外没有人应受责罚。最后，他选择了一个维护颜面与避免尴尬的解决办法，就是褫夺部分官员的荣衔，但仍

然保留他们的职衔。[365]结果是没有人因为火烧圆明园而受到惩处。

严重烧毁的圆明园尽管得到严密的监管，但已经变得更加难于守卫。位于福海中央的“蓬岛瑶台”，虽逃过1860年的劫难，却突然在1870年8月21日起火。守卫虽然于深夜注意到火苗窜出，并立即向园里的太监首领汇报，但救火的努力受阻于缺乏跨越大湖救火的设备，以至于缓不济急。结果，这座湖中宫殿虽逃过当年的劫难，但仍然在十年之后毁于祝融。内务府虽然怀疑有人纵火，却无法确定火灾的真正原因。太监首领和守卫者被指责未能在第一时间采取足够的防火措施，之后又没有尽力灭火。他们不是被褫夺职衔，就是杖责，或同时接受两种惩罚。当时的圆明园总领董福，也为这场火灾缴了相当于他三个月俸银的罚款。[366]

随着时光的消逝，迅速没落中的圆明园不断有缺口让外人在没有得到准许的情况下进入，阻止闯入者就变得越来越困难，无数的窃贼轻易地穿过残破的城墙而入。例如在1861年6月13日，一个名叫米老尔的窃贼潜入西洋楼偷取青铜、器具和炉子时被抓。[367]

同治在位期间的1862年1月24日，新成立的总理衙门（处理洋务的机构）向朝廷奏报，有一名外国人未经许可就偷偷地攀越福缘门进入圆明园。他在房间翻看书籍时被当值太监发现。这名被捕的外国人叫张勉行，大概就是德国人恩斯特·奥尔末（1847—1927）的中文名字。任职于天津中国海关的奥尔末以不知道规定而声称无辜，不用说他还受治外法权的保护。总理衙门的大清官员以这名外国人实际上没有偷取任何东西而适时地宽恕了他，就这样轻易地免去了私闯禁地的刑责。但在另一边，这些负责守卫宫苑的太监却担心受到惩罚，并煞费苦心地向内务府解释，他们虽尽了全力，也无法阻止这个外人闯入。这宗事件进一步证明守卫这座废弛宫苑的难度。除试图以严惩阻挡本地的私闯者外，清廷当局也透过总理衙门知会了在北京的四个公使馆，声明圆明园仍然是禁绝任何游客的御园。[368]但不管怎样，大量的奏本显示，从1861年到1871年这十年期间，窃贼和私闯者从未间断过，之后的情况更是不断恶化。

事实上，最棘手的问题乃是由内务府委任去看管圆明园的人监守自盗。例如在1861年5月，太监岳成高和韩得寿从圆明园偷运了一些黄铜制品牟利。除了太监，满洲旗人和之前的园户成员对圆明园都熟门熟路，这让他们多数情况下可以偷完东西安全撤离。他们偶尔也会被捉到，例如在1863年6月，两个曾为园户的满人管三与何安瑞就从紫碧山房偷

走了几十件玉器。他们供认潜入这座熟悉的山庄偷取贵重的玉器，然后到附近的古董店变卖。贫穷不能成为借口，他们被定罪并打入大牢，没多久就病死在牢里。不过，他们供出来的同伙因为缺乏证据而脱罪。[369]

很多贫困的满洲旗人因为曾经在圆明园居住和工作过，知道哪里可以找到值钱的东西。根据记载，匠役鲁雨子跟其他12人在1866年1月25日利用黑夜作为掩护，越过绮春园的北面城墙，经由下水道进入河神庙，偷走了19尊大大小小的青铜佛像，并将其全部打烂，当作黄铜碎片卖给一家海淀的店铺。[370]

大概半年之后，在1866年7月20日的一个晚上，前园户成员李三生在芮桂子和李小二这两个帮手的陪同下，经由一道水闸回到圆明园，他们从桥上拿走四块厚木板，然后到北京城北的德胜门市集卖钱。不过，当他们在7月21日晚上再回到园里来偷东西时，李三生被总管太监董福当场抓住，而他的两个同伙却逃之夭夭。[371]

在同一年的11月16日，三名来自宛平的窃贼刘玉儿、赵英和赵三攀越破落的城墙，来到西洋楼一带，他们从喷水池锯掉超过640盎司（约18公斤）的青铜管，并在第二天以60贯钱卖给锡铺老板赵云成。由于食髓知味，他们在11月21日的晚上再度尝试犯案，他们通过水闸进入长春园偷取大约500盎司（约14公斤）的破黄铜，并以55贯钱的价格卖给同一人。当他们一行三人在11月30日沿熟悉的路线第三次摸黑进入长春园时，遇上在“谐奇趣”巡逻的太监，结果赵英当场被捕，而他的两个同伙最后也被巡逻的太监捉到。这三个窃贼最后全被送进牢房。[372]

不过，落网的小偷似乎只是一小部分。例如窃贼王九十和他的同党在1868年供称，他们在被捕之前曾经得手了五次，每一次都偷走好几百盎司破烂的黄铜、铁、锡以及多尊青铜小佛像，变卖后获得大量金钱。这些窃贼对破铜烂铁情有独钟，很明显是由于它们容易取得而又能卖出好价钱。据报，当地市集充斥着来自圆明园的赃物，这一点也不让人惊讶。当地的居民也供称，很容易就能买到一些属于圆明园的东西。内务府实在有太多丢失的东西要清点，而归还园内旧物后可以既往不咎的保证并未对自愿交还起太大的鼓励作用。[373]

根据大清律例，偷窃皇家财产者可以判处死刑，但因偷窃圆明园的财物而被判死刑者很罕见，大概是因为此类小案子实在太多而无从追缉和起诉。更何况大多数窃贼似乎都是跟皇室同属一族、为贫困所苦的满

人，因此一般都被免于极刑。内务府于1868年10月3日所作的记录，就显示出这一点。一个曾经在圆明园工作的叫张八、又名林三的满洲白旗人，在1862年于昆明湖偷走那只著名的青铜水牛的尾巴。他虽然被定罪，但以开除旗籍、墨刑（在脸上烙字）、责打一百大板和流放到2000里（大约666英里）远的地方来取代死刑。不一般的是，数年后当他得到赦免并返回北京后，他居然胆敢再次潜入圆明园偷窃黄铜碎片。[374] 我们没有任何有关他最后下场的记载。

就防止窃贼进入圆明园一事而言，1900年的义和团运动标示着另一次恶化的开始。这场风暴使圆明园防备尽失，宫苑实际变成了废墟。然后，当清朝在1911年灭亡之后，逊位的皇帝和他的内务府更失去了保护原址的正当性和权力。虚弱的共和政府也不能守护好这座历史遗址。在这种情况之下，窃贼和强盗横行。直到1976年，圆明园的管理机制方才建立起来。

皇家在圆明园的起居

中国的皇帝也就是所谓的天子，理当有最大的享乐；在帝制时期的中国，国家和人民都要“供奉一人”，只有统治者自身的意识才能抑制他的感情和欲望。从这一点来看，华丽的圆明园足以匹配大清皇朝至高无上的地位。雍正皇帝登基后，圆明园逐渐发展成熟；雍正在宜人的环境当中添加了多座宫室和办公需用的建筑，并设下了“政从园出”的先例。其实，从雍正到咸丰五朝清帝都尽情地享受那超过500英亩（约3036亩）、设有几百座殿堂和亭子的风景胜地以及极其奢华的生活。他们终于将圆明园作为常居之所，甚至成为他们最重要的居所，每一年的大部分时间都在园里度过。曾经亲眼看过紫禁城和圆明园的英国人额尔金毫不迟疑地说：“清帝喜欢圆明园一点也不令人感到奇怪。”[375]

到底皇室在圆明园里过着什么样的日子呢？神秘的面纱直到近年获得清宫档案资料才被揭开。尽管这些资料有其局限，但至少让我们得以抹去历史的尘埃，一窥清帝在圆明园内生活的片段，甚至惊鸿一瞥在壮丽奢华的宫苑高墙背后的一些活动。

在五位清帝当中，乾隆在圆明园花了最长的时间和最多的金钱。他尽可能选择在这座他最喜爱的宫苑里居住，只在完全必要的情况下才返回紫禁城，比如在每一个农历新年的第一天执行祭仪和庆典以及每逢盛夏到热河巡狩。就以1775年前后来说，乾隆留在圆明园的时间共计168天，大约占一年当中43.86%的时间，其他的时间是105天在紫禁城，66天在热河的承德避暑山庄（从8月到10月），44天在孔子的故乡曲阜（从2月到3月）。[376] 这与1752年的情况没有重大差别，这一年皇帝大约有175天留在圆明园里。[377]

即使在离开圆明园的短暂期间里，乾隆也会很想念这里。在他大量的诗作当中，有一首于1752年巡狩归来途中完成的诗，就流露出他思念圆明园的心情：

塞搜旋跸溯皇州，仙苑澄辰霁景浮。
恰似看山移画帧，忽因乐水漾棠舟。
枫留红叶宜题句，菊艳黄花欲挽秋。
两月景光不多子，一窗明影故如流。[378]

乾隆一天的作息

1756年是乾隆在位第20年。按照惯例，乾隆会在紫禁城里度过农历新年，因为他要在那里履行各种典礼的责任。大约一个星期之后，他便返回圆明园。他要离开紫禁城的当天，很早就起来了，头戴本色貂皮缎台冠，身穿酱色宁绸面黑狐袍、貂皮寻常端罩、有栓扮黄线子寻常带，脖子挂上东珠数珠，脚着白布棉袜和青缎羊皮里皂靴。乾隆平常穿戴的饰物和衣着的颜色，大概如此。[379]

侍从为他着衣完毕之后，乾隆就乘坐四人小轿，经过凤彩门移驾到他日常处理政务的乾清宫。乾隆在这座宫殿里接见西藏达赖喇嘛的使者。他在会面之后，来到西暖阁进用早膳，之后就到钦安殿的斗坛拈香磕头。乾隆在完成这些仪式之后，就离开紫禁城前往圆明园。乾隆是乘坐八抬暖轿从紫禁城移驾至圆明园。在抵达之后，乾隆和他的侍从穿过二宫门，并在奉三无私殿作短暂的祈祷，之后就继续前往“九州”上的寝宫歇息。

当天接下来的活动就是泛舟至“慈云普护”的佛寺，以表诚心，并驾临“鸿慈永祜”的安佑宫参拜，返回途中往“长春仙馆”探望母后。乾隆回到“九州”休息之后，就到舍卫城南的同乐园进用晚膳，膳毕在秀清村和如意馆停留片刻，最后才回到“九州”就寝。[380]

到了第二天，也就是农历新年的正月初九，是玉皇大帝的诞辰。乾隆很早就起床到“九州清晏”去参拜玉皇大帝，那里已经准备好食物等贡品作御祭之用。在用完早膳之后，乾隆就乘坐龙船到十字亭，然后坐上四人抬的轿子，移驾至一个大蒙古包内，在那里接见正在等候的蒙古亲王。会面结束之后，乾隆游览万寿山，在佛楼拜佛，然后在同乐园进用晚膳。餐毕小睡之后，就前往水岸边等候他的母后驾临。这对母子在“山高水长”的大校场里结伴观赏色彩缤纷的花灯表演。节目结束之后，乾隆亲自护送他的母后到水岸边，并目送她离开，然后才回到“九州清晏”就寝。[381]

到了正月初十，乾隆因为某些事务而必须返回紫禁城处理；不过，他只短暂停留了两天。乾隆在返回圆明园的当天晚上，又到同乐园去进用晚膳。用膳完毕之后，他到“山高水长”去观赏摔跤和烟火，并接待众亲王和大臣。之后，他坐着四抬大轿移驾至十字亭，然后泛舟至同乐园，稍进宵夜之后就回到寝宫入睡。[382]

乾隆在圆明园内的起居反映出，他常与母后在一起。乾隆的母后就是历史上有名的孝圣皇太后（1693—1777），乾隆以事母至孝闻名，在登基之后就把母后安顿在他最喜爱的“长春仙馆”。他似乎不仅仅作为一个孝子遵循儒家的道德教训，而且对他的母亲表达出真诚的亲爱和尊敬。他是他母亲唯一的儿子，所以彼此相当亲近。每当乾隆有空闲的时间，就会陪伴她游览圆明园。每当端午节来临，他很少会错过这个节庆，一定会去陪伴他的母后到仙人承露台，观赏九艘龙舟进行的竞赛。而且，他常常会跟她一起用膳，1775年1月的记载显示，乾隆和他的母后几乎每天一起在同乐园的餐厅进用晚膳。[383]

乾隆对他母亲的深情厚意从未消减。在1777年3月2日，他的母后在“山高水长”观赏花灯表演时，突然病倒。她被送回“长春仙馆”的寝宫之后不久就去世了，享年85岁。乾隆悲伤不已，不仅给她极为风光的葬礼，并且盖了一座名叫“恩母寺”的庙宇来纪念她。此寺位于“鸿慈永祜”里面，建筑式样跟雍正皇帝为去世的康熙皇帝所盖的庙宇一模一样，[384]这座恩母寺一直到20世纪30年代，仍然屹立在圆明园的废墟之中。

皇家膳食

给皇帝和皇族成员准备膳食是一件大事，由御膳房“负责御膳、处理皇帝的膳食以及在特别时节准备盛大餐宴”。[385]

清朝皇帝似乎每天有两次主餐，就是早膳和晚膳，但整天下来不断有各式各样的食品供应。每一顿饭都十分铺张、谨慎和准时地由一大群御膳房的伙头来准备。这些皇家膳食不仅仅是美食，而且极其丰富和多样化。从乾隆时期著名学者兼诗人袁枚（1716—1798）所传下来的著名食谱可知袁枚与他同时代的富人是怎样准备他们的膳食。袁枚引用儒家经典《中庸》里所说的“人莫不饮食也，鲜能知味也”来提倡饮食的乐趣。他有一次在朋友家里尝到一道很好吃的鱼之后，就立即派出他的厨师去学习如何烹调。[386]他的食谱乃集烹饪艺术之大成，从了解材料的属性，到选用作料、掌握火候、使用合适的器皿以及决定整个饭局的铺排等等，都详细列出，把烹饪艺术发挥得淋漓尽致。[387]圆明园里的膳食在品位和排场上，不可能比袁枚在他随园内的膳食来得逊色，其烹饪的规模必定是更为铺张，这是不用赘言的。

在儒家教条的规范之下，一顿标准的皇家筵席是从120道不同的菜色当中，挑选出26道菜来组成。每一道端给皇帝的菜，事先必须由内务

府派出的官员记录下负责烹饪的主厨名字，显然是为了安全起见。圆明园内皇室主餐的规模一般是24道菜，大约比照在紫禁城里所伺候的规模。事实上，没有一个人有那么大的胃口能在一顿饭里吃掉那么多食物，因此清朝的皇帝，特别是乾隆，通常会特别点一些人的名，将几样菜送去，以示他的恩宠和赏识。另有御厨伺候皇后、太后和其他嫔妃。御膳房会对各种要求——包括大小宴会——在接获通知后马上做好准备。宫廷膳食是奢华的，所代表的不仅是浮华，更重要的是帝王的威严，真正的奢华和精致一直是中国统治者饮食习惯的一部分。餐桌上的奢华包括了陶瓷餐具和金银的器皿，由于它们的数量极为庞大，特别有专人负责处理。[388]有人曾说，“事实上，许多清朝皇帝的饮食颇简单”，[389]这跟档案所示相反，从一系列有关皇室菜单的记录可知，皇帝膳食的气派是很大的。[390]

有些盛大的宴会在紫禁城里举行，例如康熙曾经在这里举行过千叟宴。乾隆也于1740年召集包括满洲贵族、大学士和高级官员在内的99人大宴于乾清宫。20年之后，乾隆为了祝贺他母后的70岁大寿，在香山举行了一场极尽奢华的盛宴。在1782年完成第一部《四库全书》时，乾隆邀请了所有参与编纂的臣工出席一场豪华的盛宴，并在宴会过后赐给他们礼物。[391]

圆明园里的厨房也能准备盛宴。例如，五品太监宫殿监督领侍刘进忠为准备1727年1月19日园内的盛宴，共花费了整整八天时间——他要拟定菜单、安排表演（通常是烟火和摔跤）和确认包括怡亲王、庄亲王、康亲王、果郡王和信郡王在内的宾客名单。[392]

在1757年于同乐园举行的一场庆祝农历新年的豪华宴会上，宾客包括了皇室宗族、功臣和来自蒙古与西藏的特别访客。这场盛会跟其他众多的宴会一样，安排了余兴节目，像戏曲表演和吟诗作对。在1790年，来自朝鲜、琉球和安南的使节跟其他人一起到北京向乾隆祝贺八十大寿。乾隆在圆明园大开宴席来款待他们，甚至向正使祝酒。之后在中午时分，乾隆为这次盛会作了一些诗，向宾客朗读。那些会作诗的宾客，包括几位正使和他们的副使，也用同样的联韵来唱和乾隆的诗。[393]

宫廷宴会是怎样上菜的呢？一位18世纪的俄罗斯外交官在接受乾隆皇帝款待之后，把宴会的进行过程生动地描写下来：

首先端上几张摆满各式各样水果和蜜饯的整洁小桌儿，放置在所有来客的面前。看来这个国家似乎是流行先把甜点水果上桌，至少我在这

里所接受的招待就是如此。就这一点而言，跟许多其他事情一样，中国人的行为跟欧洲是完全相反的。在水果之后，其他食物都是以同样的方式端上，放置在宾客前的小桌子上。这些菜色包括了鸡肉、羊肉和猪肉，全都是它们最好的品种；这些菜不是烹煮就是和酱菜一起炸炒，但没有一样是用烤的。皇帝将自己桌子上的几盘菜送给使节，特别是烹煮的野鸡肉，非常可口。[394]

18世纪末的英国访客，虽然不满意他们“很不舒适的住宿处”，但心情由于“极佳的晚餐”而转为愉快。当他们游览圆明园时，他们在其中一座宫殿里又品尝了一顿便餐，包括“口味稍重、咸味和其他可口的点心，配以水果和甜点、牛奶和冰水等”。[395] 在这个宴会上，每两个英国宾客就安排一张桌子，乔治·斯汤顿形容：“当所有席位坐满时，桌上的盖子被揭开，展露出一顿奢华丰盛的晚宴”。每一张小桌子上像是“盘子和碗叠在一起的金字塔，包括各种大量的美味珍馐和水果”。[396]

在圆明园工作的厨师要伺候的不只是皇帝，还有亲王和大臣们。有文件记载，在圆明园里“四位老臣要求我们从二月四日到二十七日侍奉五十五桌宾客”。[397] 生活在圆明园里的皇帝、皇族和重臣肯定需要一座大型的宫苑厨房，为他们服务。

在御厨房里有大量的工人，按《周礼》规范地分作很多不同的级别。他们包括了膳夫、庖人、内饔、外饔、亨人、甸师、兽人、渔人、人、腊人、食医、疾医、酒正、酒人、浆人、凌人、笾人、醢人、醯人、盐人和幕人。服侍皇帝的御厨房伙头总数可能有2332人之多，外加206名有品位的官员监督他们。[398]

整个清朝一直维持如此庞大的厨役队伍来服侍皇帝，没有一朝例外。尽管我们没有关于圆明园厨师的统计人数，但以皇帝长时期居住在园里来看，他们的数目不可能比紫禁城内的人数少。在圆明园厨房里工作的伙头大军维持了150年奢华与优雅的饮食习惯应该是毫无疑问的。御厨房的每个月食料所消耗的费用，以1898年9月为例估算，大约是2780.92两白银。[399] 根据近人的评估，光是一顿御膳的规模就可以满足100家农户整年的食物所需。[400]

从1725年夏季的记录可以发现，圆明园里有多间冰库用来保存食物，这并不令人惊奇。[401] 事实上，在很早以前，紫禁城里的清室宫廷就开始使用五座大型冰库，其中一座保存了9226块冰，而其他四座则各有5000块。[402] 根据《周礼》记载，早在夏商周三代，宫室里就有一支94

人的队伍，专门负责有关冰和冰库的事务以保存食物。根据规定，任何清帝进用的食物都必须是最优质的“贡品”，通常是从全国送来的最好的地方名产。供圆明园消耗的谷物、谷类食品和蔬菜也是来自附近特别耕作的农地，而饮用的水同样也是取自附近玉泉山的新鲜泉水。[403]

据我们所知，乾隆皇帝喜欢在圆明园内不同的地点进膳。这就说明园里每一个重要地点都需有一座御用的厨房和厨师群。乾隆除了经常在“九州”的寝宫用晚膳之外，也常在同乐园的餐厅用膳，大概是因为附近有一个大戏台，方便他用膳后的消遣。自11世纪宋代以来，中国精英分子在晚宴后享乐已成为一种习惯。

根据新近可查的《膳底档》，我们得知乾隆在1784年农历新年正月十一日于同乐园进晚膳时，在他的餐厅里使用了一张饰以花卉图案的漆桌。这顿讲究的晚膳菜肴包括酒炖鸭子热锅一品、肥鸡油煸白菜热锅一品、燕窝红白鸭子南鲜热锅一品、燕窝肥鸡丝一品、鸭腰口蘑锅烧鸭子一品、冬笋爆炒鸡一品、摊鸡蛋一品、蒸肥鸡鹿尾攒盘一品、百果鸭子攒盘一品、象眼小馒头一品、鸭子馅提折包子一品、鸡肉馅烫面饺子一品以及银葵花盒小菜一品。除此之外，还有四盘用银碟盛的细切黄瓜、酱菜之类；咸肉一品；野鸡瓜一品；粳米干膳和鸡丝燕窝汤。在这顿极其丰盛的晚膳之后，晚上还有一顿夜宵。这顿夜宵有燕窝红白鸭子三鲜汤一品、燕窝炒鸭丝一品、燕窝冬笋锅烧鸡一品、熏鸡咸肉一品、香蕈鸡一品和溜鸭腰一品。[404]

宫廷菜单里有很多以燕窝为材料的菜肴，因为中国人认为燕窝是少有的珍馐。[405]根据清代学者袁枚的说法，燕窝是非常罕有而珍贵的食品，即使富有之家也无法经常食用。烹调燕窝的最好方法，就是在烧煮之前，先用清水泡浸大约两盎司（约57克）的燕窝，然后跟金华火腿和鲜菌一起放在嫩鸡汤里煮，直到燕窝本身煮透为止。这道菜没有油脂，所以滋味清淡。[406]皇帝经常服用这种珍馐，很可能主要是为了滋养补身，而非为了品尝美味，毕竟，正如现代学者所测定，燕窝的胶结物富含蛋白质，并含有钙质、铁质和核黄素。[407]

前文提到的宫廷饮食菜单里，还有一点引人注意，以鸡鸭入菜的次数多于猪、牛、羊或海鲜。至于调味和作料，只有酱油、油、盐、醋、玉桂、姜和胡椒。无法确定这是所有清朝皇帝的标准菜单或是只反映乾隆个人的口味，但后者似乎更接近事实。如果的确如此的话，在中国菜系中，乾隆很明显是比较喜欢北方菜。不过，圆明园里的御厨完全有能

力应付任何来自皇帝的需求。

1784年农历年正月十二日早上，乾隆在长春园里的淳化轩进早膳。这顿讲究的早膳跟昨天夜里的晚膳一样奢侈，菜单仍旧包括多道用切丝、调味或烤制的鸡鸭肉与燕窝同烹的菜肴，再加上鹿尾、开胃菜、小包子、白糕、肉菇馅包和盛在银盒里的冷盘。桌上另外还有四碟用银盘盛载的切细的蔬菜、咸肉、野鸡瓜、鸭肉烩面，配上白饭和稀饭以及水果。除了这些主要菜肴之外，在餐厅里的几张小桌子上，摆放了各种以小麦制成的面点、奶和冷猪肉片与羊肉片以满足乾隆的胃口。用过这一顿丰盛的早膳之后，乾隆就前往“山高水长”，在一个大型的蒙古包里跟一班喇嘛会面，同时有各种不同的面条伺候。虽然当天没有一顿正式的午膳，但一些简单的食物像面条、水果和茶都充分供应。到了晚上，乾隆返回同乐园用晚膳，菜单跟头一天的晚膳差不多。[408]

清代的统治者似乎都很有规律地饮用适量的葡萄酒和谷物酒，但确实很少喝奶。看来费尔南德·布劳岱尔（1902—1985）所说的“中国向来刻意地不用奶、奶酪和奶油”的论点是正确的。[409] 在所有饮料之中，中国人饮用最多的非茶莫属，那是中国的国饮。以茶代酒的习惯似乎最早可追溯至三国时代（220—280）。在大清朝的中国，满人与汉人都习惯把茶叶当作珍贵的结婚贺礼。[410] 事实上，在紫禁城和圆明园里的每一幢主建筑内都有一间优雅的茶室，即茶房。重要的皇室成员像皇帝、皇后和皇子，每一个人都有他们自己特定的茶室。皇帝的茶室称为“御茶房”，由两名七品的官员打理，他们负责处理茶叶、茶壶和瓷、金、银的茶杯。茶叶一般会准备在茶壶或茶杯里，再加入滚热的水，经常是趁热喝，不加糖或其他添加物；冰茶则是闻所未闻。在圆明园里用来泡茶的清水只取自附近的玉泉山，那里的水质被视为是最好的。乾隆于1756年南巡的时候就随身带着这种“最纯净”的水。[411]

当1784年的元宵节也就是正月十五来临时，圆明园一如往昔张灯结彩、放烟火和演“连台戏”。各种不同的丰盛食品用来款待皇室成员、贵宾和一些蒙古亲王。在这个特别的日子里，乾隆很早就起床到“鸿慈永祜”的安佑宫里参拜，在休息时会有甜汤圆侍候着。当日他在同乐园里进用有24道菜的早膳，这些菜肴包括了燕窝鸡丝、烤鸭、片野鸡肉、鹿茸蒸鸭、蒸鸡、烤鹿肉、碎猪肉、蒸菜包、蒸鸡肉汤圆、腊肉和各类蔬菜。有些菜肴是用特别的碗盘来盛载，例如碎猪肉就盛在一个金盘里，烤鸭放在珐琅器上，用银盘盛着腊肉。这顿元宵节的早膳另外还有一个特色，就是供应非常多的小点心和各式各样的糕点，以及多种由后宫嫔

妃特别准备的菜肴。[412]

乾隆用完这顿早膳之后，就跟平常一样，来到正大光明殿里的听政厅。与一般日子唯一不同的地方，就是在厅房里有几张桌子上摆放了面点、水果、糕点和甜汤圆；每一样菜肴都盛在白玉盘或精致的瓷碗里。乾隆在他的听政厅里已经没有胃口再吃东西，所以命身边侍候的叫做厄禄里的太监，把这些食品作为御赐之物送给亲王、嫔妃和内阁大臣享用。[413]

元宵节的午膳极为奢华，在奉三无私殿的华丽餐厅里，有32道不同的菜肴呈现在紫檀木餐桌上，并摆好特别准备的筷子、瓷匙、玉碗和银碟以及餐布和纸巾。乾隆在亲王、嫔妃和宠臣等受邀的嘉宾聚集之后才现身，他随着音乐演奏声驾临餐厅。当乾隆就坐御座后，奉上热菜。照例每两个宾客被安排坐在一张桌子上，依次享用热菜、羹汤、奶茶、美酒、冻肉、蔬菜和甜点。当菜肴一盘接一盘奉上的同时，有柔和的音乐在伴奏。午膳结束之后，乾隆赐给他的宾客一碗特别为元宵节准备的甜汤圆，以表达他的愉悦和仁爱。[414]

到了元宵节的下午，太监常宁给乾隆奉上一些流质的热食，像燕窝、鸡鸭或羊肉蛋汤和奶茶，此外几张桌子上还摆了葡萄酒和一些酱菜与糕点。日落之后，夜幕低垂，乾隆让他的宾客——包括来自蒙古和朝鲜等的贵客——到“山高水长”观赏烟火，并享用由仆役奉上的果品和汤圆。[415]

这场节庆盛会又持续了好几天；不过，原定在正月十七日举行的烟火，因为下雪的关系而被取消。乾隆大部分时间只好留在室内。当晚，乾隆享用了一顿极其丰盛的宵夜，包括燕窝烩鸭子一品、豆腐干炒菠菜一品、羊肠羊肚汤一品、燕窝炒鸡丝一品、溜鸭腰一品和猪骨一品。[416]

嬉戏与娱乐

作为一个享乐的地方，圆明园提供了很多种类的娱乐。其中最好玩的项目之一就是在园里（通常在同乐园）设立一个刻意造出来的市场，为皇帝和他的宾客娱乐之用。这一活动在乾隆年间几乎每年都举办。许多太监在市场里到处游走，并装扮成掌柜、茶楼老板和贩卖古董、书籍、家具、丝绸、瓷器、漆器等的摊贩。为了看起来就像真的北京市集商贩，以求尽兴，太监们大声地吆喝，就像商贩那样叫卖，同时努力模仿

商贩，拉着客人的衣袖求售。为了呈现出一般街道的景象和那些真正街道经常发生的事，他们甚至故意互相争吵或打架，等待衙役来逮捕。作为庆祝节目之一，这个有点像“迪斯尼”似的虚幻市场，一般会在新年期间一连持续九天。[417]

农历六月的第十八天是著名的“跑御马”的日子，清帝会观赏他的御前侍卫在圆明园的北墙外策马。一个侍卫在策骑的时候，旁边还牵领着另一匹马；在跑马的过程中，这名侍卫会鞭策旁边的那一匹马，就在这匹马因为被鞭而加速的时候，该名侍卫就会跳到那匹马的背上。侍卫如果能够从后面骑上那匹正在奔驰中的马，就能得到最大的赏赐；而成功地在并行时骑上另一匹马的侍卫，只能获得二奖；即使在跳上另一匹马的过程中坠地的侍卫，也能从皇帝那里得到一些赏赐。曾经住在圆明园里的五位清帝当中，只有咸丰没有亲自主持过这项活动，而由品位较高的官员替他执行。[418]

五位清帝经常以这座让人自豪的宫苑接待来自邻近藩属国（特别是朝鲜、安南和琉球）的国王、亲王和其他显要。被满洲人视为亲密盟友的蒙古，更是这里的常客。1757年农历正月初九就有这样一次接见。乾隆在“山高水长”接见蒙古宾客，并设下盛宴招待，以表示对他们的重视。五天之后就是元宵节这个大日子，那是中国人最喜欢的节庆之一，各个阶层的百姓都在这天尽情地玩乐，庆祝这个节日就是要敲锣打鼓和赛马，才让这一天过得热“闹”哄哄。[419]

在圆明园里，乾隆在元宵节的前夕会先沐浴，然后才就寝。他会在元宵节当天很早起床，跟着在正大光明殿品尝一些水果之后，就会前往“鸿慈永祜”的主殿安佑宫参拜。在同乐园跟他的母后共进早膳之后，就到长春园里的佛寺祈拜。到了下午，则享用由糯米粉搓成的甜汤圆（元宵），作为节日美食，然后在他的寝宫休憩。当夜幕下垂后，他乘坐四人抬的轿子来到“山高水长”，欣赏让人兴奋的表演节目，包括摔跤、灯舞和一年中最盛大的烟火表演。来访的蒙古亲王仍留在城中，受邀作为贵宾参加这场庆典。所有人都陶醉在大校场上灿烂烟火照亮夜空的壮观景象之中，同时不断有食物伺候和音乐演奏。[420]

法国传教士王致诚就经历了圆明园里盛大的“灯会”并补充了一些有趣的详情：

每年第一个月的第十五天都会庆祝，即使再穷的中国人，当天都会点起他的灯笼，而灯笼本身有不同的形状、大小和价位。在这一天，全

中国都被照亮了，而最明亮的地方就在皇帝的宫殿里；尤其是那些已经描述过的享乐场所。没有一处楼阁、殿堂或门廊的天花板上不挂上几盏灯笼。在所有溪流、河道和湖泽上，也都会放上几盏制作成小船形状的灯笼，浮在水上来回飘荡。在所有山丘、桥梁和几乎所有的树上，都挂上一些灯笼，这些灯笼制作得极其漂亮，有鱼、鸟、兽、花瓶、水果、花卉以及不同种类、大小不一的船等各种造型。有些灯笼是用丝绸制成，有些则是利用兽角、玻璃、贝壳以及其他上千种材料制成……中国人把林林总总的灯笼展示在他们的建筑物里，工艺精巧，品种多样——这一切让我佩服他们的创意之富，并且禁不住要承认：与之相比，我们就显得穷酸与贫乏。[421]

在灿烂的烟火表演结束之后，元宵节也就告一段落了。乾隆出席于同乐园举行的夜宴之前，先回到他的寝宫，享用一些应节的甜汤圆。夜宴过后，乾隆随同一支灯笼队伍返回“九州”。[422]

灯笼和烟火显然是圆明园里一大乐事，在园里任何地方都看得到，尤其在湖边。许多曾经目睹过的人，把他们的印象写了下来，像18世纪著名的历史学家赵翼（1727—1814）就有幸跟乾隆一起在圆明园内观赏节庆的烟火，他描述道：

上元夕，西厂舞灯、放火最盛。清晨先于圆明园宫门列火数十架……日既夕，则楼前舞灯者三千人列队焉，口唱太平歌，各执彩灯，循环进止，各依其缀兆，一转旋则三千人排成一“太”字，再转成“平”字，以次作“万”、“岁”字，又以次合成“太平万岁”字，所谓“太平万岁字当中”也。舞罢，则烟火大发，其声如雷霆，火光烛半空，但见千万红鱼奋迅跳跃于云海内，极天下之奇观矣。[423]

这位历史学家对烟火奇观的描述，可以从乾隆身边的朝廷官员为其中一场庆典所作的诗中得到共鸣：

银汉星河不动尘，斜飞火凤入勾陈；
一声雷起地中蛰，万树花开天上春。
太乙高楼灯似昼，未央前殿月移轮；
君王行乐新年盛，先使思光遍近臣。[424]

18世纪末的英国使节也为圆明园里的烟火着迷。他们当中有人形容，这些燃放的烟火胜过他曾经看过的任何烟火。他注意到自己在巴达维亚曾经看过的烟火“无论在气势、壮观还是种类上”，都要“比中国烟火低劣”，中国烟火从设计的新奇、匀称和巧思的角度上来看，都远胜于

前者，并且形容中国烟火“最后如火山般爆发，甩炮、弹射器、鞭炮、火箭和照明弹等齐发，光芒四射；大约一个小时之后，园内还积有大量不散的烟云”。[425]

圆明园让人愉悦和快乐的环境，毫无疑问是最适合给皇帝庆祝自己生日的地方。按例在皇帝生日的当天早上，文武大臣都要穿上正式的服饰，集合在圆明园的正大光明殿。品位较低的官员，比方说三品以下的，就集合在更远的二宫门。皇帝会盛装出席，并由侍候在侧的官员逐一宣召殿内的官员名字，让皇帝一一接受他们的道贺。乾隆于1757年9月25日寿辰那一天在热河狩猎，政府官员就齐集在紫禁城的午门从远方给他致贺。[426]

长寿的乾隆在1790年庆祝八十大寿，其他清朝皇帝都没有机会庆祝如此盛大的寿辰。当时清帝国大致上仍然和平与繁荣，这位自傲的老人完全有理由去度过一个最盛大的寿宴。在生日的前夕，喜气洋洋和鲜艳的装饰已经呈现出来，从北京的西直门一路布置到圆明园大门。由一名总理钦定大臣监督整个庆祝节目的进行，包括来自全国重要官员和富商的贺礼。记载提到：来自两淮、长芦和浙江等富庶地区的富人，实际上支付了这整个盛大装饰的费用。

这场八十大寿的庆典，在1790年9月25日于圆明园正式开始。长长的祝寿队伍是根据以下的次序来一一觐见：皇室成员、满洲贵族、大臣、武将和文官、耆老、安南国王以及来自朝鲜、缅甸、真腊（今柬埔寨境内）、蒙古和各个伊斯兰部落的代表。在宣召之后，他们就会坐到指定的位置。待他们全都入座以后，所有宾客齐呼“万寿”以示忠诚。位于圆明园南门西侧的山丘也暂时被命名为“迎寿山”，在山顶上竖立了一座新建成的名叫“寿星亭”的亭子。“万寿”成为当天最常挂在嘴边的字眼。“万寿”这两个中文大字展示在开放的戏台上，另有数以百计以吉祥的句子写成的对联在圆明园内到处张贴。乐队不停地在远处奏出愉悦的颂扬乐声，大约有1000名喇嘛聚集在巨大的遮篷底下，念诵佛经以祈求伟大的乾隆皇帝万万岁。所有这一切在这座壮丽的帝王宫苑里营造出一片令人兴奋的景象。一整天不断送来数以千计未能亲自出席寿典的地方官员所发出的致敬贺词。80岁高龄的乾隆仍然身体健康，精神焕发，他在高粱桥北的倚虹堂进用他的生辰晚膳。

这场盛大寿典的花费，总计为1144297.5两白银，差不多比原先预算少了573703两白银，推测是因为热情的满洲族人、大臣、地方上的税务官和地方官筹出补贴费用。许多官员自愿从俸银中拨出一定比例的薪

资，来帮忙支付这巨额的祝寿经费。[427]

事后看来，这场盛大的寿典可能是在圆明园里的最后一场真正的大狂欢；之后，清朝帝国就开始走下坡了。乾隆之后的两位继承人嘉庆和道光都饱受内部动荡和外来威胁之苦，无可避免地为豪华而欢愉的宫苑生活蒙上一层阴影。在咸丰登基的时候，清帝国的政治和财政状况正在恶化之中。就这一点来说，咸丰一度觉得在圆明园里居住会有罪恶感，但他最终还是回到园里生活，并背上了一个逸乐君主的坏名声。

咸丰毕竟享受到了豪华的宫苑生活，圆明园虽到了衰落时期，还是维持着一个美丽而愉悦的皇家花园的风貌。其实，咸丰需要极大的享乐来消除他内心的痛苦。圆明园里的许多忠仆尝试要让他龙颜大悦，最引人注意的一次，就是为了讨皇帝的欢心而找来12个美丽的满洲少女，其中一名叶赫那拉氏的少女，赢得咸丰的特别注意，最后成为恶名昭著、大权在握的慈禧太后（1835—1908），她主宰清朝超过40年的时间。这段圆明园里的皇家风流韵事被写成无数的虚构故事，有一个故事还是西方人写的，这故事的重点是：

在早春的某一天，年轻的皇帝在圆明园里的一个花园里，无所事事地到处闲逛，就在这个时候他听到清亮的少女声音，正在唱着娇俏而通俗的歌曲。他停下来聆听，并当下决定一定要看看是谁用如此诱人的声音在高唱。让他感到欣喜的是，他在避暑别墅里发现一个身穿绣花衣、身材高挑的美貌少女。[428]

这是一个虚构的故事，但有一点是真的，那就是叶赫那拉氏的身材虽不算高但却苗条，她在1856年4月于“九州”里的一座殿堂生下了一个儿子，也就是后来的同治皇帝。这对母子一直居住在圆明园内，直到英法联军入侵。经过大劫之后，母子二人再也没能回到这座宫苑享受皇家生活了。咸丰在热河驾崩之后，这对母子返回北京，唯一能看到的，仅仅是被烧毁后的圆明园。

在道光登基之后，园里剧场的数量不断增长，可见圆明园内可以欣赏戏剧表演。按照规定，二品以下的官员不能陪伴皇帝在紫禁城内观赏表演，但这条规定显然不必在圆明园里落实，咸丰皇帝尤其想要多一些人陪他看戏，而不论其品级高低。至少有一个案例显示，咸丰曾经抱怨陪他看戏的人太少，结果许多住在附近、已经退休的低品官员，一一被宣召至剧场，跟他一起看戏。[429]

大约在圆明园陷落前一年的一个夏日，咸丰正在福海一艘巡航的龙

船上进晚膳，皇帝突然斥退身边的艺人，找来一个会表演腹语的恩龄。这段插曲证实咸丰喜欢诙谐的独角戏和滑稽戏。[430] 慈禧则对京剧相当热衷，在她掌权之后，虽然圆明园已经被烧毁了，但她把清漪园改建成颐和园的时候，没有忘记多建造了几座戏台，今天游客仍然能够在颐和园里看到一座巨大的戏台。

在19世纪50年代，也就是圆明园的最后十年期间，许多清代学者流传下来无数逸闻，说是有很多来自不同民族的美貌少女，到园里取悦这位年轻却苦恼的皇帝。其中一名满洲少女，也就是未来的慈禧，无疑吸引了皇帝的注意。另有传闻说，圆明园的总管大臣文丰买来四名汉人歌女，名为杏花春、武陵春、海棠春和牡丹春。她们各住一座别馆来服侍咸丰，这“四春”再加上叶赫那拉氏就成为著名的“五春”。咸丰很迷恋这些女人，清代的大学者王运（1832—1916）在他一首著名的诗中就引用了上述的一些逸闻：

玉女掷壶强笑歌，金杯掷酒连昏晓；
四时景物爱郊居，玄冬入内望春初。
袅袅四春随风辇，沉沉五夜递铜鱼；
内装颇学崔家髻，讽谏频除姜后耳。[431]

王运的史诗反映了当时圆明园内多彩的宫廷起居仍是怎样的状况。所侍奉的食物似乎跟以前一样讲究。在圆明园的衰落期，布置得最豪华的餐厅设于奉三无私殿里，似乎已经取代了乾隆时代的同乐园餐厅。不过，宜人的宫苑环境似乎无法再真正取悦咸丰，美食、妙韵和漂亮女子都被恼人的动乱时代所糟蹋了。

在圆明园里寻欢作乐也许可以逃避残酷的现实，但有时反而让咸丰更感痛苦。有一次他因为在圆明园里宿醉而没有出席早朝，为了顾全皇帝的颜面，皇后惩罚了那些在夜里伺候皇帝的女人，让她们当了替罪羊。不过，咸丰自己也感到惭愧，承认自己的过错并承诺不再醉酒。[432] 咸丰勇于承认自己失当的行为并愿意负起责任，可见他还是有道德感的。事实上，他于1860年取消在圆明园庆祝他的30岁寿典，也表现出他在艰困时刻里怀有谦恭之心。[433] 这是一个不寻常的决定，因为在圆明园举行祝寿庆典是长久以来的传统。他的真诚可以从另一点反映出来，就是他也禁止任何地方官员到北京来庆祝他的生辰。[434] 但没过多久，外国军队入侵，并且火烧圆明园，从此再没有任何寿庆能够在这座壮丽的宫苑里举行了。

洗劫与焚毁

圆明园毁于外国入侵者之手，必须放在19世纪中西冲突的大背景下来理解。鸦片战争（1840—1842）后的条约架构虽然保障了英国在华的商业利益，为过去马戛尔尼或阿美士德所未能取得的成果，但英国还要寻求她在中国沿海更大的特权。在另一方面，新即位的咸丰皇帝羞于丧失国家利益给英国，所以极力要挽回清廷的体面，绝不愿意交出更多的利益。英国人要修改条约、向中国争取更多特权的要求，亦因此遭到坚定的拒绝，最终导致第二次鸦片战争的爆发，并让圆明园这座精美的帝王宫苑遭遇到焚毁的命运。

山雨欲来风满楼

1856年10月，随着连串谈判失败，英国驻广州领事巴夏礼（1828—1885）挑起了跟两广总督叶名琛（1807—1859）之间的冲突，最后叶名琛被英国人俘虏，并客死在前往埃及的途中。[435] 中国不仅仅与英国人有麻烦。法国神父马赖因为潜入广西从事不正当活动而被捕伏法，法国皇帝拿破仑三世闻之震怒。[436] 结果法国和英国联手，并在俄国与美国的"道义"支援之下，于1857年12月28日占领广州。在无可抵抗的军事压力之下，不幸的清廷于1858年6月26日签订了屈辱的《天津条约》，让大不列颠和其他西方列强在中国取得新的权利和特权。清廷对开放内陆河岸通商以及在北京常驻外交代表特别感到困扰，[437] 众所周知，咸丰皇帝是无可奈何地批准这份条约的。[438]

可是，新条约签订之后还需要换约。清廷的官员曾试图阻止西方列强到北京换约，但没多久便作出让步。剩下的问题是：这些外国人应该走哪一条路线到京城。英国驻华公使布鲁斯拒绝采用清政府指定的路线，他认为这是以前朝贡的路线。另一方面，清政府拒绝英国选取的路线，因为会路经大沽炮台这个要塞。清廷对于英国要求带领大批军队护送他们的外交官员到北京也甚感不满。当中国政府拒绝接受英国的条款时，布鲁斯命令海军司令贺布·格兰特于1860年6月25日径以武力入侵白河。在大沽的中国守军即向贺布的舰队开火，意外地造成英军在人员和战舰上的重大损失。大沽的退敌立即使危机升级。[439]

虽然布鲁斯承认这次未经授权的行动判断错误，并且在这次事件中

遭到英国政府谴责，但是英国人仍然坚持要走他们所选定的路线到北京换约。事实上，大沽的惨败反而"支持了英国的强硬路线"。[440] 伦敦于1860年8月紧急派出额尔金带领一支由贺布指挥、大部分由印度士兵组成的11000人的军队来到中国。这强大的武力让额尔金不觉得有协商的必要。而中国仍然陶醉在这次意外的胜利之中，大沽的最高指挥官僧格林沁更加不愿意妥协。僧格林沁甚至认为，这是教训无礼而又贪婪的蛮夷之人的大好时机。[441] 他于1860年7月14日这一天，仍然信心满满地向咸丰上奏，表示只要继续痛击蛮夷，灭其气焰，中国就能享受几十年之太平。[442]

更有甚者，僧格林沁真的相信，大沽退敌让中国处于上风，他认为长久以来跟外夷打交道的经验是，在两国之间结束战争之后，其中求和的一方一定会向同意和平的另一方作出赔偿。在僧格林沁一厢情愿的想法里，英国人才应该担心清廷会向他们索求赔偿。他坚称，如果中国在这个时候要求和平的话，英国人反而会毫不犹疑地以船炮的损失作为借口，来向清廷索取赔偿。[443] 当僧格林沁得知额尔金想将清廷答应的20名护驾卫兵人数增加到2000人的军队时，更坚定了他强硬的看法。为什么英国人需要派那么多的军队前往北京呢？许多官员心里不免对英国人的意图起了非常大的疑心：如果英国人真的是来换约的话，为什么他们派来超过二十多艘战舰、一百多门大炮和几千名士兵呢？[444]

英国人见中方不会作出让步，决定动武。法国以传教士在中国内陆被杀为由，跟英国联手。英法联军在8月21日出乎意料地轻易从北塘攻入，占领大沽。[445] 僧格林沁作出致命的错误战略，就是从北塘要塞撤退，希望诱敌深入，以伏击他们。但从北塘撤兵的结果让敌军轻易地登陆，让他们不费吹灰之力就进占了大沽。当入侵军队于8月23日进入塘沽建立坚固的滩头堡之后，就在8月26日占领天津，京师为之震动。

极度焦虑的咸丰立即改变策略，从主战转为求和，他派出满洲大员桂良到天津跟占领军谈判。桂良曾经出面谈判1858年的条约，被额尔金视为"老朋友"。不过，取得胜利的额尔金在"附加条款"里提高了求和的代价，[446] 虽然惶恐的桂良在压力之下接受了这些条款，但他的委任状未能取得额尔金的信任。[447] 桂良煞费苦心地要英国人相信，清廷一定会遵守1858年的条约，并且答应英国提出的所有新要求，可是他不能在没有得到北京的同意之下擅自签名，这立刻让额尔金怀疑那只是缓兵之计。于是额尔金的结论是："必须再略加威吓，才能让这个愚蠢的政府进入状况"。[448] 额尔金非常不满，咸丰亦因为桂良在谈判桌上"懦弱"

的表现而烦心。他特别对800万两白银的赔款、外国军队占领大沽以及开放天津通商等新的要求感到极度不安。联军的要求还不仅仅于此，他们坚持有权派出至少几百人的军队，随同使节到北京换约。根据咸丰的实录显示，他高度质疑这些外国人的意图——"若既经议抚，何必拥兵？"咸丰推断："若拥兵而来，显怀莫测。即使迁就进京，必仍有断难允之条款"。[449] 咸丰因此训斥桂良，并且认为战争已经是无法避免。清帝训斥桂良，使得额尔金更进一步相信，中国没有诚意，因此他立即中止和桂良谈判。额尔金于9月8日的信中写道："那些愚蠢的中国家伙在使诈，这给了我一个挥军北京的最好借口。"事实上，他在宣告"我要重起战端"。[450]

咸丰进退两难的困境昭然若揭。一方面，他相信中国要表现强硬一点，以取得可忍受的和平；可是另一方面，他也知道在这个时候，选择战争是相当冒险的。他身边的大臣对他的帮助并不大，有些人要求咸丰御驾亲征以表现抗敌的决心，但另有一些人却劝他以巡狩为名避走热河，不要跟入侵者直接交锋。议而不决最后造成惊惶失措的局面。当不知所措的咸丰皇帝口头上要不惜一战的时候，却于9月10日派出怡亲王（载垣）和军机大臣穆荫到通州，尝试重启和谈以"防止敌军进一步深入"。[451]

额尔金在军队抵达通州之前一直拒绝恢复谈判。9月12日，他接到一封来自怡亲王"甚具挑衅的信"，警告如继续挺进，将会被中国军队迎头痛击。入侵的英法联军仍自继续推进，额尔金则派出威妥玛和巴夏礼到怡亲王与穆荫的阵营以"试探中国的意图"。怡亲王和穆荫接见了巴夏礼、威妥玛和法国代表巴斯塔德。英法的谈判代表再次施压，以提高求和的代价。他们的条件如今包括了进军到通州方圆6英里（约9.7公里）之内、可以在张家湾南边5公里处驻军以及护卫使节到北京的军队人数增加到1000人。怡亲王与穆荫在毫无谈判筹码的情况之下，勉强地接受了这些条款，并在条约上签字。由于怡亲王权高位重，额尔金相信他的承诺是"可以信赖的"。[452]

可是，当咸丰看到新的协议时，相当震怒，完全不能接受。他最感不安的是，不仅允许大量的外国军队进京，而且将外交国书直接呈递到他的御前，无视中国的传统礼节和体统。[453] 巴夏礼向额尔金报告的时候表示，谒见是一个"最难解的问题"。[454] 由于对外国的意图一直存有戒心，清帝及其朝廷必然会忧虑答应异邦要求可能会危及国家安全。

不过，咸丰并不能确定下一步要怎样走，以至于在接下来的几天里作出矛盾的指示。在这种情况之下，当怡亲王于9月17日接见联军的使节，见到带回的三天前签署好的备忘录的回执时，已不再像上次那样好说话，结果彼此僵持不下。当联军得知僧格林沁在张家湾南边重新部署军队，似乎要准备伏击的时候，联军就在9月18日开始攻击这些清军。刚好在这个时候，英国代表巴夏礼等一行人正在返回通州的途中，在路上被僧格林沁的士兵捉住，和其他26名外国人一起全部被押送到北京的监狱里。不久之前，英国士兵也俘虏了天津知府，双方再一次处于交战状况。[455] 就在这个时候，英法联军对恢复谈判又多加了一个条件，就是释放所有的俘虏。[456]

勃然大怒的额尔金在库赞–蒙托邦带领的6700名法国士兵的增援之下，挥军挺进。撤退中的僧格林沁得到胜保和瑞麟指挥的两万人军队的支持，恢复了元气，准备作坚决的抵抗。决战就在9月21日于通州附近的八里桥展开。英法联军在人员和补给方面都遭受了自入侵以来的首次重创。一位法国军官承认，补给不足妨碍了联军在八里桥的军事行动；另一位法国人则赞扬满汉战士令人难以置信的勇气，甚至是额尔金本人于9月23日也说"清军表现优异"。[457] 实际上，在战斗最惨烈的时刻，英国指挥官格兰特将军差一点被蒙古马队所俘虏。[458]

中国军队尽管在兵员人数方面远远超过对方，但仍然无法对抗敌人在现代火器上或者是在骑兵、炮兵和步兵联合作战上的优势，因此清军打输了这场决定性的战斗，也最终打输了这场战争。根据目击者的记载，当受伤的胜保将军被人用轿子送回北京疗伤的时候，满街的民众呼天抢地到处流窜，好像是要找一个安全的避难所来藏身。[459] 中国军事落后，却又犯了一个战略错误，就是投入所有的剩余兵力在北京附近决战。如果中国采取京官徐寿朋所提出的建议，进行有组织的游击战的话，那么敌军将被紧逼在华北的严寒冬季即将来临之前结束战争。[460]

无论如何，英法联军在八里桥获胜之后，北京的门户洞开，许多官员乞请咸丰皇帝从圆明园返回紫禁城，以便守卫京城并防止士气溃散。[461] 不过，战败的僧格林沁一路从天津败退回来，比任何人都清楚防守无望，因而坚决地建议咸丰离京到热河去寻求安全的避难所。僧格林沁的话似乎对咸丰在抵抗或撤退的选择上起了决定性的影响。不过，直到1860年9月21日晚上，咸丰才向他的大臣们透露他最后的决定。决心已下的他在第二天清晨就来到"鸿慈永祜"，简短而又感性地拜别列祖列宗，然后与五位亲王和大学士们在圆明园朝堂上会面。咸丰在这场早会里

，要他的兄弟恭亲王留在圆明园里，在大学士桂良和户部侍郎文祥的辅助之下求和。[462]

咸丰带领皇族成员、满洲贵族、官员和太监等大批侍从逃难，他们匆忙从长春园的东门离开圆明园，因而未带上厨具或帐篷。咸丰跟同行的其他人一样，承受难以想象的困厄；例如他在往承德的路途上生平第一次尝到粗劣的食物。[463]

一如预期所料，皇帝仓皇逃跑导致北京大乱，北京城周围的很多城门关闭。大批民众不管贫富全部陷入恐慌和混乱之中，都想要在这种极度纷乱的情况下逃出这座围城。[464]

掠夺

身处圆明园的恭亲王在醇亲王与惠亲王的协助之下，寻求和平解决，北京的防务就委托给满洲旗营和汉族大臣。八旗的军官被调至内城，而周祖培和其他人就被分配去支持外城的防卫。恭亲王在致额尔金和葛罗的通牒中，将责任推给已被撤职的怡亲王和穆荫两人，希望能因此终止彼此的敌意和重修旧好。不过，英法联军于9月25日发出最后通牒，要求在三天之内释放所有俘虏；恭亲王虽答应在战争结束后立即释放所有俘虏，然对英法联军来说，还是不够。在9月30日那天，额尔金接到恭亲王另一封信，要求联军撤退至张家湾，并承诺和约签署后立即释放全部俘虏。额尔金拒绝了这个请求，终止了双方的通信，并把战务交给他的将领来处理。[465]

北京城周围所有的城门于9月23日晚之后就已全部关闭，结果导致包括粮食在内的物价升翻了天。当时有学者在日记当中写道，市场里的菜迅即一扫而空。[466]粮食短缺再加上兵员不足（据报少于一万人）莫不重创已经低落的士气。敌军暂时停止逼战，显然是因为八里桥一役之后，需要等待补给，却让薄弱的守军更不知所措，连最主战的僧格林沁也失去斗志。[467]尽管北京的情势危急，但恭亲王仍然留在圆明园里。[468]

当英法联军补给完成，他们的先头部队就迅速抵达北京城郊外的齐化门。就在这个时候，英法联军司令通过被俘虏的通州知府要求恭亲王到联军的阵地来谈话，但这位谨慎的亲王并没有立即作出回应。不过，刚好没多久适逢9月29日中秋节，那些外国俘虏被悄悄地从牢房转移到

位于北京北门附近高庙一处比较舒适的地方，还享受了八抬大轿的特殊礼遇。突然之间，囚犯竟然成为贵宾，这当然是因为恭亲王希望这番好意能减少对方的恶感以便促进和谈。所以在10月1日，英国俘虏中官阶最高的巴夏礼就给联军指挥官致函请求停火，但他加了一行外国文字，翁同（1829—1904）[469]注意到却不认识。巴夏礼事后回忆他所写如下：

中国当局现在对待洛赫先生和我都很好。我们被告知这个礼遇是由恭亲王下达的指示。我们也得知恭亲王殿下是一个果断的、有大智慧的人；在这种情况之下，我相信双方可以暂时放下敌意，让和谈有机会展开。[470]

更有趣的是，官员内阁中书梁某在同一天带着酒和牛肉到敌营去慰劳这些入侵者。[471]但包括巴夏礼的信函等种种好意都未能让敌军回心转意。联军主力于10月3日的晚上又继续向北京挺进，两天之后就在距离北京城外只有5公里的地方驻扎下来。[472]虽然北京城内有部分富商尝试向联军献上牛羊作为礼物，以冀敌人不再前进，但却没有半点帮助。[473]

联军组成两列纵队，英军在右，法军在左，穿过城墙围绕的北京城，在几乎毫无抵抗之下汇合于海淀。恭亲王在敌军快要抵达之前，仓皇逃离圆明园。[474]许多近代学者谴责伟大的诗人和学者龚自珍之子龚孝拱或其他中国卖国贼，无耻地带领入侵者到圆明园去掠夺。[475]这些学者似乎都有一种看法，就是外国人如果没有当地人的带领，就无法找到圆明园，但这显然是不正确的推论。龚孝拱被牵涉在内，是因为他会英文，并且有几个英国朋友，这显然是连带之罪。事实上，王韬（1828—1897）可以证明，龚孝拱在英法联军入侵期间，甚至连人都不在北京。[476]

1860年10月6日的晚上7点钟，法国军队首先抵达圆明园。海军上尉迪朋纳与守卫的清军发生争论，清军不顾一切地试图把这些外国人拒于圆明园的大门之外，他们之间的争吵声音"清晰可闻"。[477]根据蒙托邦的记载，大门外的冲突导致满洲八品首领任亮在前门附近身亡，两名法国军官和几名士兵受伤。[478]圆明园虽然有一支达几千人的守园卫兵，但都无法阻止现代武力的入侵，并且在没有进一步的抵抗下就被迫撤退。绝望的圆明园总管文丰投入福海自尽。联军迅速占领了一座人去楼空的园林宅地。据英国人的记载，"所有大人物全都逃跑了，而那些俘虏

都在北京"。[479]

法军的蒙托邦因此就把圆明园及其四周归入他的掌控。圆明园的壮丽给他留下很深刻的印象，他表示"在我们的欧洲没有一样东西可以拿来对比这座园林的奢华"。他觉得他无法用几行字就能描述出"那壮丽的格局，尤其是这些不可思议的奇观使他目眩神迷"。[480]

英国军队因为在附近的喇嘛寺留宿一夜而晚到圆明园。英军首领额尔金在格兰特将军陪同下，10月7日清晨与蒙托邦在圆明园内会面。在前往圆明园的路上，额尔金骑着马，发觉这座宫殿优美地坐落于庭园和林木之间，前面还有一大片旷野。他看来是经过海淀，"看到一座精美而古老的庄严大门和城墙"，然后"沿着一条林阴大道前进，有一排美丽宅院的屋顶铺上黄色的瓦片"。他不久就发现"在园里的不同地方，有40个分开的小宫殿，位于不同的美丽景点"，并且察觉到"这座园林得到细心的管理，小径和道路干净而整洁，有多样而美观、用作装饰的水泽"。[481]他的翻译官罗伯特·斯文豪沿途也在欣赏美丽的风景。他漫步至正大光明殿，有一条卵石铺的路引领他"经过宏伟的树丛、圆湖，到如诗如画的避暑别墅，然后跨过造型丰富的桥梁"。他继续描述道：

这里有一幢单独的建筑如仙境般从湖中央冒出来，倒影映在清澈的碧水上，看来就像浮在水面上一样。接着有一条斜坡小径引领你到一处人工假山构成的诡秘洞窟的深处。当走出洞室，又见到另一个开阔的湖泽。这种如画一般的景象略无休止，引人入胜。实际上，所有这些都是最优美的中国风景，挖空心思的巧艺就是要消除自然的粗糙面，使其变得更加迷人，看来所有都揉合在一起，建成这一宜人的宅院。设计者所调动的资源看来是无穷无尽的，为了让他的作品完美而不会少花一分钱。那些常在经典的中国画作里看到的美景，那些我们之前以为只存在于艺术家想象中的美景，都在这里生动地呈现了出来。[482]

这座美丽的园林也给额尔金勋爵留下印象。在1860年10月7日也就是星期天，他在园里赞美这座"夏宫"是"真正精美的事物，跟英国园林一样有无数的建筑和美观的厢房，里面摆满中国古董和精美的时钟、青铜器等等"。他的私人秘书亨利·洛赫特别欣赏这座园林的建筑之美。对他来说，这些建筑彼此之间由花园、院子和长廊连接起来，却又几乎各自孤立。他认为那座"殿堂"（可能是指正大光明殿）最让人印象深刻。在这座大院里，他看到那些大型建筑物是"由庭院连接着，通过院子就进入宽敞的接待厅，对着相当大的花园，那里有大理石阶沿着湖岸一路延伸出大约有三英里长的小径"。他喜欢汉白玉的扶手、蓝色镶嵌珐琅

的花瓶与假花，还有比现实中还要大的青铜狮子和牛。[483]

英国将军奥尔古德看到一块很大的空地被坚固的围墙围起来，他在里面发现那些宫殿的铺陈"非常优美，四周有人工的水泽、河道、假山、洞室、宝塔和山谷，种植了漂亮的柏木和杉木，相当悦目，这幅如画般的风景还会随着蜿蜒小径的不同角度而有所变化"。[484] 其他众多英国和法国的军官，在他们的伴侣陪同之下，游览圆明园和附近的园林。据说这些外国的入侵者很得意地昂首阔步到处行走，包括满洲旗人在内的当地惊惶居民，则向这些西方征服者下跪。[485]

随之而来的是，英法军队野蛮而又疯狂地洗劫和掠夺圆明园。法国人和英国人互相指控对方先发动掠夺。一方面，法国人直白地指出"是英国人率先掠夺这座园林"；[486] 另一方面，英国人坚称"我们发现法国人在正大光明殿的入口附近扎营，他们大肆劫掠的方式十分可鄙"。[487] 英国人于10月7日抵达的时候，额尔金注意到"每一个房间都有半数以上的财物被取走或遭到破坏"，[488] 暗示法国人在英国军队抵达之前，就已经劫掠圆明园了。不过，近代学者发现法国人掠夺仅限于圆明园本身，因为他们的马匹不多。而英国人就有很多马匹，"可以遍及更大的范围，并带走许多重物" [489] 。

尽管劫掠在欧洲的殖民历史里被合理化，视为战争的战利品，但也意味着军纪之荡然无存，军队因而变得横行无忌。根据罗伯特·斯文豪的回忆，英法联军的纪律在张家湾沦陷之后的确就已经失控了。[490] 额尔金试图看守圆明园，然后拍卖那些战利品，但为时已晚，部分军官已无法控制，他们已经把财宝装满马车，等着变卖或带走。比掠夺还要糟糕的是浪费和毁坏，额尔金指出"每100万磅的值钱财物里，有5万磅的损失"。[491]

许多国内资料记载，外国军队于10月6日抵达海淀和圆明园后不久就发生劫掠和纵火。[492] 其中李慈铭（1829—1895）在他10月7日的日记里写道，外国人在击溃僧格林沁三万大军之后，占领了海淀，恭亲王仓促逃离，然后外国兵就在圆明园和四周到处放火。一些逃到海淀避难的王公大臣又从海淀逃出来，还落下他们贵重的财产。令李慈铭深深感到悲哀的是，不到一万人的外国军队，竟然能在京师附近造成如此可悲的乱局。[493]

另一个同时代的作者也记载，这些外国人在圆明园里以及海淀沿路

不下18个地方一再劫掠。许多贵重财物，包括艺术品、书籍和绘画，都立即被运送到天津，外国军舰都停泊在那里。[494] 在10月7日那天，据说有200名外国士兵闯入清漪园，他们破坏了许多建筑，并拿走任何他们喜欢而又可以携带的物品。[495] 陈文波相信，劫掠是早在10月6日就开始了，而大规模的抢夺就发生在10月7日和8日之间，至10月23日就放火烧毁圆明园，而在圆明园内外发生的大肆抢夺，一直持续到10月25日。[496] 西洋楼也毫不例外地遭到洗劫，里面的家具与画作都被损毁，外国兵兴奋地抢走珠宝、黄金、鼻烟壶、糖果盘子和华美的衣服等等，不一而足。[497]

只花了几天时间的掠夺，就让圆明园失去光彩。据奥尔古德将军亲眼所见，"所有可以带走的贵重物品，包括黄金、白银、钟表、珐琅器、瓷器、玉石、丝绸和刺绣品，以及其他众多的艺术品或古董，都被联军夺走" [498] 。这些掠夺者四处抢夺贵重物品的同时，还毁坏那些他们带不走的东西。这种肆意掠夺的情况于10月9日那天达到高潮，因为有消息传出，在园里发现大量黄金和白银。除了金银之外，这些外国兵也发现一间"装满华丽丝绸和毛皮"的房间。[499]

外国人没有花太多时间就把圆明园和邻近的宫苑洗劫一空。格兰特将军设立一个奖金委员会，并指示他的士兵把抢夺得来的每一件财物上交给委员会。最后这些战利品被汇总起来公平摊分。大量抢劫得来的战利品因难以带走而就地变卖。据洋人的纪录，"变卖后得到一笔相当可观的钱财，总计有26000英镑，然后由军官和士兵一同瓜分"。[500] 可以很清楚地看出，格兰特将军有意地把劫掠转为奖金，就是想要把盗窃来的东西变成合法的奖品，赏给他的士兵。

在英法联军劫掠过后，包括农民和旗人等在内的当地居民，设法潜入圆明园，偷取他们能找到的残余物品。我们可以肯定地说，当地人随后的洗劫使情况更为恶劣；不过，有些人把这场洗劫悲剧全归咎于当地的人，未免明察秋毫而不见舆薪。圆明园里的财宝损失主要是因为胜利的外国军队所施加的报复，是外国的入侵者把富丽堂皇的圆明园及其属园弄得满目疮痍。事实上，这些外国军队自己也承认，当他们发现园里有巨量的财富时，他们就变得相当贪婪，而无视最基本的军事纪律。[501] 沃尔斯利中校特别提及这个情况：

当军队一旦开始劫掠，就不容易制止了。这时，人类的本性使通过纪律来维持的基本约束全然崩溃，结果就连最好的军队也会败坏士气。

[502]

沃尔斯利还指出，"那些军官和士兵似乎陷入暂时性的疯狂，他们的身心只专注于一件事，就是抢劫、抢劫" [503] 。格兰特将军的翻译官罗伯特·斯文豪也谴责他身边的军官是"有执照的盗贼" [504] 。所有这些第一手的欧洲人的证词，再加上英国和法国之间的互相指控，足以确定这些入侵者的失控行为。看来英法联军的高层指挥官不仅没有尽力制止这些令人震惊的行为，而且还放任士兵尽情抢劫。甚至连额尔金和蒙托邦等高层指挥官也不讳言，他们从清帝在圆明园里的寝宫拿走了贵重的物品，并分别献给维多利亚女王和拿破仑三世。 [505] 掠夺品被视为胜仗的纪念品。因此，洗劫圆明园的确是致命一击。

如果说，抢夺是为了使"桀骜不驯的中国人"屈服，它的目的是达到了。在外国占领圆明园和随之而来的大洗劫之后，清廷确实充满了绝望与无助。作为与英法联军联络的重要满洲官员恒祺，就积极地要释放巴夏礼，以请求他帮助双方早一点缔结和约。 [506]

在北京遭受炮击的威胁之下，经恭亲王许可，包括巴夏礼和洛赫在内的八名俘虏于10月8日下午被无条件地释放，回到英国阵营。尔后英法联军就开始从圆明园撤出，并驻扎在黑寺。满洲官员麟魁和庆英立即赶往圆明园查看。他们向恭亲王和文祥所作的报告显示，众多的宫苑建筑，包括在大宫门外的接待处和无数的海淀民居，都已被夷为平地。 [507]

恭亲王急于得知更多有关圆明园损毁的情况，就在第二天特别指派恒祺去查看劫后的圆明园。诺利斯看到恒祺，觉得他是"一位可怜的满洲官员，坐在一个小湖的岸边，两手遮住哭泣的脸，并一直喃喃自语说，一切都没了，让他无以自处"。尽管如此，这位可怜的满洲官员还是发现了早已投湖自尽的圆明园总管文丰的尸体。 [508]

当时清政府已经接管圆明园，但已难以防备本地的掠夺者。那些曾经住在圆明园的人回来，只看到他们的家具被毁，书画也遭损坏。 [509] 李慈铭在10月11日的日记里记载，外国人劫掠之余，流氓、暴徒亦闯入圆明园，他们把抢夺得来的财物一车车地运走。 [510] 礼部官员刘雨楠也在他的日记里记载，在圆明园沦陷之后，海淀的住宅和商业区立即遭到本地人洗劫，之后被烧毁。 [511]

内府务总管宝在英法联军撤离圆明园之后，也立即派出他的下属去视察园里的情况。他于10月12日予恭亲王的报告中表示，几座大殿早在

10月6日就已经被烧毁，火焰在晚上直冲云霄。他还报告了常嫔因受惊过度而死以及圆明园总管大臣文丰自尽的情况。[512] 他后来于10月16日给在热河的咸丰汇报最新的情况：

二十三日（阳历10月7日），夷人二百余名并土匪不计其数闯入清漪园东宫门，将各殿陈设抢掠，大件多有伤损，小件尽行抢去，并本处印信一并遗失。二十四日（阳历10月8日），夷人陆续闯入静明园宫门，将各殿陈设抢掠，大件伤损，小件多经抢去。其静宜园夷人并未前往，各殿陈设照旧封锁。[513]

宝作为内务府总管，身负看管圆明园和其他皇家宫苑的职责，当他不经意地告知咸丰，他仍然没有亲自去视察已遭劫难的圆明园时，咸丰大发雷霆，下旨责难：

宝只知顾一己之命，前于御园被毁既不前往，今于专管之三山亦被抢掠，又不前往，不知具何肺肠！实我满洲之弃物也。姑念其城内尚有照料宫庭事件，着暂免正法，撤去巡防，降为五品顶戴，一切差事暂停开缺，以观后效。[514]

避走热河的咸丰皇帝得知圆明园遭洗劫这个可怕的消息时，极度震惊，包括恭亲王在内的相关大臣都惭愧不已，并誓言拼尽全力保护圆明园。他们也都愿意为这场悲剧接受严惩。[515] 咸丰在昭告天下的榜文中，罢免了几位大臣，不过仍然让他们带罪视事。僧格林沁和瑞麟这两位负责卫戍京师和皇家宫苑的将领，最难以宽恕。主战的僧格林沁因为战败而傲气尽失，他于10月10日的奏报里，详细解释了他的军队——包括著名的蒙古骑兵在内——是如何被外国入侵者阻挠，如何完全无力阻止圆明园的劫难。[516] 咸丰无意宽恕这些将领，他下诏问罪：

僧格林沁、瑞麟统带重兵节节退扎，已属畏葸无能；此次夷人直犯圆明园肆行焚抢，又不能驰往救护，实属咎无可辞。[517]

李慈铭对咸丰的愤怒感同身受，因为作为一个北京居民和知名的学者，他目击了清军的溃败以及京师和宫苑之轻易沦陷，在在都让他深自羞愧。[518]

火烧圆明园

恭亲王向英法联军司令抗议圆明园遭到洗劫，毫无效果，只是进一

步加深了英国人和法国人对清廷珍视圆明园的印象。事实上，他们看到满汉官员如何心急如焚地要在外国军队撤离后就立即重占圆明园。英国的格兰特将军至此确信，满洲皇帝把圆明园视作他"最重要的宫殿"，[519]这也有助于我们理解，英国人为什么最终要烧毁圆明园——为的是让咸丰痛心。

英法联军司令于10月13日威胁说，如果不打开北京城门，就要向城内炮击。恒祺跟巴夏礼谈判的结果，是准许英国、法国和美国的外交人员各自带领1500名士兵进城换约。[520]10月14日的中午，恒祺引领额尔金和三四百名侍从（他们在国子监留宿）进入德胜门，另外还有1000名骑兵，他们将驻扎在安定门。外国的旗帜飘扬在所有城门上，外国的士兵高兴且自豪地大声欢呼。[521]

不过，10月15日当所有被俘虏的欧洲人释放后，他们说出在监牢里可怕的遭遇，更不必说有部分俘虏无法生还，使和谈的进程大为复杂。额尔金立即谴责这是"令人发指的罪行"，并决定要严厉追究。[522]当恭亲王试图跟额尔金和葛罗选定一个日子会面时，却得不到任何回应；直到两天以后，联军愤懑地提出欧洲俘虏在中国监牢里所遭受的虐待一事。除了需要大笔额外的金钱赔偿——也就是要加给英国30万两白银，加给法国20万两白银——额尔金特别要求铲平整座圆明园以雪洗他们的冤屈，而且此事没有任何谈判的空间。他传达给恭亲王的信息中坚持：除非此一新的要求于10月20日前得到首肯，10月22日支付赔款，10月23日换约，否则将重新开战。[523]

这突如其来的转变自是让恭亲王大为意外。他在10月16日仍然在北京城外，而联军却已经进入北京。[524]英法联军之前就对恭亲王关于洗劫圆明园和其他宫苑所提出的控诉置若罔闻，现在额尔金更以傲慢的方式通知恭亲王，将要把整座圆明园夷为平地作为惩罚。这一奇耻大辱无可规避。假使恭亲王表示出一些顽强抵抗的勇气，可能还有一点讨价还价的空间；可是，随着北京被联军占领，他知道他全然要看敌人的脸色行事。他只能一再通过恒祺向额尔金请求放过圆明园。不过，额尔金的态度相当强硬，在10月18日他不再等待，下令放火焚烧圆明园及其属园。[525]

额尔金作出这个要烧毁圆明园的重大决定，全是依照他自己的意思行事，并没有得到盟军法国的同意。事实上，葛罗男爵并不同意将这种极端的报复行动加诸一座宁静升平的园林；对他来说，如果一定要摧毁

某些宫殿的话，那些在紫禁城里作为行政中心的建筑，比没有政治色彩的圆明园更适合作为烧毁的目标。额尔金在与法国人的信函中说明了自己为什么"要对咸丰施以重击，因为咸丰要对所犯下的滔天罪行负责"。在他看来，虐待欧洲俘虏就是"滔天大罪"，不能只赔偿大量金钱了事，清政府也拿不出额外的"巨额金钱补偿"。额尔金也不需要清廷交出"那些犯下虐待其英国同胞罪行的人"，因为他觉得"以这种方式把要为国家行为所负之责加诸个人身上，过于类似中国的作战模式而不能操之在我"。因此，他得出结论，认为摧毁圆明园是一个他所能认可的"最难以反对"的选项。他完全认清了一个事实，就是圆明园是咸丰皇帝"最心爱的居所，摧毁它绝对会打击他的自尊和他的感受"[526]。对咸丰来说，的确是没有什么事比摧毁圆明园更让他痛心。

额尔金确实被归俘忆述的故事所激怒，认为他们需要得到赔偿来弥补他们在监牢里的可怕经历。即使远在伦敦，英国俘虏被虐待的消息亦令帕默斯顿勋爵"愤慨至热血沸腾"。[527]这些俘虏表示，他们被"捆绑"、"送进监狱，禁闭在牢房里并戴上枷锁"。他们当中的安德森中尉因而"精神错乱"，并在监禁后的第九天死亡。在安德逊死后的第五天，传令骑兵拉姆·丘恩"在同一情况下死亡"。在拉姆·丘恩死后的第三天，迪·诺曼也死掉了。安德森死后，这些俘虏的待遇的确有所改善，直到被释。[528]

据巴夏礼本人表示，他的待遇尚算不错。他每天有两顿饭，再加上糕点和"一点点茶和烟草"。恒祺于9月29日把这些俘虏送到高庙之后，那些狱卒反而成为他们的"仆役"。这些俘虏所获得的供应，不仅是"好的食物和床铺等东西，而且还有文具、肥皂和毛巾等奢侈品"。他们甚至可以"随时要求供饭"。在巴夏礼于9月29日送出他的书信并要求继续和谈之后，"水果和糖果点心等大礼"被以恭亲王的名义呈送给他。[529]根据翁同的说法，心怀感激的官员们于10月2日设下盛宴，来款待巴夏礼和其他的俘虏。[530]

中国当时的监狱环境无疑是相当严酷，中国的狱卒很少会善待囚犯。刑部尚书赵光[531]在他那部未刊自传中透露，怡亲王所逮捕的巴夏礼和其他欧洲俘虏，是他所接收的第一批外国囚犯。他曾经向巴夏礼说过，他们"肯定不会被折磨"，不过囚犯戴上枷锁是一条成规，他不敢破例。[532]虽然有些官员要处决巴夏礼，认为他是最恶毒的英国煽动者，但因赵光指出英国猛烈火炮报复的危险而作罢。事实上，是赵光提出利用巴夏礼来重开和谈。他在得到恭亲王的同意之后，就带着巴夏礼和其他

俘虏，从环境恶劣的监狱移送到高庙，并善待他们。[533]

自9月29日开始善待这些俘虏并未能补偿他们之前所遭受的虐待。虽然欧洲俘虏的确受到虐待，但他们其实是被长久以来的中国监狱制度所虐待。没有任何证据显示清廷的当权者（更不用说咸丰皇帝本人）曾经下令要虐待这些欧洲俘虏。恰好相反，刑部于1860年9月18日至19日所留下的档案显示，"要严加看管"这些外国俘虏的同时，他们"日常的供应一定要让他们感到舒适和满意"，且他们"不可以被虐待和羞辱"。[534] 可是，不可忽略的是，那些狱卒出于习惯不一定会严格遵循这些命令。即便如此，如果说中国司法落后应受谴责的话，欧洲征服者们更难辞其咎——在一些恶劣情形下，他们不仅对中国俘虏没有表现出多少怜悯，而且还残酷地对待无辜的老百姓。蔡申之的研究称："说到虐待，中国人被这些外国人虐待远比外国人被中国人虐待要厉害得多"。[535] 当咸丰皇帝得知外国军队蹂躏圆明园、烧毁街道和肆意洗劫北京时，他感觉令人"发指"。[536] 根据记载，清廷的通州知府死于俘虏他的人手中。根据李慈铭的记载，他目睹外国兵在街上凌辱中国妇女。[537] 也许，想要确定谁虐待谁比较多，是毫无意义的；但最终的正义通常是由胜利者所决定。

更具体地说，额尔金独自一人决定最后的正义：即彻底摧毁圆明园。由于他大权在握，作出这个重大决定时，既没有事先知会他所隶属的英国政府，也无视法国盟友的反对。他就是要对咸丰皇帝作出报复。[538] 火烧圆明园的确对咸丰造成很大的伤痛，不过，没多久他就驾崩了。这难以愈合的伤痛大概是因为有150年之久的建筑奇观和宫苑之美就此消逝。但对于额尔金来说，他的决定并没有他原来打算的那么严厉。他本来打算除了破坏所有北京内外的宫殿之外，还要废掉咸丰皇帝。[539]

额尔金用充满愤怒和自以为是的强烈情绪来合理化他的暴力行为。作为一个英国绅士，额尔金可能也会察觉到劫掠的问题，实际上，他曾说过："我喜欢宫殿里面的许多珍宝，但我不是盗贼。"[540] 他谴责法国人"用尽办法毁坏最美丽的丝绸，粉碎玉饰和瓷器"，并"掠走银元和银锭"，但却同时极力否认英国也参与了"胡乱劫掠"。[541] 把整座圆明园夷为平地，看来有销毁劫掠证据的意图，好让许多被盗走的财宝无法再被清点出来。

曾经试图阻止额尔金而无效的葛罗，痛斥决定烧毁圆明园是"如同哥特人的野蛮行为"[542]。几十年之后，法国人跟英国人就圆明园的命

运所作的争论，引起了辜鸿铭（1857—1928）这位受过欧洲教育的中国保守主义者的注意。他痛惜中国未能在法国与英国之间挑拨离间以符合中国的利益。[543] 但实际上，这些纷争还不够严重到足以破坏英法之间的联盟，而中国则太过虚弱而无法以夷制夷。

为了执行额尔金的命令，约翰·米歇尔将军特别指示英国第一步兵师于10月18日准时抵达圆明园，"里面的建筑物分派给不同的步兵连队去加以破坏" [544] 。格兰特将军在给伦敦的国防大臣之急电当中证实，"在10月18日，约翰·米歇尔爵士的第一步兵师在大部分的骑兵协同之下，向圆明园前进，放火焚烧整座宏伟的建筑物，那是一个很壮观的景象" [545] 。现代化陆军所燃放的如炼狱般的大火，迅速地吞噬了这座大部分以木材建成的庞大宫苑，结果是"片瓦不留"。[546] 英国皇家工兵上尉查尔斯·戈登在给母亲的家书里，就描述了这场如同炼狱一样的"壮观景象"：

你几乎无法想象我们所烧毁的这些地方有多么美丽而雄伟。将其烧毁使人心酸；事实上，这些宫殿非常庞大，由于我们必须要在限定的时间内完成任务，使得我们无法彻底地掠夺。大量黄金装饰当作黄铜被焚烧。很不幸，这对军队来说是一件让军纪丧尽的任务，每一个人都因掠夺而疯狂。[547]

另一个英国军官证实：

一阵柔风夹带着大量浓烟，从西北方向吹来，掠过我们的营地上空，吹向京城；同时随风飘起大量灰烬，撒向大街小巷。这是在中国皇帝的宫殿中所做的破坏和惩罚的无声而又凿凿的证据。接下来的几天，在我们的营地和圆明园之间，白天都因为浓烟满天而变得黯然，仿佛太阳正经历漫长的日食，周遭的世界看来好像是被黑影所笼罩。[548]

许多中国人也都目睹了这场大火，即使远在北京的市中心，都可以看到大火烧出来的浓烟。未来的维新派湖南巡抚陈宝箴（1831—1900）在北京一家茶楼里看到浓烟从西北方冒起来的时候失声痛哭。[549] 翰林编修吴可读（1812—1879）记载，不止圆明园，就连其他邻近的众多宫苑也都起火。他在1860年10月18日的日记里写道：

……北日见烟起。缘夷人到园后，先将三山陈设古玩尽行掳掠一空，后用火焚烧…… [550]

李慈铭于10月19日的日记里也记载，"自昨日西直门外火，迄今不

灭"，他听闻外国兵"烧万寿山宫，即清漪园也"。他于10月20日的日记里记载:"又焚圆明园之正大光明殿、勤政殿略尽。"[551]

恭亲王仍然呆在北京城外，他在几名官员的陪同下爬到高地，观望到火光直冲云霄，漆黑的烟云从西北方冒起，让他感到极大的痛苦和愤慨。他在当天晚些时候收到一份快报，确认有几千名外国步兵和骑兵向海淀进军，并对圆明园和三山地区附近的其他几座宫苑纵火。恭亲王在给身处热河的咸丰的上奏中坦承，由于外国军队拦阻通往圆明园的道路，使他无法准确地估算破坏和损失，但他会尽可能快地上报最新情况。不过，恭亲王很清楚总的情况有多糟糕，因为负责联络的恒祺[552]早已向他汇报，这场报复性的大火已将圆明园破坏得面目全非。恭亲王和官员们眼看如此，都深自愧疚而流下泪来。[553]当这可怕的消息传到咸丰皇帝那里的时候，尽管详情还不太清楚，但他已经在奏折中朱批："览奏曷胜愤怒！"[554]

那些放火烧毁圆明园的外国兵，第一时间看到何其壮丽的圆明园被烧至残灰余烬。英国军官沃尔斯利记载："当我们第一次进入圆明园时，那景象使人想起神话中描述的奇妙庭园。我们在10月19日向圆明园进军〔放火〕，只留下凄凉的一片荒芜。"[555]军官罗伯特·斯文豪也在火烧之后的那一天回到圆明园，他写道：

当我们走近这座宫殿时，火焰的爆裂和急窜的声音让人惊愕，阳光穿透浓烟之后，只有微弱的光线照在树木上。红色火光闪烁在纵火军队的脸上，使他们看上去就像一群恶魔在炫耀他们所破坏而又无法被修复的一切。[556]

相当明显，这场大火对环境有长期的影响。近年的研究确认了在1860年发生的火烧圆明园之后，昆明湖湖底沉淀了一层厚厚的灰烬，不单污染了这个区域，而且导致湖中的硅藻灭绝。[557]

不管纵火的行为多么可怖，包括诺利斯和沃尔斯利在内的英国军官相信，烧毁咸丰最深爱的宫苑"有力地促进了协议的最后达成，并巩固了英国使节在谈判时的地位"。[558]他们暗指，恣意破坏圆明园给予咸丰及其朝廷致命一击，因此有助于达成和谈并退兵。

不过，事实跟诺利斯和沃尔斯利的想法完全相反，正是在洗劫和烧毁圆明园期间，恭亲王、桂良和文祥曾一度认真考虑，打算放弃和平的努力。例如他们于10月8日得知联军洗劫圆明园的时候，就建议咸丰延

迟正在进行中的和谈。因为他们认为，中国不管如何不顾其整体利益而愿意对征服者卑躬屈膝，这些外国人看来都无意约束他们的行为。恭亲王他们给身在热河的咸丰所汇报的奏折中，重申他们的态度如下：

败兵纷纷退至圆明园，夷匪亦衔尾而来。探闻各城均闭，臣等即赶紧暂赴万寿寺，仍望再议和局，拟给照会。不料该夷已由东、北两面窜至，占据园庭，焚烧附近街市，令人发指。臣等见事机如此，万不能再议抚局。[559]

这份奏折显示，恭亲王一度曾十分踌躇；不过，咸丰皇帝已经身心俱疲，被彻底打垮，因此极力向恭亲王强调持续和谈的重要性。[560] 看来在北京城投降时，清廷已经屈服于战败的残酷现实。事实上，不管有没有火烧圆明园，咸丰和恭亲王都会接受由战胜者所主导的和谈。在火烧圆明园之前，当北京城与其战略上至关重要的安定门受胁于敌人的枪口之下时，一切就已尘埃落定。[561] 就达成和议而言，把圆明园烧毁完全是多此一举。

庆惠、周祖培和陈孚恩等满汉大臣，在10月19日于北京城外跟恭亲王会面，除了同意认可旧订的《天津条约》之外，还跟英法联军签定新的《北京条约》以达成屈辱的和平。恭亲王因此决定10月23日跟联军主帅会面时，接受新旧条约，包括附加50万两白银，赔偿给曾经受到虐待的欧洲俘虏。[562] 最后恭亲王在10月24日于礼部跟英国人达成新的和约，并承认先前的《天津条约》。翁同叙述这次签约仪式的经过如下：

是日英国换约，以礼部为公所，陈设华美，午刻恭邸至，留京大臣、内外城团防大臣咸集。巴夏礼先到，恭邸立而迎之与坐。有顷，迎额尔金来，设鼓吹，乘八人舆，带马步队各千，恭邸降阶迎。额酋见恭邸，免冠鞠躬，宾主坐，额酋熟视良久，巴夏礼与恒祺皆立侍，以合约彼此画押，即乘舆去，恭邸送之。[563]

翁同含蓄又巧妙地述说了恭亲王如何地忍气吞声；那些目睹这一幕的欧洲军官对额尔金的傲慢自大和冷漠的描述就直白得多了。[564] 不过，从额尔金自己的说法看来，他对恭亲王有一个比较正面的印象，认为他在"中国的协调政策上可以信赖"。[565] 10月25日同样地与法国人举行仪式，达成和约。最后，清政府于10月26日举行官方宴会，除了招待来自英法的使节之外，也邀请了俄国和美国的使节，为这场大乱落下帷幕。[566]

必须注意的是，在10月22日签署和平协议的前夕，英法联军还在提额外的要求。英国要求割让九龙半岛，这将让英国的主权从香港岛延伸至九龙；法国要求宗教自由，让基督教在中国传教不受任何限制；而且英法两国都要中国政府解除中国工人到海外的禁令。恭亲王虽然很不愿意，但束手无策，只能接受所有的要求。[567]俄国作为第三者，趁火打劫，从时运不济的清廷手中夺取了黑龙江以北和乌苏里江以东的大片疆域。恭亲王付出如此庞大的代价，事后却成为英雄，不免有点讽刺。这主要是因为恭亲王主导谈判的结果，使极具威胁性的英法军队从北京撤离。在这非比寻常的1860年年底之前，外国军队就从天津撤走，让清朝在这次危机当中依旧存活下来。

不过，恭亲王的内心深处很清楚此一回合是多么地屈辱。他因而发起自强运动，希望通过仿效西方，让中国以后能够富强。对恭亲王来说，最直接的痛苦必定是圆明园被蹂躏，他一直对此耿耿于怀。他的罪恶感是无可怀疑的，他甚至为了圆明园的损失，而自动地向咸丰请罪。[568]咸丰皇帝并没有因此而惩罚他的兄弟；他只忿恨那些放火烧毁其心爱宫苑的外国人，提到这一场悲剧，他觉得"好生愤怒"。事实上，当火烧圆明园的消息传到在热河的咸丰时，只有30岁的他，当场吐血在地。过了没多久，咸丰就突然在热河驾崩。在他临终之时，对圆明园仍然是念念不忘。他亲自把同道堂印玺（同道堂是咸丰在圆明园里进用最后一道晚膳的地方）交给两宫和年幼的皇太子，作为纪念。[569]

郭嵩焘曾经提出建言，但被亲王兼将军的僧格林沁傲慢地置之不理，他在湖南老家得知火烧圆明园的噩耗后，直截了当地指责僧格林沁应为这场浩劫负责。根据他的看法，这位亲王兼将军在和平仍然在望、可以避免战争的时候，却太过于好战；在战争爆发之后，又太过软弱而不能抵抗敌人。他尤其感到困扰的是，僧格林沁拥有那么多的枪炮和兵员，却这样迅速地失守大沽和天津两个地方。郭嵩焘最痛心的是，如果僧格林沁没有对他的警告和建言充耳不闻的话，这场浩劫是可以避免的。[570]当1860年7月从"英夷"手中掳获12门大炮之后，郭嵩焘曾特别向僧格林沁提出警告：不要低估西方的力量。可是相反，僧格林沁却上奏朝廷说：蛮夷的枪炮在我手里，我们已作好打仗的准备。[571]不过，一如郭嵩焘的预测，中国并没有准备好跟现代化的军队作战。尽管郭嵩焘并没有怪咸丰皇帝为罪魁祸首，但他确信，仓促作出开战的决定，要为圆明园之毁负上直接的责任。

余波

咸丰皇帝在他英年早逝之前，已经知道一些有关圆明园损毁程度的细节；当他于1860年11月16日尚在热河时，就接到内务府总管明善的奏折，其中作了一个初步的评估，就是"九州清晏"、"长春仙馆"、"上下天光"、"山高水长"、同乐园和大东门的大部分于1860年10月7日被夷为平地。咸丰也得知圆明园里的理政厅堂和西洋楼于10月18日到19日之间被破坏，玉玲珑馆于10月24日起火，而这一天正好是签定和约的日子。明善也汇报了洗劫的情况：在圆明园被洋兵烧掉之前，并没有本地的市井无赖牵涉其中；但是在圆明园起火之后，附近的强盗和窃贼都潜入了圆明园，偷取一切他们认为值钱的东西。[572]

到了1860年末，洗劫圆明园一事引起了欧洲广泛的注意。据《泰晤士报》1861年2月15日报道，当英国上议院于当年召开新一年的会议以感谢远征军时，就圆明园遭劫一事展开了激烈的争辩。此外，英法之间就抢掠和纵火一事，从中国一直争辩到欧洲。例如法国的《世纪报》就不接受英国人对抢掠的陈述。总的来说，法国人指责英国人烧毁圆明园，而英国的媒体也谴责法国人要为抢掠一事负起全部或大部分责任。法国大诗人维克多·雨果（1802—1885）流亡格恩西岛时写信给巴特勒上尉，信中写道:"我们号称自己是文明人，认为中国人是野蛮人；这就是文明人对野蛮人所干的好事！"[573]对于许多20世纪的中国人来说，雨果的谴责可谓正义之声,此语经常被引用在中国著作里，甚至还醒目地登在中国电影《火烧圆明园》的片首。一名中国教师还于1989年4月初来到格恩西岛，缅怀一番；他参观了雨果的书房，并且认为这位法国诗人1861年11月25日就是在这里写下那一封"令人钦佩"的信。这位访客也发现雨果是中国工艺品的鉴赏家和收藏家。雨果一封标注日期为1865年3月23日的短笺指出，他曾经从英国军官那里购买了大量的中国丝织品，而这些物品都是他们从中国皇帝的圆明园里"抢"来的。[574]

清廷虽然无法制止外国入侵者的恣意妄为，但对付本地的抢劫者却异常严厉，包括就地正法。不过，严刑峻法还是无法长时期阻止市井流氓侵入没有设防的圆明园。那些可以搬动的物件最快消失，比如"蓬岛瑶台"、慎修思永和双鹤斋等损毁严重的建筑里可以找到的内部装潢、家具和门窗等。明善在劫掠之后从园里捡到少量的钱财，差不多106.621两白银、相当于29325两白银的"银钞"和数百枚钱币。[575]到底损失了多少黄金、白银、木材和古董，我们将永远不可能知道，因为圆明园的

多数账册都被大火烧毁了。

清廷曾经试图回收圆明园被偷和失踪的财物，但这项任务实在太过艰巨了。瑞昌于1861年11月11日所作出的估计清单中，最珍贵的宝物都在外国入侵者的手中，那是无法收回来的。就是被本地小偷窃取、没有那么大价值的物品，也因为数量实在太过庞大而难以追回。而且调查人员很快发现，很多人是意外地取得圆明园物品，或者偶然地捡到它们作纪念品，或不知情地在本地店铺买到贼赃。清廷当然可以在圆明园附近逐户搜查赃物，但明善反对这种做法。他提出替代方案，建议政府宽限一个月的时间，容许任何人在期限内归还原本属于圆明园的东西，而不用担心被罚。[576] 1997年2月北京举办的一次拍卖会上，就发现和认定了《南巡盛典》卷一○一到卷一○三的残本，那是圆明园文源阁的失物。这部书由高晋记述乾隆皇帝四次南巡的经过，全书共有一百二十卷被辑录在《四库存书》中的史部之中。[577]

清廷命胜保主管追寻失物事宜。在1860年年底之前，在圆明园附近的范围之内曾找回大量的小件物品。[578] 然而，这些小件物品只不过是沧海一粟，也没有多大的价值。宫廷和朝廷一直没有详细公布这骇人听闻的损失，官方关于圆明园被毁一事的说法总是很简略，诸如圆明园失火或某日大难降临圆明园之类的话。

比较有价值的财宝都被外国入侵者从圆明园夺走，作为战利品，于1861年在北京拍卖。也有一些大型收藏品，如玉器、珐琅器、瓷器、丝绸和钟表等，被送往英国和法国。早在1861年3月伦敦就举行拍卖会，杜伊勒利宫的展示会在1861年4月开幕，而巴黎的拍卖会则在1861年12月12日的星期四开始，战利品因此变成炙手可热的商品。一些珍宝最后成为主要的西方博物馆（特别是大英博物馆和巴黎的法国国家图书馆）的珍藏，而其他许多珍宝则流入市场的网络而流散至全世界。这些物品显著地增加了流散于海外的中国"奇珍异宝"的数量。后来在1987年，原属于长春园内西洋楼圆型喷泉内的十二生肖兽头人身之一的青铜猴头，在纽约市卖出，现在成为台北寒舍空间的收藏品；另外三只兽头——虎、牛和马于1989年6月13日的伦敦拍卖会中现身，这次寒舍空间买了马头。[579]

痛心而惭愧的满汉士人对欧洲帝国主义者的残暴和野蛮痛加指责。倭仁是蒙古裔的保守理学家兼大臣，在遗书中特别提醒继位的同治皇帝谨记"1860年的耻辱"。[580] 过了没多久，王运和杨云史等著名的清代诗

人作诗深情悼念被烧为烟尘的圆明园以及痛失的皇家宝藏。

1898年维新变法的著名人物康有为（1858—1927）在1904年目睹收藏在巴黎东方博物馆的大量圆明园宝物时，感到惭愧和心碎。他看到两枚印玺、大量文物、无价的花瓶、屏风、盘碟、佛像、画像和属于万春园（绮春园的前身）殿堂刻有大字的玉器。据康有为所知，这些文物都是在1861年和1901年被带到法国去的战利品。康有为称之为"极品"，代表中国世代精华中的精髓，他为许多国之瑰宝丧失在外国人手里而痛惜万分。

康有为曾游览过劫后的圆明园，更加深了他的伤痛。19世纪90年代，他曾到过被烧毁的圆明园，记忆犹新；那时，他仍然得见苍老的垂柳之后布满盛开的莲花，被遗弃的青铜骆驼埋身在野草与荆棘之间，残破的桥梁伸展到湖中的芦苇间，还有在松树后的汉白玉殿台。他还回想起，当秋风吹过坚挺的树梢产生凄切声音的一刻，偶见一名神色茫然的白发太监，坐在破瓦上。他也回想起，在荒芜的长春园里面，破落的欧式建筑仍然呈现着已经褪色的风华。

与其他人一样，康有为很容易将圆明园的悲剧联想到国家的命运。在大清帝国的全盛时期里，圆明园如同春云般生气勃勃，如同黄鹂叫声般令人愉悦。与此同时，英王威廉统治的人数不超过50万，而西方文明也还未达到高峰。但没多久，世界就发生了巨变。当中国仍然故步自封的时候，蒸汽船和铁路就引领西方走向权力和财富的大道。结果，可怕的欧洲骑兵冲开了中国的大门，闯进了大清帝国的首都，让咸丰皇帝颜面尽失地落跑，并放火把精巧的圆明园夷为平地。康有为作为一名忠诚的改革者，一直希望复兴大清帝国。他梦想有一天可以恢复圆明园的昔日光辉，龙旗能再一次高挂在灿烂的宫殿之巅，让神气的宫廷侍卫列队在马蹄声中走过城门："黄屋龙旗绕朝晖，八校无哗万马蹄"。[581]

中国人伤悼圆明园一直持续到20世纪，并成为现代中国民族主义的重要元素。这样的结果显然大出额尔金的意料之外，他烧毁圆明园原只想惩罚咸丰皇帝一个人。然而，愤恨圆明园被焚者，绝不只限于包括康有为在内的晚清保皇党——民国以后，政治抱负或教育背景各异的众多中国人都同样感到悲愤。因为距离圆明园的遗址很近，燕京大学和清华大学的教授与学生成为这座荒凉宫苑的常客，其中有人留下一些纪念性的诗句。燕京大学学者、诗人顾随在一个秋日于圆明园遗址散步时，写下一首《临江仙》：

眼看重阳又过，难教风日晴和。
晚蝉声咽抱凉柯。
长天飞雁去，人世奈秋何。
落落眼中吾土，漫漫脚下荒坡。
登临还见旧山河。
秋高溪水瘦，人少夕阳多。
散步闲扶短杖，正襟危坐高冈。
一回眺望一牵肠。
数间新草舍，几段旧宫墙。
何处鸡声断续，无边夕照辉煌。
乱山衰草下牛羊。
教人争不恨，故国太荒凉。[582]

1913年，中国马克思主义之父李大钊（1888—1927）也跟朋友一起游览了破落的圆明园。当李大钊爬上高地时，只看见一片凄凉、残垣败瓦的荒芜景象和凹凸不平的道路。他在以下的诗句中表达了他的悲叹：

圆明两度昆明劫，鹤化千年未忍归。
一曲悲笳吹不尽，残灰犹共晚烟飞。
玉阙琼楼接碧埃，兽蹄鸟迹走荒苔。
残碑没尽宫人老，空向蒿莱拨劫灰。[583]

著名的保守派作家林纾（1851—1924）跟马克思主义者李大钊一样，对圆明园的不幸有相同的感伤。林纾也是一个画家，他为这座破落的宫苑作画并题字："掩泪上车行，回头望残照。"[584] 1930年，国人仍旧聚集在废墟，度过火烧圆明园的周年纪念日。著名的历史学家向达认为，"自有中西交通以来，西洋Vandalism（摧残文化艺术）之为祸于中国，当以此役为最先而最巨矣"。[585] 甚至在1940年中国的东半部被日本占领的时候，火烧圆明园的八十周年纪念仍然没有被人遗忘。[586]

因此，早在中华人民共和国于1949年成立之前，残破的圆明园已经成为有力的民族主义和爱国行为之象征。中国共产主义革命的胜利也无法抹去1860年的辛酸。大陆学者王威说：

英法侵略军对中国文物的破坏，极为严重，其残暴的程度为近代史上所罕见。圆明园的焚掠，在人类文化史上的损失是无法估计的，不但毁灭了世界上独一无二的名园，而且又损失了中国历代所珍藏下来的历史文物。[587]

张爱萍将军（后任中国国防部长）1980年也特别游览圆明园的遗址，并激动填词：

怒自看废址，
不齿联军寇仇。
整修整修，
还我河山锦绣。[588]

响应中国人的强烈反应，英国作家霍普·丹比在20世纪30年代初曾作出如下辨解：

中国人视圆明园为他们国家资产的一部分，但他们忘记了此园的存在只是供在位皇帝一个人的享乐。就像子孙们被剥夺了绚烂夺目的遗产，中国人愤恨艺术瑰宝和建筑奇观的丧失，将控诉指向英国人，谴责他们摧残文化艺术的行为。被法国人摧毁的部分，却几乎被遗忘了；中国人自己抢掠的更大部分，也轻易地被忽略了。在中国定期冒出来的仇外浪潮里，火烧圆明园永远会被摆在最前面，这是可以用作宣传的、最有力的武器之一。[589]

圆明园供在位的皇帝享乐并没有错，额尔金刻意烧毁就是要伤咸丰皇帝的心，咸丰也的确受到严重的创伤。但事实上，现代的中国人，特别是知识分子，从不认为火烧圆明园的行为只是惩罚了这位清朝帝王——几乎所有的中国人都感到屈辱。他们无法理解为何西方人违反自己订立的国际法——该法明确禁止在战时从平民或国家元首手中掠夺可以带走的私人财产。因此他们认为，恣意摧毁圆明园是完全不合理的报复。对中国人来说，即使把法律的议题摆一边，烧毁如此之多无法复制的文物也是人类的重大损失。

额尔金的秘书亨利·洛赫辩称："并没有完全毁灭艺术和知识的成果。"他认为"保存在圆明园内的书籍和手稿之类，并非独一无二，在大火之前也几乎没找到多少，肯定没有任何罕见的珍本。"[590]洛赫的说法肯定是错误的。刚好相反，几名法国学者最近指出："烧毁圆明园此一完全野蛮的行为，灭绝了富含各类艺术珍藏的宫苑与胜迹以及一座价值连城的藏书馆"。[591]圆明园除了独一无二的建筑和风景之外，也珍藏由历任清帝在150年间所累积的无价之宝，诸如罕见的手稿、书籍（文源阁全部藏书）、瓷器、玉器、绘画和古董等等。晋朝大艺术家顾恺之（公元348—405）所绘画的《仕女图》可算是最宝贵的中国画作品，被英国人从圆明园里抢走，目前是大英博物馆的珍藏品。

现代中国人不能忘记火烧圆明园的另一个原因是，他们把这座伟大的宫苑视为他们灿烂文化遗产的一部分，却被外国入侵者恣意摧毁，他们对建筑奇观的失落感到悲伤。他们严厉地谴责英国人，因为英国是19世纪最重要的帝国主义强国。就圆明园的遭遇而言，尽管法国人和中国人都参与掠夺是不争的事实，但英国人除了抢掠之外，还独自作出把圆明园夷为平地的灾难性决定。[592]即使是用来侍奉在位的英国国王或女王的白金汉宫，若其也被外国入侵者破坏的话，不论何种理由，英国人也会有同样难解的情绪。事实上，英国的格兰特将军自己为19世纪英国帝国主义的妄自尊大作了证言：

我们要让文明世界得到保护，免于被压迫和被野蛮人蹂躏，中国在以前早已习惯对异族施以打击，我们给中国的自尊予以有效的一击，经验显示足以让中国确信，她并非欧洲各民族的对手。最重要的是，我们强迫中国人签订《北京条约》，已经证实这比以前跟中国所签订的条约更能维持长久。[593]

回顾过去，中国人是在苦难中学到额尔金给咸丰皇帝的教训，他们对近代西方世界的不信任和不理解，因英法联军犯下的抢掠和纵火等罪行而更加深重。强大的西方军队驻扎在北京肯定会让当地人畏惧，一位住在北京的居民在他的日记中记载："夷兵不过三百马队耳，如入无人之境，真是怪事"。[594]李慈铭目睹外国人的暴行后也义愤填膺地说："近日夷人遍于城内外，遨游宫禁，窜乱坊市，横刀跃马，动辄伤毁，遇妇人则群拥之，污辱备至。"[595]李慈铭和吴可读两人跟其他许多北京居民一样，为西方列强所震骇。

一股来自西方不可抵挡的洪流，让中国不管愿不愿意，都必须加入现代国家的行列，但现代文明的黑暗面也令中国人深受威胁，像1860年的野蛮行为就是明证，这也激起中国人对过去文化落后的蛮夷暴力入侵之历史记忆。因此，长久以来，中国人在欣赏西方科学与技术惊人成就的同时，却设法抗拒歌颂西方的道德价值。事实上，中国人认识到西方物质文明的优越，要远早于其对西方精神文明的类似看法。以他们对火烧圆明园的理解，自己的国家更像是被匈奴之类的蛮族而非被辉煌的现代文明所征服。

重修与最后的破坏

1860年的"地狱之火"严重地损毁了整个圆明园，使这座宫苑不再适合皇家居住。不过，军队和太监仍然守卫着这座残破的宫苑，不让外人进入。新登基的同治皇帝与两宫（慈安和慈禧）一起护送咸丰的灵柩从热河返回北京后，他们都居住在紫禁城里，只能怀念怡人的园居生活。他们的回忆应是异常清晰，挥之不去——同治就是在1856年4月27日出生于圆明园内，他的生母慈禧太后与咸丰皇帝曾在园里有过一段浪漫的岁月。其他众多的皇族成员仍然记得他们仓惶逃往热河之前，跟咸丰皇帝在园里进用最后一顿早膳的悲伤时刻，他们当然也记得咸丰皇帝听到圆明园被洗劫和烧毁的噩耗时的痛苦情状。

当然，最好的补救办法就是恢复圆明园昔日的风光。但是持续不断的国内动乱和因为过度的军费开支与战争赔款所引发的财务危机，让同治皇帝自己也觉得提出修复的议题并不合适。直到1867年的秋天，御史德泰才替皇家说出了修复圆明园的想法。由于知道国库空虚，德泰建议在全国向个人寻求捐输和资助；这明显是一个风向球，当一般官员持负面的反应时，同治立即打退堂鼓，并在1868年9月16日的谕旨中指责德泰的建言是不宜和荒谬的。[596]德泰提出不合时宜的建议果然引起了反效果，朝廷决定把他流放至偏远的东北边陲，以示惩罚。不过他自己选择了自戕，很可能是皇家诱使他提出整修的建议，因此他感到被出卖而以死来抗议。总之，此后圆明园长年处于残垣断瓦的状态之中。

荒凉的圆明园之旅

1871年的暮春时节，圆明园仍是一片凄凉。5月27日，学者兼诗人王运和朋友徐树钧由前圆明园营部守备军官廖承恩导游，凭吊圆明园。这趟游历是从万寿山脚下的清漪园开始，他们在那里看到许多失修的庭院、破落的殿堂和半干涸的湖泽。在萧疏的景象之中竖立着几棵苍翠的树。牧童与伐木工似乎在园里一片荒野中游荡。在他们从昆明湖返回的途中，发现一只被割掉尾巴的青铜犀牛，其背上御铭的题字仍可辨识。附近许多王公大臣的各式庭院也已经失去皇家宫苑的气派。[597]

王运于1871年所见昆明湖周遭的情况，似乎比英国大使馆的馆员在较早的1866年之观察更加惨不忍睹。那名馆员在一片废墟、烧焦的墙壁

和枯萎的松树间看不到几处宜人的风景。他特别注意到湖中盛开的大片莲花、树木和楼台林立的几座小岛以及一座有着优雅汉白玉栏杆的三层高大型八角宫殿。这位英国人也看到一些在高地上的建筑，包括一座铜寺、一处馆舍、两座小型的旋转式木塔、塔楼中的许多佛像以及一座黄绿屋瓦覆顶的大庙。[598]然而，这些在1866年仍然可以看到的一鳞半爪风光，在五年后却已踪迹难寻。

王运和徐树钧在附近的廖承恩家里过了一夜，然后于5月28日穿过圆明园的福园门，继续他们的游园之旅。他们遇见一名姓董的老太监，他主动为他们引路。他们走过残垣断瓦，来到依稀可辨的正大光明殿前；这座大殿严重损毁，连主台阶都看不见了。他们继续往北走，认出在前湖后面曾经是皇帝寝宫的"九州清晏"，可是他们所能看到的只有破碎的墙壁。董太监特别指出一处名叫"天地一家春"的建筑遗址，这里曾是慈禧太后住过的地方，与许多妃嫔和皇子居住的大院连在一起。但"九州"上许多著名的建筑，诸如牡丹台、五福堂和咸丰皇帝建造的清辉阁，都完全消失不见了。他们来到园中最大的湖——福海时，一片苍茫荒芜的景象令他们十分感伤。除了湖中蓬岛上几座尚可辨识的屋宇楼阁之外，曾经的著名景观已再难见到了。而且，这位老太监流着泪指出了圆明园总管文丰在洋兵入侵前一刻投湖自尽的确实地点。

然后，这些游园的访客漫步至西北边，去看仍然屹立在"廓然大公"前的双鹤斋；诗人王运在这里回想起乾隆在位时，有12只白鹤降临此处。乾隆皇帝视之为吉兆，并希望这些鹤天天重返，因此朝廷的官员就在这个地点制造了同样多姿态各异的金鹤来取悦乾隆。由于相当喜欢那精巧的工艺，乾隆就建造了一座斋堂来摆放这些金鹤；不过，王运已经一只也看不到了。舍卫城也已残破，原有的20万尊佛像连一尊都找不到了。[599]

凭吊荒芜的圆明园之旅到日落时划上句号。不久之后，王运把可悲的园况和自身的忧伤化成了那首著名的《圆明园词》：

鼎湖弓剑恨空还，
郊垒风烟一炬间。
玉泉悲咽昆明塞，
唯有铜犀守荆棘。
青芝岫里狐夜啼，
绣漪桥下鱼空泣。
何人老监福园门？

曾缀朝班奉至尊。
昔日喧阗厌朝贵，
于今寂寞喜游人。
贤良门闭有残砖，
光明殿毁寻颓壁。
文宗新构清辉堂，
为近前湖纳晓光。
妖梦林神辞二品，
佛城舍卫散诸方。
湖中蒲稗依依长，
阶前蒿艾萧萧响。
枯树重抽盗作薪，
游鳞暂跃惊逢网。
别有开云镂月台，
太平三圣昔同来。
宁知乱竹侵苔出，
不见春花泣露开。
平湖西去轩亭在，
题笔银钩连到睿。[600]

王运并没有走得很远，所以没能看见在长春园北端的西洋楼。不过在两年之后，也就是1873年，中国海关的年轻德国官员恩斯特·奥尔末（1872年至1880年于北京任职）曾经进入西洋楼，给那些满目疮痍的巴洛克式建筑拍摄了许多照片，因此残破宫殿的一些影像得以流传下来，这些照片和插图后来于1933年编辑成书出版。[601]

当代学者维珍纳·蒂瑞丝通过奥尔末和其他西方人士所拍摄的照片，按时间顺序记录了圆明园的欧式宫殿从"废墟至瓦砾"的变化过程。她展示了一个无情的毁损过程。奥尔末于1873年所拍摄的照片显示，"大部分被烧黑的大理石楣都已经断裂，宫殿的裂口处呈现奇特的圆状"，不过，"嵌饰的装潢大部分都还完好，瓦铺成的大堆屋顶则堆积在地上"。长时间持续不断的偷窃，最终让整个西洋楼遭遇到湮没的命运。"大水法"和远瀛观的顶端装饰于1873年至1877年之间消失无踪。"谐奇趣"的大理石栏杆于1876年之前倒地，而它的顶层至迟于1886年就已经开始碎裂。1901年义和团运动结束后，圆明园里的宫殿尽成瓦砾。1911年辛亥革命之后，随着清王朝覆亡，圆明园无人看管，从园区内的景点搬走赤土装饰、大理石、石板和砖芯的情况显而易见。到了1940年日寇占领

期间，西洋楼的大部分已经被彻底破坏了。[602]

全力修复残园

奥尔末的照片和王运的诗留下了1873年之前残破的圆明园景象，就在那个时候又有人提出修复的建议。这一次是由同治皇帝自己提出来，因为当时他已经长大亲政。他也有足够的智慧去援引儒家的孝道作为重新修复圆明园的正当理由，他说他要修复圆明园来表达对慈安和慈禧这两位太后的孝心，是她们引导他度过艰难的时刻，所以要她们能在一个安静的宫苑环境里好好颐养。同治皇帝心意已决，遂于1873年11月17日正式下达朱谕：

自本年正月二十六日（公历2月23日），朕亲理朝政以来，无日不以感戴慈恩为念。朕尝观养心殿书籍之中，有世宗宪皇帝《御制圆明园四十景诗集》一部，因念及圆明园本为列祖列宗临幸驻跸听政之地。自御极以来，未奉两宫皇太后在园居住，于心实有未安，日以复回旧制为念。但现当库款支绌之时，若遽照旧修理，动用部储之款，诚恐不敷。朕再四思维，唯有将安佑宫供奉列圣圣容之所及两宫皇太后所居之殿，并朕驻跸听政之处，择要兴修，其余游观之所概不修复。即着王公以下京外大小官员量力报效捐修，着总管内务府大臣于收捐后，随时请奖……[603]

内务府总管大臣在11月19日开始就这件事向同治呈上回应谕旨的奏本，认为应优先修复"敷春堂"和"清夏斋"，显然先要给两位太后有居住之所。然而首要之务，包括要求王公大臣捐献急需的款项、寻求最好的图样、研究堪舆风水和择定良辰吉日以便破土动工。同治在11月20日，已迫不及待把圆明园东南边的"绮春园"改名为"万春园"，并把"敷春堂"重新命名为"天地一家春"或"承恩堂"。"清夏斋"被改名为"清夏堂"，改名的目的意欲去旧迎新。[604]

但过没多久，御史沈淮就疏请圣上暂缓修理。他申说：正值中国南北为天灾所困以及西方不停威胁的多事之秋，修复这座用来享乐的宫苑将有损天子的圣名。[605]尽管这位御史直言切谏，但正热在头上的同治皇帝无意停止修园，他责备沈淮不能体谅他的一片孝心。事实上，同治是希望赶在1875年之前完成修园的工程以便及时庆祝慈禧太后的40岁生日，而不愿听从御史希望暂缓修园的建议。[606]

御史的反对虽可搁置在一旁，但经费短缺却无法视而不见。即使只作重点的修缮，根据户部右侍郎桂清的评估，所需经费也会超过库房支付的能力。桂清把真相告知同治时还丢了官。同治继续向内务府大臣明善和桂宝施压去作损毁评估，而不管到底有没有这样一笔钱。最后的评估显示：免于1860年浩劫而仍维持相对较好状况的，不过13处，大都位于圆明园的北端。

除了位于万春园内的"庄严法界"之外，保存状况较好的景点都在圆明园的原址里。十字亭仍耸立于"万方安和"里的舍卫城之南，"杏花春馆"里的春雨轩也保持完好，位于"鸿慈永祜"南端的魁星阁亦完好无缺。至于知过堂、"慎修思永"、"濂溪乐处"、"鱼跃鸢飞"和在"北远山村"的溪流旁边的课农轩等著名建筑物的情况都还不错；位于福海西北角的"廓然大公"前面的双鹤斋也没有遭到破坏；在西北角的紫碧山房、在北端正中央的八角亭和在北门入口右手边的耕云堂等都仍然耸立着。不过，这份评估报告似乎并不完整。就我们所知，这份名单并不包括湖岛上风光犹存的屋宇和楼阁，例如王运于1871年观察到的蓬岛。这里还有许多仍然可堪使用的城门、船坞、桥梁和寺庙，应该是毋庸置疑的。长春园里"海岳开襟"的美景，一直维持到1900年的义和团运动。[607]

内务府在同治皇帝的坚持之下，加倍努力向王公大臣们施压作出捐献，以分摊急迫需要的经费，以便启动修缮工程。在这种情况下，甚至连同治皇帝尊敬的皇叔恭亲王也自掏腰包捐献了两万两白银，其他许多王公大臣都各自捐献了不同数额的银两。[608]

但他们的捐献奉纳还是有限，国家财政的急速恶化很快就迫使御史们要仗义执言。其中一个名叫游百川的御史，就在1873年12月5日向同治皇帝上书，劝谏皇帝暂缓修缮工程。游百川特别强调安全的问题：由于圆明园位于北京城的郊外，即使把它整修好，也不能保证不会再一次经受来自国外的攻击。他建议同治和两位太后居住在紫禁城内以策安全，并能省下巨额的经费。不过，同治再一次拒绝听从他不喜欢的谏言，不单斥责游百川故意曲解他的一番孝心，以及他所珍视的儒家价值观，并质疑游百川的忠诚，指责他不顾廉耻，沽名钓誉。同治因此撤了游百川的职，并声言会惩处任何想阻挠他进行园工的人。[609]

破土仪式于1873年12月7日举行，标示着圆明园的修缮工程正式开始。首先要做的事包括清理大宫门和二宫门、整理损毁的进出宫门和侍从们的厢房、拆除破碎的城墙和搬走所有泥泞与污物。在清理工作之后就是营建理政的殿堂和"九州"上的建筑。已经不存在的正大光明殿，要

在旧址上全部重建。严重损毁的勤政殿跟它附属的屋宇、廊道和庭院都处于非常颓败的状态中，必须要先彻底铲平，才能重建。在"九州"的656幢建筑物当中，至少有437座殿堂、厢房、书房和庭院几乎需要彻底翻修。[610]

现存的修缮蓝图显示，整修工程并无意要准确地恢复原状。在重建的过程当中，在这里扩建一点或在那里添置一些新的东西，有一定的变通余地，甚至有个别建筑作了大幅度的更动，意在使新的比旧的更好。最明显的例子是，作为慈禧太后寝宫的"天地一家春"做了些许不同的设计，在万春园内已被摧毁的敷春堂原址上重建。新的"天地一家春"从东向西共有五根柱子，位于中央的柱子间距大约为183.3英寸（约4.7米），而两侧的柱子间距为169.2英寸（约4.3米），由北向南将包括四幢带波浪形屋檐的相连屋宇。前面三间屋宇的深度为394.8英寸（约10米），而后屋为366.6英寸（约9.3米），另有廊道连接两边的庭院，各自位于主建筑的两边。其中一幢叫作"问月楼"的附属建筑，改名为"澄光榭"，东边的空地留下来兴建戏院、戏台和许多厢房，以便娱乐两位退隐的太后。附近许多失修的建筑物和亭子全遭夷平，是为了扩大庭院的面积。[611]

慈禧太后在重修"天地一家春"这个特定工程的过程中参与良多，她为建筑的外在样式费尽心思，视察内部的装潢，甚至亲手尝试绘制草图和蓝图。[612] 修缮的结果往往变成了新的设计、新的布局，甚至新的位置。

不过，重修工程经常受到预算问题的困扰，这不是皇上的权力或太后的热情所能解决的，所以营建工程常常因为财务吃紧、缺乏必需的建材——尤其是巨大的原木，而被迫延宕。没有多久，大量的城墙、道路、桥梁、水闸、庭院和游船等的重修都半途而废了，许多重要地点的营建工程，包括清夏堂、"鸿慈永祜"、"上下天光"、"万方安和"、"武陵春色"、"杏花春馆"、同乐园、舍卫城、"西峰秀色"、"北远山村"、紫碧山房、八角亭和"鱼跃鸢飞"等等，甚至从来没有开过工。[613] 在修建工程停止之前，只有少数个别的建筑得以完成。无数未使用的木柱被弃置在地上，各种建材被堆放在还没完工的厢房空地上，整个营建地点只用木栏杆围起来作为保护而已。[614]

同治皇帝似乎对偌大的帝国竟然无法支付重修这座毁损御园"小规模"的修缮费用感到吃惊。他无论如何都不愿意放弃。不过，他在财政

的压力下，愿意把原来万春园内为了供奉两位太后颐养而修复3000间厢房的工程减少至1420间，减幅超过50％。同治皇帝显然十分焦急，想要及时完成部分工程来庆祝他母亲即将来临的40岁生日。他以为减少开销预算，可以使恢复园工之理由更具正当性。

在同治皇帝的催促下，园工于1874年之初重新启动了。即使必要的3000根巨木还没有到位，同治皇帝却迫不及待地于1874年2月2日指示，一定要如期架起在"鸿慈永祜"主殿里的巨木框架。从3月7日开始，营建工程似乎正在加速进行。但到最后，同治一心只顾园林修缮，引发了另一轮的反对声浪，而这一次有许多位高权重的人都加入了批评园工的行列。

最引人注意的反对者，乃是帮恭亲王处理外交事务的左右手文祥（1888—1876）。他于4月2日上书，奏请同治停止园工，因为巨额的开支已经导致举国哗然。他又警告说，国家不可能筹集足够的金钱去完成圆明园的修缮工程。即使通过捐献来增加经费，也不过是杯水车薪，不足以支付庞大的工程费用。[615]

不过，文祥并未能劝止同治皇帝，同治甚至更积极地于4月27日秘密出访"鸿慈永祜"附近的营建工地。这种行为可能会危及圣上的安全，当然是极不妥当的，所以这次私行出访让许多人，特别是老一辈的皇族成员和朝廷高官，感到相当意外、震惊与惶恐。最后，同治的皇叔恭亲王和太傅李鸿藻（1820—1897）决定要加以干涉。在他们的安排之下，一个由醇亲王主导的皇族代表团约定于1874年5月9日觐见同治皇帝。他们诚挚地请求同治皇帝，不要再私访营建工地，并一起恳请圣上终止宫苑的营建，[616] 不过这场谒见完全失败了。

过了没多久，同治皇帝就在5月24日又秘密重回工地，并跟他的侍从在双鹤斋野餐。同治公然蔑视劝导，使得皇族更为不安与忧虑。与此同时，各地方官员都发出了反对重修圆明园的呼声。例如两江总督李宗羲于1874年7月13日上奏直陈两点谏言：首先，在西方不断威胁的情况下，即使完全修复圆明园，那里也将不再是皇室的安全居所；第二，同治皇帝应该效法汉文帝和宋仁宗，在外侮一天没有洗雪之前，拒绝耗费金钱在宫苑上。[617]

李宗羲总督的上书，激起曾经捐献过重修工程经费、又有威望的翰林院编修李文田（1834—1895）的呼应。他于7月20日奏请，立即停止所有在圆明园内的营建工程。虽然李文田的长篇陈奏没有找到官方记录

，但李慈铭在日记里特别提到了这份奏折，并透露了其中直言不讳的言词：继续营建工程将很快变成"竭泽而渔"，即西方人所谓的宰杀了会生金蛋的鹅。此外，李文田还指出，近年的天灾乃上天的警示，天子应该引起重视。最后一项要点是，李文田赞成李宗羲的说法，认为在当前的局势之下，修复好的圆明园很容易再度沦为外国入侵者的猎物，因此为什么要急于完全修复呢？[618]但是同治完全听不进去这些谏言，也完全不愿意用理智去思考，还执迷不悟，变本加厉。他对试图要阻止他的人嗤之以鼻，还打算把同乐园里的戏楼扩建至三层楼高。[619]

就算能无视外界的反对与批评，同治皇帝却不能不正视日益严竣的经费问题。内务府的记录显示，经常是园工将开，而经费尚无着落。[620]虽然尽了最大的努力去要求私人奉纳和捐献，但到1874年5月17日为止，也仅仅筹集了30万两白银，而工程经费却估计高达几千万两白银。而这点微不足道的捐款已经令官员们苦不堪言。官员王家璧指出，捐献已经让许多官员的家庭破产。王家璧因此建议同治皇帝寻找更多可行的财源，例如从海关征收鸦片税，并认为修园一事应放缓进度并审慎为之。[621]

除金钱外，建筑殿堂和楼阁所必需的巨木也一样难求。同治曾多次向湖北、湖南、福建、浙江和四川等生产林木的省府官员寻求协助。他至少需要3000根重木，才能满足营建圆明园的需要。不过，包括湖广总督李瀚章、湖北巡抚郭柏荫和湖南巡抚王文韶在内的封疆大吏上奏朝廷：不管他们如何努力，也完全无法在他们的辖地之内找到足够的重木去满足圣上的需要。湖北和湖南两省固然盛产杉木、柏木和松木，但大部分特别是靠近河流与湖边地区的林木，在镇压太平天国期间（1851—1864）都被砍下来做舟船，而当地市集所能找到的木材也只适用于建造一般民房。唯一的好消息来自湖广总督李瀚章，他答应在未来会开发贵州的深山老林，一旦发现堪用的重木，就会尽量设法运送到京师。[622]

来自其他省份的回应都让人感到失望。浙江巡抚杨昌浚于1874年4月25日的奏折当中，直接言明无法在境内找到任何的巨木，主要是因为连年征战，导致浙江省境内的树木骤减；由于林木缺乏，毁于太平天国战乱期间的许多寺庙都无法修复。四川总督吴棠奏报，境内偏远而尚未开发的丛林里固然还有高品质的巨木，但问题是如何取得；以当时的运输条件来看，这是不可能做到的。两广总督瑞麟于7月上呈的奏折中表示，在他的辖地境内所出产的杉木和柏木，坚硬度不足以用来营建圆明园。不过，他认为通过香港和澳门进口外国的木材，倒是可行的办法。

[623]

结果，对急需重木的极度渴望引发了一件大案，迫使同治皇帝不得不宣告停止所有的营建工程。51岁的广东商人李光昭用钱捐了一个监生，在1873年向内务府提出响应重修圆明园的御旨。[624] 他愿意捐献收藏了好几十年、价值数十万两白银的数千根各种类型的硬木。不仅如此，他能够在十年之内、再拿出价值10万两白银的木材，以供圆明园的工程所需。他不要求任何赏赐，只希望在运输这些材料期间能豁免赋税。他另外还要求获得授权的官员同行以及允许他到全国去募款并得到各地的合作。然后他于1874年7月10日上报，自己在游访海外时购买了1500根洋木以及550片厚木板，总价值30万两白银，即将运抵天津。欣喜若狂的内务府总管建议，豁免这些将用来修缮圆明园的木材的赋税。[625]

不过，人在天津的直隶总督李鸿章（1823—1901）不久控告李光昭诓骗，指李光昭确实从法国商人那里购买木材，但仅花了54000两外国银币，只有他上报木价的四成而已。因此，作为清廷最高决策机构的军机处要求李鸿章咨询法国和美国在天津的使馆人员以了解案情。[626] 调查结果确认李光昭利用同治皇帝急需硬木的迫切心情，欺骗了中国官员和外国商人。他接受了审判，并于1874年9月28日被判处死刑。李光昭在审讯期间，表示内务府的几位大臣也牵涉在内，甚至还可能牵连到皇帝。相当尴尬的朝廷为了赶快把伤害降至最低，立即把曾经陪同李光昭到南部的内务府笔帖式成麟撤职，并严惩桂宝和崇纶这两位内务府总管大臣。[627]

这宗轰动一时的丑闻激起了官员们的反对之声，他们认为，这次丑闻显然是由于皇帝过于沉湎圆明园的营建工程而引起的。杨钧于1874年8月1日大胆上书，奏请同治皇帝应立即停止所有在圆明园内的营建工程，以免国库因此衰竭。修园的用意再好，那天文数字的费用也会在国家资源短缺之时威胁到清朝的命脉。山西巡抚鲍源深于8月27日也奏请同治立即停止圆明园的工程，把他的"一片孝心"转化为对天下百姓的关心。[628]

在山西巡抚上书陈情的两天之后，也就是8月29日，恭亲王连同其他三名亲王、两名大学士（文祥和宝）和两名军机大臣（沈桂芬和李鸿藻）一起向同治上书陈情。这些清廷最高层的官员代表，异口同声力陈几大要点：第一，户部无力再应付内务府所提出的估计约2000万两白银的圆明园营建工程花费需求；第二，朝廷内外对重修圆明园怨声载道，不容忽视；第三，若在紫禁城附近适度翻修"三海"，即北海、中海和南

海，以供两位太后颐养，较为实际。[629] 为了强调事情的紧迫性，他们要求同治在看完这份奏折后立即召见他们。他们虽然获得觐见，但同治的态度十分强硬。吴汝纶（1840—1903）记述了当时紧张激烈的一幕，此类局面为清代历史上所罕见：

见都下某官与某中丞书言停工之事云，七月十八日政府亲臣闻大内将于二十日园中演戏，十余人联衔陈疏，复虑阅之不尽，乃先请召见，不许，再三而后可，疏上，阅未数行便云：我停工如何？尔等尚可哓舌！恭邸云：臣某所奏尚多，不止停工一事，请容臣宣诵。遂将折中所陈，逐条读讲，反复指陈。上大怒曰：此位让尔何如？文相伏地一恸，喘急几绝，乃命先行扶出。醇邸继复泣谏，至微行一条，坚问何从传闻，醇邸指实时地，乃怫然语塞，传旨停工。至二十七日，召见醇邸，适赴南苑验炮，遂招恭邸，复询微行一事，闻自何人？恭邸以臣子载澄对，故迁怒恭邸，并罪载澄也。[630]

虽然"传旨停工"，但同治仍然怒意未减，欲罢免恭、醇两位亲王。然而，"两宫垂涕于上，皇上长跪于下"，说是"十年以来，无恭邸何以有今日"，皇上才撤销前谕。[631] 同治怒气平复后，坦诚表示，他这样热心要修复圆明园，并非为了自己个人的享乐，而全是为了两位太后。

最后这句确是实情。在两宫之中，慈禧对圆明园的兴趣最强烈，她无疑给同治很大的压力，更是同治真正要咨询的人。在那个时候，没有人会低估她的权威，何况她的权势正在不断壮大。太傅李鸿藻代表同治，率先跟两宫会面。这位受人敬重的太傅向两位太后直言忠告：若继续圆明园内的营建工程，势必会伤害到皇上与朝廷。[632]

这番肺腑之言，由极具威望的大臣说出来之后，果真奏效。在1874年的9月9日，同治皇帝开了窍；在获得两宫的首肯后，他召见了两位皇叔和几位大臣，并当着他们的面前宣布，他决定在十到二十年之内，暂缓所有圆明园的营建工程，直到朝廷的财政实力复元为止。以暂缓来替代取消，明显是为了顾全皇帝的颜面。当时没有人指望圆明园修复工程会再恢复进行，上谕也在同一天正式颁布：

前降旨，谕令总管内务府大臣将圆明园工程择要兴修，原以备两宫皇太后燕憩，用资颐养，而遂孝思。本年开工后，朕曾亲往阅看数次，见工程浩大，非克期所能蒇功。现在物力艰难，经费支绌，军务未尽平定，各省时有偏灾。朕仰体慈怀，甚不欲以土木之工重劳民力，所有圆明园一切工程，均着即行停止，俟将来边境乂安，库款充裕，再行兴修

。因念三海近在宫掖，殿宇完固，量加修理，工作不致过繁。着该管大臣查勘三海地方，酌度情形，将如何修葺之处奏请办理。[633]

同治皇帝显然是在无可奈何的情况下，作出暂缓园工的决定。当修复工程正式结束的时候，已经耗掉了481万两白银。当然这笔钱还是出了一些成果，四川诗人毛昶于1877年游访这里时，见到许多被修整好的庭院、树木和山石，都漂亮如昔。双鹤斋的所有建筑几乎都被修复至完美的状态，但其余的四十景建筑大都仍然破烂不堪。尚未使用过的木材和石材只好被储存起来，而挂在"鸿慈永祜"屋顶上的大梁也被拆下来保管。[634]

清漪园的重生

同治皇帝虽然接受了无情的现实，但他却怀恨在心，并接着撤换不下十名曾经声言反对重修圆明园的大臣。他甚至指责恭亲王挑拨他和两位太后之间的关系，这是一项非常严重的指控，因而同治不顾满洲权贵文祥的极力请求，还是在1874年9月10日褫夺恭亲王的世袭亲王头衔。直到慈禧太后在第二天加以干涉之后，他才撤回先前对皇叔所作的惩处。[635]

同治皇帝于1875年1月12日突然驾崩，年仅19岁，"三海"的翻修工程也在三天之后停止。慈禧太后抱着四岁大的外甥载（1871—1908）登基，即位为光绪皇帝。由于慈安已经过世，慈禧太后就成为唯一一位垂帘听政的太后。随着她的权势和影响壮大，她走到幕前并进行她自己的宫苑营建计划。除了翻修"三海"之外，她还决定要修复圆明园的附园清漪园。

清漪园是乾隆皇帝于1750年至1764年花了15年时间和448万两白银建造的，用来向他的母亲表达敬意和讨她欢心。[636] 此园坐落在万寿山和昆明湖之间的风景区。昆明湖是一个大湖而且水质清澈，给区内的所有皇家园林提供充分的水源，并筑有广泛的网状运河连接到北京西直门附近的高梁桥。乾隆通常会在清漪园度过白天，然后在日落之前返回圆明园。[637]

慈禧太后把重点放在清漪园有很好的理由。她肯定是被那迷人的湖光山色所吸引，或许更重要的原因是，清漪园毁损得并没有像圆明园那样严重，所以修复的款项就比较少。主意既定，她立即指示内务府，希

望能于1884年她50岁生辰之前，及时修复这座宫苑以资庆祝。朝廷内外几乎没有人反对，足见慈禧太后已经完全建立起独裁的"女人统治"，足以让人敬畏，而不敢有异议。

慈禧太后在清漪园的修复工程中投入了不少精力。她密切地关注着工程的进度，经常参与设计或重新设计。例如在昆明湖内，重建于1860年被外国入侵者严重破坏的著名石舫，就完全是她的主意。这个建筑象征儒家的名言"水能载舟，亦能覆舟"，水是比喻人民，舟是比喻政府，用来强调人民对政府的重要性。[638]

这项修复工程的预算虽然没有正式公开，但外界估计要花上3000万到8000万两白银。到底慈禧太后是从哪里找来的钱去支付她的园工呢？根据著名的北洋领袖段祺瑞（1865—1936）的说法：李鸿章拨款3000万两白银欲购买几艘铁甲舰，可是真正掌权的慈禧太后挪用了这笔经费，去进行宫苑的营建工程。[639] 慈禧太后从北洋舰队的库房拿取许多经费，去支付修理清漪园所需要的花费，看来是真实的。1887年1月27日，她把水师训练学校以及昆明湖旁的石舫列入园工预算里，似是为了感谢水师。石舫自然是浮不起来，而慈禧太后后来被责应为甲午战争中水师覆没一事负责。[640]

总之，清漪园于1888年3月13日重生了，并由光绪皇帝正式易名为"颐和园"。慈禧太后此后把颐和园作为她的常居之所，直至她1908年去世。

大体上说，颐和园就是修复的清漪园，局部的更动是为了改善清漪园原来的设计。所有建筑物和风景被极尽细密地按合理的空间关系搭配在一起。巧妙叠成的园石、如画般的自然环境以及颇具诗意的人工作品，均巧妙地布置出趣味来。

颐和园的面积约有3.4平方公里，在建筑精美和艺术品位等方面都可跟圆明园匹敌。颐和园跟圆明园一样，除能为园居者提供欢愉和快乐外，也具备理政的功能。全园结合了昆明湖和万寿山。这座修复好的宫苑似乎在园林生活上讨足了慈禧太后的欢心。更重要的是，这座特别的宫苑及其美景存续至今，因此给我们提供了一个无价的具体景观，去了解清代的宫苑。[641]

兹将颐和园的布局大概描述如下。著名的"佛香阁"坐落在万寿山前山的半山坡上，下有20米高的巨石台基，高41米，是一典型的木构建筑，八面三层四重檐。由乾隆命名为"大报恩延寿寺"的主殿处于佛教氛围

中，显然是根据乾隆时代的设计风格来建造的。[642] 修复这座特别的楼阁花了780万两白银；完工之后，改名为"排云殿"。此殿的屋顶是黄色的琉璃瓦，面对着一座横跨昆明湖的汉白玉石桥。排云殿成为慈禧太后的主要居所。从远处看，湖边、牌楼、前门、石桥、内门和排云殿进入眼帘，有逐渐上升的感觉。

廓如亭是颐和园里最大的一座亭子，呈八角形，由内外三层共24根圆柱和16根方柱支撑而成，坐落在十七孔桥的南端，占地130平方米，亭子的重檐在每一面往上攒尖，看起来气势雄伟。根据满洲亲王溥杰的形容，这座独一无二的亭子象征着一个巨型的蒙古包，提醒不忘满洲祖先的游牧生活。[643]

荟亭是一对六角形的亭子，位于颐和园的东边山丘顶上。据说慈禧太后通常会在八月中旬的月圆之夜到这里赏景，特别是在地上可以观赏到月光之下两座亭子重叠在一起的投影。据说当满月慢慢地从东方升起移向西方的时候，两座亭子的投影会慢慢汇聚成为一个巨大的投影，令人感觉到满月的完美。

铜亭也被称作"宝云阁"，被誉为一件奇妙的建筑。这座亭子全部以铜铸成，重达207吨，高7.5米，竖立在一座巨大的汉白玉台阶上。最初落成在乾隆时期，并从1860年的劫难中幸存下来；不过，除了一张铜桌之外，所有内部的装饰品全被掠夺一空。经过慈禧太后的修复之后，每月的初一和十五都会定期有一群喇嘛聚集在这里，诵佛经并为皇家祈福。

喇嘛教在蒙古和西藏广为流传，从清朝开国以来也得到清朝统治者的高度重视，这无疑是借宗教来满足政治的需要，以便控制蒙古和西藏的人民。许多喇嘛寺庙得以在北京西边兴建起来，实在归功于清王朝的批准。乾隆皇帝就在万寿山后的半坡地建造了巨大的喇嘛寺庙建筑群，占地大约两万平方米。其设计传达了佛教的宇宙观。在这个群落里有四座庭院，里面各有红色、白色、绿色和黑色四座宝塔，象征着佛教的四土，也代表着佛教的四种智慧，并有两座相对的台阶代表太阳和月亮环绕着佛教的世界。[644] 这些所有在后山腰的建筑在1860年全都被夷为平地，并没有被重修作为颐和园的一部分，少数幸存下来的佛像被存放在遗址上的一座殿堂里。

颐和园里最著名的长廊，蜿蜒并呈波浪形，长达728米，从东到西共273段，当中竖立四座八角形亭子，向漫步其中的游人呈现很多不同

的景致。慈禧太后对这座非凡的建筑极为自豪；事实上，它算得上是颐和园里所有建筑设计之中最具匠心独运者。游人坐在长廊里面可以欣赏湖上或山中飘雪，还可于迷雾之日聆听雨声。整座长廊看来就像一条长而鲜艳的丝带，把遍布在湖光山色里的各种建筑物融合在一起。1860年那场大浩劫之前，长廊的梁柱上有超过8000幅具苏州风格的彩绘画，内容都是花卉、鸟儿、风景、500只各自飞翔的仙鹤，还有中国著名小说和民间传奇里的人物讲述着一个个广为流传的故事。[645] 这些画工精细的彩绘是在不同时期被绘制出来的，最先是乾隆让画师把他多次南巡期间所欣赏的最佳景致复制出来。长廊结实的地基结构使得1888年的重建相对容易，只是长廊里许多价值连城的彩绘，已无法恢复精彩的原貌。[646]

颐和园中有许多桥，光是在昆明湖上就有30多座。最长的一座就是著名的"十七孔桥"，它伸展成彩虹的模样，有150米长、8米宽，连接湖的东岸和南面的小岛。桥的栏杆上立着500尊不同姿态的石狮子。一只跟实物一样大的青铜牛立在桥的东端，雕工精致细腻，其历史可追溯到乾隆时期。根据通俗的说法，放在这里的这只青铜牛是用来"镇压"水患的。这尊铜牛的尺码与重量让它得以在圆明园遭到抢掠的时候逃过被搬走的命运。玉带桥是连接西堤到园内其他地方的六座桥之一，也是一座白色的石拱桥，拱顶距离水面非常之高，龙船能轻易地通过。

慈禧太后及时完成颐和园的修缮来庆祝她的50岁生日。接着，她把这座宫苑作为她常住之地，并且在每年的农历十月十日举行铺张的寿宴，款待祝寿的宾客。她的寿辰通常会一连庆祝一个星期之久；在此期间，这座极尽奢华的宫苑常会摆开盛大的流水席和连续不断的余兴表演。光绪皇帝和大臣们聚集到排云殿向慈禧太后行三跪九叩首大礼，并向她献上书面和口头的贺词。当慈禧太后于1894年庆贺60岁大寿时，由特定的亲王所组成的筹备委员会更把庆典规划成难得一见的盛事。这场祝寿的规模，包括从紫禁城到颐和园的路上摆设的鲜艳而精致的装饰，都可以跟乾隆的寿庆互相媲美；不过，慈禧太后身处的时代已经不是乾隆的太平盛世了。中日甲午战争于1894年爆发，中国在不到一年内就遭到惨败，破坏了慈禧太后早已计划好的祝寿大典。在这种情况之下，她只好大幅度降低祝寿的规格；但是1897年的寿庆中，她取得一些补偿，包括在颐和园内的各个戏台上演持续八天的连台好戏。为了庆祝这次寿辰，慈禧太后花了相当于当时3.24亿公斤白米的费用，这还没有把来自全国各地官员给她献上的贵重贺礼的价值计算在内。[647]

慈禧太后从1888年至1908年过世为止，是皇帝背后的真正掌权者。尤其在1898年的戊戌政变之后，她以颐和园作为她处理政务的大本营，犹如之前清帝使用圆明园的情况一样。慈禧太后的起居室位于长廊的东侧，为颐和园的中枢地，是一座大型的四合院结构，也可以视之为49间大大小小房屋所组成的大院。这座大院的庭院占地三千多平方米，位于万寿山之后，面对昆明湖。慈禧太后把主要的十间她起居用的厢房命名为"乐寿堂"，将大堂命名为"仁寿殿"，相当于圆明园内的正大光明殿。她把圆明园里的一只青铜麒麟摆设在庭院里的空地上；她在仁寿殿里的大堂中央，挂上一块雕有"寿协仁符"四个大字的匾额，而前门的两壁则各自挂上巨大的条幅，每一幅画上100只蝙蝠，每只蝙蝠都握有"寿"字。在她案桌后面的大屏风上，饰有两百多个不同写法的"寿"字。显而易见，慈禧太后像中国历史上的其他统治者一样，十分珍视仁慈和长寿。[648]

至今仍然可以在这座殿堂内看到两张以珍贵紫檀木制作而成的"龙椅"，每张龙椅雕刻了九条活灵活现、象征中国皇权的龙。慈禧太后和光绪皇帝在颐和园内共同接见重要人物时，会各自坐在一张龙椅上。在颐和园这种非正式场合里，慈禧太后大可以无视严格的规范与皇帝平起平坐。不过，在紫禁城内较为正式的场合里，即使光绪皇帝只是慈禧太后的傀儡，她还是会坐在光绪的后面，以丝质帘幕作区隔，只能垂帘听政。

慈禧太后一定是极为欣赏有大湖与翠山环绕的颐和园之美，她常常在昆明湖上泛舟，犹如雍正和乾隆两帝之泛舟于福海。她也喜爱山后寝宫庭院里奇石的造型，用来衬托奇花异草。当花季到来，慈禧太后也跟乾隆一样，被壮观的玉兰花所迷倒。她和道光皇帝一样都是大戏迷，她在颐和园里建造了一个大戏台，经常在此听戏自娱。[649] 因此，她似乎把附近已经沦为废墟的圆明园给忘掉了。

李鸿章于1896年结束其环游世界之旅后，就到颐和园向慈禧太后禀报。李鸿章又顺道想到圆明园作短暂的游憩，但太监兼侍卫阻挡他进入，并指控他私闯圆明园。慈禧太后并没有太当回事，那些太监就转而向光绪皇帝告状。翁同作为光绪皇帝的老师兼亲信，又是李鸿章的政敌，就建议夺去他的"三眼花翎"作为惩处。尽管光绪已经同意了，但慈禧太后驳回这个决定，而改为轻罚他一年俸禄。[650]

近年有一位作者认为，李鸿章走进这座荒芜的圆明园只是出于好奇心，对他所作的惩罚其实是要报复他当初揭发李光昭浮报弊案，导致同

治立即终止所有圆明园内的营建工程。[651] 如此严格看守圆明园很可能意图隐瞒一个事实，就是有些营建工程仍在这座残破的宫苑里进行。根据一些记载显示，其实慈禧太后和光绪皇帝于1886年至1898年都曾定期游访圆明园，以至于被人猜测为去监工和视察。例如内务府1897年度会计预算当中，就拨出96500两白银给圆明园。[652] 这不得不让人怀疑所谓完全停止的圆明园营建工程只是表面的说词，而非实际状况。

再度沧桑与后果

圆明园如果没有在1900年的义和团运动（间接促成八国联军入侵）期间遭受到第二度焚掠的话，[653] 已经局部修复的部分应该可以保存得更好。慈禧太后与光绪皇帝一起于1900年8月5日逃走，再一次让北京落入外国入侵者的手里。1900年的入侵者甚至比1860年的人数更多，而且更为凶残。他们又一次展开抢掠和纵火，范围更广，持续更久。

抢掠的地点包括了有钱人和满洲贵族的宅邸，掠夺者不仅是军队，外交人员与传教士亦参与其中。美国传教士丁韪良在抢掠现场看到，那些掠夺者的争抢场面只能用暴动来形容。[654] 大量中国囚犯遭到残暴的虐待和无情的枪杀。对于这种极端暴行所作的报道和见证，让当时一位美国作家感觉"这些中国人遭受的对待就像罗马暴君尼禄在位时期的基督徒"。[655] 值得注意的是，大约在入侵的一年前，这八国全都加入了1899年的《海牙公约》，其中明文禁止被视作理所当然的战时抢夺和恣意杀戮。

新建成的颐和园跟残破的圆明园都遭到了摧残。八国联军轻易地夺取并占领了北京，机动性强的德国骑兵为追赶董福祥的败军而深入内蒙。在返回之后，这些德国、英国和意大利的军队驻扎在北京的西北部，他们劫掠包括圆明园在内的所有宫苑。当冬天来临时，他们就从圆明园里卸下木门和窗框来燃烧取暖。[656] 最后，自19世纪70年代以来所完成的所有修复工程全部被毁。跟1860年的浩劫一样，入侵者为了分赃而成立了一个奖金委员会，并在英国使馆举行拍卖会。[657]

当这些外国军队终于撤离时，本地的无赖、窃贼和地痞流氓利用无政府状态大肆抢劫任何他们认为值钱的东西，甚至那些理应保护所有宫苑的满洲旗人也参与抢劫。例如1900年9月7日，超过100名旗人不理会圆明园守卫的警告，手持斧头和铁锹闯入长春园内环形的"海岳开襟"。他们虽然破坏了通往岛上的桥梁，但还是被守卫击退，并且有大部分人

被杀死。不过一个星期后，有16个旗人又趁着园里湖水结冰时回来，随意洗劫圆明园：他们拆毁建筑物，用马车运走可以使用的木材，还砍掉园内巨大的松树和柏树来卖钱。事实上，这种恣意的破坏让圆明园内的殿堂楼阁无一幸免，那些被偷来的木材，从柱子到窗框全都被拿到附近的清河镇，堆积成一座"小山"，等着变卖。即使从园内拿走的小木片和树枝都被烧成木炭后拿到市场上卖。结果，园里的建筑物特别是木构建筑和树木就此消失了。1900年对圆明园灾难性的破坏，并不下于1860年的那把大火。[658]

外国的入侵军队也破坏了颐和园。美国人詹姆斯·利卡尔顿正好在义和团运动期间来到中国游历，他在颐和园的湖边逛了约1英里（约1.6公里），见到许多奇特的建筑，都明显呈现抢劫者和破坏者留下的痕迹。[659] 不过，颐和园并没有遭遇到像圆明园在1860年那样的严重焚毁。因此，它的修复工作比较容易，也不会太昂贵。事实上，当慈禧太后于1902年返回北京时，颐和园已经修复好，等她进住。她增建了一座名为"乐农轩"的农舍，以提醒她逃难至农村时的惨痛经历。[660] 可以看出，八国联军带来的灾难让她变得谦逊，不敢再仇外，反而尝试去迎合外国人。例如在1902年之后，慈禧太后开始在她心爱的颐和园里款待西方贵妇。从这个时候开始，尽管朝廷仍然受到她的控制，但她很少离开颐和园，最后在1908年逝世于园中。年轻但体弱的光绪皇帝也住在园里，不过所居住的楼阁四周环水，基本上就像一座拘留所，他刚好比慈禧太后早一天离开人世。

在义和团运动发生后，圆明园的命运也成了定局。第二次致命的打击排除了把这座园林当成历史遗址来保护的可能，更不要提将它修复了。动乱之后的巨额赔款进一步加重了清廷的财务压力：例如在1904年，内务府减少了圆明园里的守卫和太监人数。尽管圆明园的满洲旗人到了1909年的时候仍然有16718人之多，[661] 但他们大部分是以前园户的成员，包括了妇女和孩童，而对圆明园来说，他们是破坏者而非保护者。

清朝的衰败和灭亡更让歹徒有机可乘，进一步来抢劫和毁坏圆明园。1911年初秋，湖南军政府参议院议长谭延（1880—1930）已经无法再看到王运于1870年时曾经观看过的景物，他所能看到的就只有野草和凌乱的石块。唯一留存下来的建筑物是在长春园北端半倒的欧式巴洛克建筑，[662] 之所以尚能见到，主要是因为西洋建筑坚固的石料和大理石的地基。据某著名欧洲建筑师的说法，这些西洋建筑若要修复，至迟在1914年之前还相对地容易，但事实上以中国当时凄惨的情况，不可能有余

力来维护任何历史文物。[663]在缺乏维护的情况下，半倒的巴洛克式建筑逐渐崩塌，结果只有少数巨型的大理石块残留着。由奥尔莫于19世纪70年代拍摄的一组20张照片，在1933年出版，为这些欧式建筑的外观留下特别珍贵的见证。[664]

中国从君主政体转变成共和制度，并未影响到圆明园的地位。清朝末代统治者宣统皇帝溥仪获准拥有他在紫禁城里的宫室，并保留包括宫苑在内所有财产的拥有权，此乃1912年达成退位协议的一部分。圆明园继续由逊清的内务府所监管，但问题是动荡不稳的民国政府很少会履行诺言。没有防卫能力的皇室很容易沦为粗暴政客和无情军阀的牺牲品；不少清室的陵墓就被炸开盗宝。即使圆明园已经残破不堪，却因为其名声而成为许多贪心人的目标。

初期的北洋政府当局公然向紫禁城内落魄的清朝宫廷索求圆明园内的珍奇物件。1915年，为了装饰在北京繁华商业区新翻修完成的正阳门，内务部总长要求内务府批准，从圆明园西北角落附近的安逸堂里，搬走两只石麒麟。同年，北京军方将领要求取走圆明园内的假山假石。不管多么不情愿，内务府总是没办法拒绝这些索求。迫于这种情势，清朝宫廷只好慷慨应允，这也是意料之中的事。至少有一次，内务府在溥仪的同意之下，不仅爽快地答应民国政府的要求，而且自愿帮助民国政府从圆明园挑选并运送51块太湖石。[665]

袁世凯大总统（1859—1916）去世后，政局进一步恶化。伴随而来的社会动荡让圆明园的保护工作更为困难，事实上这座荒芜的园林成为了盗贼唾手可得的猎物。溥仪从太监总管王和喜那里接到有盗贼闯入圆明园的报告，他除了寻求北京政府的帮助就别无他法了。警察捉到至少三个盗贼，他们承认在圆明园里偷走了数百块石材。可是，过了没多久，那些警察甚至士兵自己都变成了盗贼。在1919年秋天的一个日子里，数十名士兵放任地在文源阁遗址上运走数十辆马车的太湖石。清室向北京的步军统领衙门提出强烈抗议，但毫无用处。[666]

1919年，驻扎在西苑的边防军炮三营高副官在圆明园内犯下掠夺的罪行，此违法行径激怒了溥仪，他立即向陆军部抗议。据说，这名郭副官和另外十几人在光天化日之下闯进圆明园，并拉运了三大车砖块。溥仪重申圆明园完全是他的私人财产且得到政府当局所给予的保护，可是当卫兵变成盗贼之后，合法的保护也变得毫无意义。因此，民国政府内外的人不断地破坏着圆明园的完整性。最让人难以忍受的事件发生在1921年，有两营属于十六师的军人殴打婉言拦阻他们的园内仆役，强行进

入圆明园犯下掠夺的罪行，他们拆毁舍卫城的城墙，搬走许多太湖石，大肆掠夺了整整两天时间。没有一个人敢拦阻他们；事实上，这些军人在离开圆明园的时候，还嘲笑了20名无助的太监。[667]

民国政府的文职单位同样对圆明园投以贪婪的目光。1921年，北京龙泉孤儿院逼迫溥仪将圆明园的西墙砖块和园内的湖石捐赠给他们，作为扩充院址的建筑材料，并且辩称这些废弃的物料应该充分利用。1922年，燕京大学的传教士管理者为了在校内建筑莫根园，要求在邻近的圆明园拉运大量的石材。这两项用途也许还可以说是用作公益，但其他很多人就只是为了满足个人的私欲。同年晚些时候，京师警察总监薛之珩想从圆明园的遗址"借用"一些建材给他自己使用。这位警察总监不是唯一一个提出此类要求的具有影响力的官员，例如萧委员和万委员就到圆明园押运载满六十多辆大车的太湖石，毫不理会皇室驻守圆明园总管王和喜的当场抗议。[668]

为了尽力防止无休止地从圆明园夺走物料的行为，三位内务府大臣绍英、耆寿和宝熙于1922年9月向北京的京畿卫戍总司令王怀庆强调，禁止从圆明园遗址夺走任何一物。王总司令承诺会加强圆明园遗址的保护。但讽刺的是王怀庆总司令自己就曾经派出数百个工人手持尖锄、斧头和铲子潜入圆明园，拆下环绕舍卫城的坚固围墙，拆除"鸿慈永祜"的大墙，并拆毁巴洛克式建筑的砖墙，以便用这些石材兴建王怀庆自己在扇湖之畔的达园。[669]

1923春，一封从内务府发出的信函指出，甚至连环绕圆明园外围的北大墙和西大墙都被偷拆。[670]不久之后，奉系军阀张作霖（1875—1928）于1924年控制了北京，他从圆明园搬走了大量汉白玉，运到辽宁去建造自己的墓地。与此同时，一名富裕的德国军火商从圆明园搬走不同种类的建材，来建造他的翠华花园。其结果是，圆明园内的院墙迅速消失了。

院墙被拆掉之后，人们就打园里土地的主意。当清华学校1923年新的学年开始时，校长曹云祥正式向清室要求提供邻近清华校园圆明园遗址的部分地皮，以扩充学校的用地。这位校长相信把圆明园的土地给予清华学校，将是保存古迹的最好方法。曹云祥校长虽然希望以现金购买土地，但由于经费不足而无法这样做，所以他建议特别对满族学生提供大约26万元的奖学金作为对清室的补偿。这项建议看来颇具吸引力，因为当时并没有一个满族学生进入这一所崇高的学府。不过，溥仪把这项建议束之案头，不作明确的响应，因为他不愿意出让任何一寸土地，他

知道一旦这样做的话，圆明园的遗址就将会永远地消失无踪。[671]

圆明园的整体性虽然暂时得到维持，但在1924年的一整年中，园内的物料仍然不断地被人搬走。最值得注意的是，北洋政府的秘书长王兰亭直截了当地向内务府通报，要求从圆明园内的假山运走100车的山石去建造他的私人庭园，而清室无力阻止这些损失。然后在同一年年底之前，有一连骑兵在没有知会溥仪的内务府的情况下，就驻扎在圆明园的遗址里。掌管燕京大学的外国牧师们，在1925年踏进邻近校园的圆明园，把安佑宫的石柱和工艺品搬运到燕京大学的校园内。当清室要求警察详细询问这些牧师，所得到的答复居然是：这些石柱放在校内保存会更安全。在北京市内的中山公园董事会，也认为把那些倾圮石块留在园内并不安全，所以他们建议溥仪把残余的石料运到他们的公园内，作妥善的保存。类似的要求陆续不断；但这位前清逊帝并不认为另觅新址是处理圆明园遗物的最好办法。[672]

但是一些标志性的遗物仍然被移走。好几尊外形优雅的青铜兽和山石于较早时就被挪移到颐和园里；在万春园入口的新宫门有不少厢房、影壁、拱门和石狮子，被前清的贝勒卖给一个慈善机构作为中学的校舍；[673] 兰亭中的石柱及一些青铜雕像、太湖石和石雕栏杆被移至中山公园；有些圆明园的山石被挪至南京的中山陵；运到燕京大学的物品包括一对汉白玉雕成的石麒麟、一座喷泉平台、几块石帘、一座石桥、许多欧式建筑的雕刻品和三根附有雕饰的壮丽华表，都是来自"鸿慈永祜"。北京图书馆于1930年从圆明园拿走好些物品，最引人注目的是从"鸿慈永祜"取走的一对有雕饰的柱子、从长春园的大东门取走的两只石狮子以及在文源阁里取得的两块石碑。[674]

大量笨重的物料被挪走之外，被前清太监、旗人和当地居民所偷窃的许多小东西，更是难以计算。20世纪20年代的北京居民，几乎每一天都目击有人从圆明园运走石雕、青铜铭文、太湖石、砖块、瓦片和大量其他各种建材。[675] 难怪英国作家丹比于20世纪30年代观察到："在北京许多简陋的石匠店铺里，可以看到精美的、刻在石头或大理石上的双花环、花卉和外国主题的雕像，这些石雕取自欧式建筑的宫殿，一两块钱就可以买到"。[676]

自此之后，人为的抢掠、火灾和天气的侵袭，使圆明园沦为不见人烟的荒野。1931年3月，中国建筑协会为了唤醒大众保存历史文物的意识，借伟大的宋代建筑师李明仲（李诫）逝世821周年纪念的机会，主

持圆明园的历史与遗址公开展览会，向民众展示地图、模型、手册、山石、碑文、文件、诗作和书籍等物品。[677] 虽然这场展览会引起极大的注意，并吸引了大批的民众参观，但是在当时中国的政治与社会环境之下，历史文物的保存真是易说难做。

接着战争爆发了，中国东部于1937年至1945年之间遭到日军占领后，北京（当时叫北平）附近饥饿的农民、前清太监和前清的旗人，来到圆明园的旧址上挖地，想把圆明园变成农场。结果是山丘被夷为平地，湖泽被填为耕地或作为鱼池。圆明园遗址首次遭遇到从地表消失的威胁。

中华人民共和国于1949年成立之后，没有立即致力于保护圆明园的遗址，中国科学院甚至想在遗址上建设一个大型的种植场。这个构思尽管没有落实，但稻田和农舍都已经存在多年，似乎会无限期地留在这里。政府直至20世纪50年代后期才通过征收方式取得遗址大部分的土地权，但要另外安置众多的农户是一件相当艰巨的任务。从1959年至1961年的三年自然灾害，使情况更为恶化；在这期间，有更多的农民占用或使用圆明园的土地。因此，圆明园又再次遭遇到毁灭性的威胁。园里更多的山丘被夷平，湖泽被填平；大量茅舍在园里兴建，道路随意在园里铺设。

从1966年至1976年长达十年的"文化大革命"狂潮，给圆明园遗址带来了更多破坏。在这段动乱的日子里，有大约800米的破墙被拆除，1000棵树被砍掉，至少有528车的石料被运走。尤有甚者，北京大学的教授和学生们在事后承认，当时他们在红卫兵的命令之下到圆明园遗址务农。随着"文化大革命"的发展，圆明园遗址上遍布稻田、工厂、学校、射击场和牧场。"文化大革命"幸而没有持续太久，否则足以彻底毁灭此历史性的遗址。有一座名为"正觉寺"的喇嘛庙虽然严重失修，但却奇迹般地留存到"文化大革命"之后。这座寺庙最初是由乾隆皇帝于18世纪建造，由喇嘛住的宿舍和几个用来摆放佛像的馆阁所组成。此寺逃过1860年的大火；在1900年被义和团占住，随后在1901年被德国兵占据。这些占领者把寺内的门窗拆掉，用作燃料。具有影响力的民国政客颜惠庆于20世纪头几年，遣散喇嘛、拆去佛像，把这座庙宇作为他的别墅的一部分。正觉寺周围许多漂亮的古木柏树被卖给清华大学用于建造宿舍的工程。20世纪60年代以后的20年间，海淀机械修理厂不断砍掉庙宇周围的松柏树，来修造厂房和生活区。[678]

"文化大革命"于1976年结束时，历史文物的保存最终回归到议程上

，成立了一个特别办公室来管理圆明园遗址。中国政府于1980年8月终于宣布把圆明园列为国家"重点古迹"，由政府来保护。圆明园遗址所遭受的无尽破坏终于可以结束了。

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[162] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1268—1269页。

[163] 参阅《燕行录选集》，201页，首尔，大东文化研究所，1961。

[164] John Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to Various Parts of Asia* (Edinburgh: Geo. Robinson & Co., 1788), pp. 6–7.

[165] 参阅冯尔康：《雍正传》，58—59页，北京，人民出版社，1995。

[166] 风水处于伪科学和完全荒谬之间，但已经在中国习俗里流传上千年，直到现在仍然在全球华人群体里有其市场。

[167] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1321页。

[168] 参阅冯尔康：《雍正传》，64页。

[169] 参阅于敏中等编纂，《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1274—1279页。

[170] 参阅周维权：《圆明园的兴建及其造园艺术浅谈》，载《圆明园》，第1期，31页，1981年11月；张恩荫：《圆明园兴建史的一个问题》，载《圆明园》，第4期，24页，1986年10月。

[171] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1335页；中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，13页。

[172] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，8页。

[173] 《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，15、16页；另参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，293页。

[174] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，17、19、32、35页。

[175] 同上书，上册，22页。

[176] 参阅程演生编：《圆明园考》，1页上—3页上。

[177] J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassay to China, being the Journal kept by Lord Macartney during his embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 1793–94* (London: Longmans Green, 1962), p. 84.

[178] 根据王威的说法，大量原属于这条路的石块，一直到1953年在通往圆明园的路上仍然可以看到。但由于都市化不断发展，现在这条石板路已经无法再看到了。参阅王威：《圆明园》，19页。

[179] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，245页。

[180] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，19页。

[181] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，245页。

[182] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，4、6页；参阅王威：《圆明园》，81页。

[183] 参阅张恩荫：《圆明园兴建年表》，见《圆明沧桑》编委会编：《圆明沧桑》，137页。

[184] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1326页。

[185] 同上书，第2册，1327—1331页。

[186] 诗参阅《清·五朝〈御制集〉中的圆明园诗》，载《圆明园》，第2期，55页。

[187] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1356页。

[188] 中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1018—1019页。

[189] 同上书，上册，18页；下册，1643页。

[190] 同上书，上册，18页；参阅张恩荫：《圆明园兴建年表》，136页。

[191] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，60—61页；《清史稿》，第14册，3862—3863页，北京，中华书局，1976；崇贤：《圆明园营制详考》，见舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，240—262页。

[192] Attiret, *A Particular Account, pp* . 20–21.

[193] 昭：《啸亭杂录》，378页。

[194] 彭哲愚、张宝章编：《颐和园圆明园的传说》，158页。

[195] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1365—1366页。

[196] 同上书，第3册，1378页。

[197] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，329页。

[198] Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty*, p. 58.

[199] 录自《圆明园》，第2期，55页，1983年9月。

[200] 引自于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1322页。

[201] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，340页；参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，297页。

[202] 参阅冯尔康：《雍正传》，545、548、549页。

[203] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1335—1337页。

[204] 参阅乾隆所作的诗，收入中国圆明园学会编：《圆明园四十景图咏》，28页。

[205] 参阅乾隆诗句，收入于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1378页。

[206] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1182页。

[207] 圆明园图完成的时间有不同的说法，于敏中的日期是乾隆二年（1737年），但档案资料显示乾隆三年（1738）。参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1245页。

[208] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，366页。

[209] 于敏中记载"鸿慈永祜"是在1742年完工，但最近发现的军机处档案显示，它早在1737年就已经落成。参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第2册，1323页；中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1648页。

[210] 引自《圆明园》，第4期，70页，1986年10月。

[211] 参阅乾隆所作有关圆明园四季的诗，载《圆明园》，第2期，57页，1983年9月。

[212] 康无为（Harold L. Kahn）指出，乾隆皇帝根据以下几个立场来把几次耗费巨大的南巡之行合理化。首先，他要履行孝道，陪同他年老的母亲去看看美丽的江南。第二，他要顺应百姓恳切的需求。第三，他要视察淮河与长江流域的河道修护工程。参阅Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 91–95。但他遗漏了一个最主要的目的没说出来，就是乾隆想看看江南风光和独一无二的庭园，并把部分庭园的样式带回来，在圆明园内复制仿造。有时候，他在宫苑里把整座江南庭园——如苏州的狮子林——重新复制建造出来。

[213] 要了解乾隆在圆明园内的生活细节描述，请参阅本书的第六章。

[214] Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* . Trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Alfred A. Knopf., 1992).

[215] 参阅故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，612—614页，北京，中华书局，1990。

[216] 同上书，674、692页。

[217] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, pp. 19, 24, 29; J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassay to China* , p. 92.

[218] Samuel H. Holmes, *The Journal of Mr. Samuel H. Holmes* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1798), p. 134.

[219] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，342—343、350页。

[220] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, p. 24.

[221] Aenesa Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China in the Years of 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: Debrett, 1795), p. 112.

[222] Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* , p.130；另参阅《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷1，43—44页，上海，中华书局，1916。

[223] 参阅John Barrow, *Travels in China: Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons Made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-min-yuen and a Subsequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton* (Philadelphia: W. F. M′ Laughlin, 1805), p. 73.

[224] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，570页，北京，国际文化出版公司，1996。

[225] 同上书，139、 564、 568—569页；另阅故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，671页。

[226] John Barrow, *Travels in China* , p. 83.

[227] 同上书，p. 84。

[228] J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassy to China* , p. 264.

[229] John Barrow, *Travels in China* , pp. 86–92.

[230] Helen H. Robbins, *Our First Ambassador to China: The Life of Macartney* (London: John Murray, 1908), p. 275。另参阅《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷1，48页。

[231] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, p. 25; J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassy to China* , p. 95; Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* , p. 136；《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷1，49页；中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，345页。

[232] 故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，671、698、700页。

[233] 参阅《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷1，51页。

[234] Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* , pp. 138–139；参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，331、342页。

[235] 参阅《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷1，54—55页。

[236] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，344、348—354页；故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，695—696页。

[237] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, pp. 45–60；参阅《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷2，1页。

[238] 参阅Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, pp. 80–84；Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* , pp. 223–235, 249–251；《乾隆英使觐见记》，卷2，10—23页。

[239] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，147页。

[240] 同上书，9、174页，另参阅10、13、148、172、173页；故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，715—716页。

[241] James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 225–248.

[242] 参阅故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，692页。

[243] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, pp. 68, 73–79.

[244] W. W. Rockhill, *Diplomatic Audience at the Court of China* (Taipei: Chengwen Chubanshe, 1971), reprint edition, p. 31.

[245] 根据1793年的清宫档案记载，英国使节在热河获得乾隆召见的人员，包括大使乔治·马戛尔尼勋爵（Lord George Macartney）、副使乔治·伦纳德·斯汤顿（George Leonard Staunton）、副使的儿子乔治·托马斯·斯汤顿（George Thomas Staunton）、指挥官乔治·本森（Lt. Col. George Benson）、秘书爱德华·温德尔（Edward Winder）和路易斯·拉米尔特（Louis Lamiot?）、物理学家巴朗（Balang?）、副指挥官亨利·威廉·帕里什（Lt. Henry William Parish）、军官依路（E-lu?）、侍从拔林（Bai-lin?）、英丹里（Yin-deng-le?）、海军上尉威廉·麦金托什（William Mackintosh）、5名音乐家、11名仆役和40名士兵。总共有68名英国人前往热河。参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，356页。

[246] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，14、154、172页；故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，677、738页。

[247] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，330—331, 335—338页。

[248] John Barrow, *Travels in China* , p. 80; J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassy to China* , *pp. 144–145.*

[249] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，357—358页。

[250] Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire* , pp. 272–273.

[251] 《军机处随手档》，引自中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，555页。

[252] 参阅故宫博物馆掌故部编：《掌故丛编》，746、749页。

[253] J. J. L. Duyvendak, 1938–1939, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794–1795),"*T'oung Pao* 34, 4, 11; C. R. Boxer, "Isaac Titsingh′ s Embassy to the Court of Ch′*i* en Lung (1794–1795),"in *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 8 (January 1939): 9–12.

[254] C. R. Boxer, "Isaac Titsingh′ s Embassy to the Court of Ch′*i* en Lung,"p. 16.

[255] 荷兰人引录了此一上谕，参阅J. J. L. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court,"p. 88。

[256] C. R. Boxer, "Issac Titsingh′ s Embassy to the Court of Ch′*i* en Lung,"p. 21.

[257] J. J. L. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court,"pp. 53–54, 63.

[258] 同上书，67页。

[259] 同上书，68—70页。

[260] Hope Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness: The History of Yuan Ming Yuan and of the Emperors Who Lived There* (London: William & Norgate, 1950), p. 155.

[261] 同上书，156—158页。

[262] J. J. L. Duyvendak, "The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court,"pp. 70–71.

[263] 进占圆明园的英军将领格兰特所见，引自Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch ' ing Dynasty* , p. 182。

[264] J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassy to China* , pp. 366–367; John Barrow, *Travels in China* , pp. 76–77, 145.

[265] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，208页；中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，448页。

[266] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《英使马戛尔尼访华档案史料汇编》，210、212页。

[267] 同上书，213—214页；中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，448—450页; Hope Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , pp. 170–175；Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), *pp. 163–166*。

[268] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，563页；Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor ' s Eyes* , pp 191–199。

[269] 引自姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，14—15页。

[270] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，567页。

[271] 从宫中秘档所得到的最新资料显示，乾隆早于1769年年底首先提出，要准备一块刻有绮春园名字的巨匾额，这块刻好名字的匾额于1770年年初正式挂上，参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1660页。这项资料可以视为新的绮春园的开始。在同治年间重新改名之后，它的名字就换成万春园。

[272] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，197页。

[273] 杨乃济编：《圆明园大事记》，载《圆明园》，第4期，37页，1986年10月。

[274] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，207页。

[275] 参阅《清史稿》，第14册，3853、3886页；姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，22页。

[276] 参阅冯尔康：《雍正传》，546页。

[277] 参阅《清史稿》，第3册，603页。

[278] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，442—444页。

[279] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，132页。

[280] Hope Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 174.

[281] 参阅姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，16页。

[282] 参阅黄浚（秋岳）：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，433页。

[283] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1671、1674页。

[284] 原诗参阅孙雄：《道咸同光四朝诗史》，21页，台北，鼎文书局重印本，1971。

[285] 参阅《清史稿》，第4册，709页。

[286] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，494页。

[287] 同上书，507—508页。

[288] 参阅舒牧编：《圆明园大事年表》，收入舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，373页。

[289] 参阅张恩荫：《圆明园兴建年表》，148页。

[290] 此传说原载于彭哲愚、张宝章编：《颐和园圆明园的传说》，171—173页。

[291] 龚自珍祖籍杭州，出生于显赫的书香世家。他博学而有广泛的兴趣，尤其在今文经和诗词上最为著名。他的诗词对后世有深远的影响。虽然他的仕途并不得意，但他对当时社会政治环境有敏锐的观察并建言改变，使他成为近代中国历史上一位重要的改革先锋。有关龚自珍的书与文颇多，不备录。

[292] 参阅龚自珍：《龚自珍全集》，468页，台北，河洛图书出版社，1975。

[293] 引自黄浚：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，409页。

[294] 参阅《清史稿》，第4册，588页。

[295] 如Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 184 所说。

[296] 参阅王闿运：《圆明园词》，引自舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，322、330页。

[297] 杨云史：《坛青引》，见《江山万里楼诗抄》，稿本。

[298] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，548—550页。

[299] 郭嵩焘是一位杰出的清代文士，他通晓如何与西方世界打交道。在光绪年间，他成为第一位出使英国和法国的中国大臣。详阅汪荣祖：《走向世界的挫折：郭嵩焘与道咸同光时

代》，台北，东大图书出版公司，1993。

[300] 参阅《郭嵩焘日记》，第1册，213页，长沙，湖南人民出版社，1981—1983。

[301] 参阅《竹叶亭杂记》，4页。

[302] 参阅《郭嵩焘日记》，第1册，214—215页。

[303] 详阅汪荣祖：《走向世界的挫折》，59—80页。

[304] 参阅《郭嵩焘日记》，第1册，307、330—331页；汪荣祖：《走向世界的挫折》，84—85页；于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1391—1411页。

[305] 参阅汪荣祖：《走向世界的挫折》，90—91页。

[306] 内务府的组织与功能都记载在《清史稿》中，这个机构是专门侍候皇帝的。

[307] Te-ch'*a* ng Chang, "The Economic Role of the Imperial Household in the Ch'*i* ng Dynasty,"*Journal of Asian Studies* 31.2 (February 1972): 250.

[308] Preston M. Torbert, *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions* , 1662–1796 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 29, 39.

[309] 福格：《听雨丛谈》，22页，北京，中华书局，1984。

[310] 《清史稿》，卷12，3421—3424页。

[311] Torbert, *The Ch 'i ng Imperial Household Department* , pp. 43, 103, 106, 108, 113, 120.

[312] 《清史稿》，卷12，3429页；参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，992页。

[313] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，992—997页。

[314] 同上书，下册，993页；《清史稿》，卷12，3429页。

[315] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1001—1003页。

[316] 同上书，下册，985—987页。

[317] 同上书，下册，992页。

[318] 同上书，下册，1039—1040页。

[319] 同上书，下册，1039页。

[320] J. L. Crammer-Byng ed., *An Embassy to China* , p. 244.

[321] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，71—72页。

[322] 同上书，下册，987页。

[323] 同上收，下册，1000—1001页。

[324] 同上书，上册，88页。

[325] 同上书，上册，255页。

[326] 参阅杨乃济辑：《圆明园大事记》，36页。

[327] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，207页。

[328] 引自杨乃济辑：《圆明园大事记》，36页。

[329] 传统上，中国人以檀香木作为祝贺的礼物。来自扬州的朱家以精湛工艺制造的檀香木家具最为有名。

[330] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，132页。

[331] 《清史稿》：卷4，709页。

[332] 杨乃济辑：《圆明园大事记》，37页。

[333] 张恩荫：《圆明园兴建年表》，148页。

[334] 何重义、曾昭奋：《圆明园与北京西郊水系》，载《圆明园》，第1期，43页，1981年11月。

[335] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1023、1028、1030页。

[336] 同上书，下册，1028—1029页。

[337] 同上书，下册，1034—1035页。

[338] 同上书，下册，1029页。

[339] 同上书，下册，1005页。

[340] 同上书，下册，1019页。

[341] 同上书，上册，74—78、508—510页。

[342] 参考《钦定总管内务府现行则例》。

[343] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，1045—1050页。

[344] 同上书，上册，67—68页。

[345] 同上书，上册，68页。

[346] 同上书，上册，72—74页。

[347] 鄂尔泰、张廷玉等编纂：《国朝宫史》，50页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1987。

[348] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，132、162—163、207—208、264—265、366—367页。

[349] 同上书，上册，266—267、290页。

[350] 同上书，上册，289—290页。

[351] 同上书，上册，79页。

[352] 同上书，上册，79—80、82—83页。

[353] 同上书，上册，98—100页。

[354] 同上书，上册，511—513、536—537、541—542页。

[355] 同上书，上册，101页。

[356] 同上书，上册，144—147页。

[357] 同上书，上册，129—130页。

[358] 同上书，上册，139页。

[359] 同上书，上册，182—184页。

[360] 同上书，上册，124—132、138—148页。

[361] 同上书，上册，127—128页。

[362] 同上书，上册，130—131页。

[363] 同上书，上册，544—545页。

[364] 同上书，上册，76—78页。

[365] 同上书，上册，554、586页。

[366] 同上书，上册，621—623页。

[367] 同上书，上册，598、600页。

[368] 同上书，上册，603—605页。

[369] 同上书，上册，607—610页。

[370] 同上书，上册，611页。

[371] 同上书，上册，613页。

[372] 同上书，上册，614—615页。

[373] 同上书，上册，616—618页。

[374] 同上书，上册，619—620页。

[375] Theodore Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* (London: John Murray, 1872), p. 369.

[376] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，827—911页；于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第1册，178—179页。

[377] 万依、王树卿、刘潞：《清代宫廷史》，296页，沈阳，辽宁人民出版社，1990。

[378] 引自《圆明园》，第2期，65页，1983年9月。

[379] 乾隆的衣橱和服饰在《穿戴档》里有详细的描述。参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，827—911页。

[380] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，827页；参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第1册，178—179页。

[381] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，828页。

[382] 同上书，下册，829页。

[383] 同上书，下册，831—838页。

[384] Harold L. Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes* , p. 88.

[385] 章乃炜：《清宫述闻》，355页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1988。

[386] 袁枚：《随园食单》，1892年木刻本，见《随园三十八种》，卷27，1页上—1页下。

[387] 同上书，1页上—29页上。

[388] 章乃炜：《清宫述闻》，355—356页。

[389] K. C. Chang ed., *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 281.

[390] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，924—958页。

[391] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，165、 167页。

[392] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，23—24页。

[393] 参阅吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，163—164、166—167页。

[394] John Bell, *Travels from St. Peterburg in Russia to Various Parts of Asia* . (Edinburgh: Geo. Robinsons & Co. 1788), pp. 14–15.

[395] John Barrow, *Travels in China* , pp. 74, 80, 135.

[396] Sir George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account* , vol. 2, p. 78.

[397]《内务府来文》，圆明园资料，北京，中国第一历史档案馆，编号4667。参阅昭：《啸亭杂录》，374—375页。

[398] 林乃燊：《中国饮食文化》，62页，上海，上海人民出版社，1989。

[399] 孔祥吉：《晚清轶闻丛考》，115页，成都，巴蜀书社，1998。

[400] 林乃燊：《中国饮食文化》，140页。

[401] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，20页。

[402] 章乃炜：《清宫述闻》，165页。

[403] 同上书，356页。

[404] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，924页。

[405] 燕窝在西方被视为奇怪的食物，但燕窝在中国的皇家和富有人家的菜单里却是极受欢迎。燕窝被视为中国四大珍味之一，其他三味是鱼翅、熊掌和海参。黑燕窝在煮食之前需要的清理工作要比白燕窝多。根据袁枚的论述，必须用银针从燕窝里把羽毛屑剔除掉。白燕窝被视为质量最好，因为是纯由唾液凝固而成的窝，偶尔会有燕巢的小小羽毛和绿色叶子碎片。燕窝的价格即使到了今天仍然很高昂，高品质的燕窝在20世纪80年代早期的香港市价，一盎司（约28克）就将近300美元，而一盎司的黄金则大约400美元。

[406] 袁枚：《随园食单》，5页上。

[407] Frederick J. Simoons, *Food in China: A Cultural and Historical Inquiry* (Ann Arbor, Boston: CRC Press, 1991), p. 431.

[408] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，925、927、938页。

[409] Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Lift, 1400 –1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967, 1973), p. 143.

[410] 福格：《听雨丛谈》，169页，北京，中华书局，1984。

[411] 章乃炜：《清宫述闻》，228—230页。

[412] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，926—933页。

[413] 同上书，下册，934页。

[414] 同上书，下册，934—935页。

[415] 同上书，下册，935页。

[416] 同上书，下册，936—937、942、937—958页。

[417] 姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，5—6页。另参阅 Jean Denis Attiret, *A Particular Account of the Emperor* , pp. 27–29。

[418] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，281页。

[419] 顾禄：《清嘉录》，27页，上海，上海古籍出版社，1986。

[420] 昭：《啸亭杂录》，374—375页；姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》，6—7页；顾禄：《清嘉录》，26页。

[421] Jean Denis Attiret, *A Particular Account* , pp. 32–34.

[422] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，下册，831页。

[423] 赵翼：《檐曝杂记》，11—12页，北京，中华书局，1982。

[424] 引自程演生编：《圆明园考》，13页上。

[425] John Barrow, *Travels in China* , p. 139.

[426] 昭：《啸亭杂录》，389页。

[427] 吴振：《养吉斋丛录》，125—132页。

[428] Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 185.

[429] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，284页。

[430] 同上书，283页。

[431] 同上书，330页。

[432] 同上书，330—331页。

[433] 出生于1831年的咸丰于1860年庆祝他的30岁生日，不仅是因为中国计算年龄的方式有些不同，也因为抱着迷信的看法，就是要一个人长命百岁的话，应该在岁数当中的最后一个数字为九的时候庆祝生日，比数字为零来得吉利，或者在一个周期完成时来庆祝生日。

[434] 《清史稿》，卷4，747—748、 758页。

[435] Stanley Lane-Poole, F. V. Dickins. *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes* (London & New York: Macmillan, 1894), pp. 140–185；蒋廷黻：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》（1931），第一册，188页，台北，台湾商务印书馆，1972；John Y. Wong, *Yeh Ming-ch'en: Viceroy of Liang Kuang, 1852–1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Henri Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* . Histoire Diplomatique notes et Documents (Paris: Pélix Algan, 1906), pp. 1–2。

[436] 蒋廷黻：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》，第1册，195页。

[437] 同上书，第1册，204—236页。

[438] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷3，961—962页，北京，故宫博物馆，1930。

[439] Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 212–213.

[440] John King Fairbank, "The Creation of the Treaty System,"in Denis Twitchett and John King Fairbank eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), vol. 10, Part 1, p. 257.

[441] 僧格林沁：《奏议》，见《道咸同光四朝奏议》，第3册，1284—1285页，台北，台湾商务印书馆，1970。

[442] T. F. Tsiang, "China After the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859,"*American Historical Review* 35, 1 (October 1929): 79–84.

[443] 同上书，82页。

[444] 同上书，81页。

[445] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 344–345.

[446] 同上书，348—349页。

[447] 蒋廷黻：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》，第1册，253—255页。

[448] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 349.

[449] 《大清文宗显皇帝实录》，见《大清历朝实录》，第93册，卷326，10页上，沈阳，［伪］满洲国"国务院"，1937—1938。

[450] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin*, p. 350； 中国在这次事件中的立场，可以参考咸丰皇帝于1860年9月4日给内阁的谕旨。

[451] 要了解细节，请参考怡亲王和穆荫的通牒以及英法联军的答复。

[452] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 352–354.

[453] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2271—2272、2304—2306、 2308、 2314—2315页。

[454] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 355.

[455] 额尔金怀疑怡亲王和他的同僚蓄意使诈。不过他以为，总司令僧格林沁会认为，敌方对他在张家湾附近的防线会危害到他驻军的安全；因此，当英法联军接近僧格林沁派驻的阵地时，僧格林沁会大张旗鼓地准备抵抗，以阻挠这个坏结果的发生。额尔金的评估解答了为什么会重起战端。

[456] 参阅蒋廷黻：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》，第1册，264—267页；舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，123页； John King Fairbank, "The Creation of the Treaty System,"p. 257；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 356–357；吴相湘：《晚清

宫廷实纪》，28—35页，台北，正中书局，1953；王威：《圆明园》，40页，北京，北京出版社，1980。

[457] Henri Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 349–352；Paul Varin, *Expédition de Chine* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1862), pp. 193–197, 199–215；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 358；Henry Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860. Compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant* (London: Blackwood & Sonsm, 1875), pp. 111–127；王威：《圆明园》，40页；W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937, 1968), pp. 315–331。

[458] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. xiii, 116–117.

[459] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，42页下，上海，商务印书馆，1936。

[460] 引自"中央研究院"近代史研究所编：《道光咸丰两朝筹办夷务始末补遗》，第3册，1923—1996页，台北，"中央研究院"近代史研究所，1966。

[461] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷6，2255页；蒋孟引：《第二次鸦片战争》，第2册，34—35页，北京，三联出版社，1965。

[462] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2335页。

[463] 宝成关：《奕慈禧政争记》，62页，长春，吉林文史出版社，1990；吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，36—37页。

[464] 黄浚：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，434页；李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，42页下；Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 170–173；Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , pp. 312–313；吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，36—37页。

[465] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2338、 2356、 2358页；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 359–360；"中央研究院"近代史研究所编：《道光咸丰两朝筹办夷务始末补遗》，234、236、 246—248、 310页。

[466] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，43页上—43页下。

[467] 参阅贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2362—2363页。

[468] 恭亲王留在圆明园里，拒绝到北京协防是一个有趣的议题。李慈铭记载，恭亲王是因为咸丰的御旨而留在园里。翁同指出是咸丰特别要恭亲王求和。不过，当代学者认为，咸丰并非真的信任他的弟弟，故而刻意地防止他进入北京，因为他在京城里可以夺取政治和军事大权。

[469] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，复印本重印，卷1，191页，台北，台湾商务印书馆，1970；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 360。

[470] Robert James Leslie M' Ghee, *How We Got to Pekin: A Narrative of the Campaign in China of 1860* (London: Richard Bentley. 1862), p. 245.

[471] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，49页下。

[472] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，127—128页；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 360。

[473] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，193页。

[474] 同上书，卷1，195页；贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2426页。

[475] 参阅程演生编：《圆明园考》，20页上。这篇论著也载《圆明园》，第1期，95—113页，1981年11月；黄浚：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，406—407页。

[476] 王韬：《瀛杂志》（1875），卷1，132页。

[477] Varin, *Expédition de Chine* , pp. 222, 228–229; Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 349–362.

[478] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，223页。

[479] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 361.

[480] Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860,* p. 354; Varin, *Expédition de Chine* , pp. 228, 232–236.

[481] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 127–128；Lieut. Col. G. T. Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* (London; Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1862, 1972), reprint edition, pp. 218–242.

[482] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 301.

[483] Henry Brogham Loch, *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin' s Embassy to China in 1860* (London: John Murray, 1909), 3rd edition, pp. 169–170.

[484] Major General G. Allgood, *China War, 1860, Letters and Journals* (New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, 1901), p. 85.

[485] 吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，38页。

[486] Varin, *Expédition de Chine* , p. 236.

[487] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 128, 219–221.

[488] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 361.

[489] Regine Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens: Western Photographers of the Qianlong Emperor's European Palaces* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1998), p. 56.

[490] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , pp. 243–244; Theodore Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 355, 359.

[491] 同上书，361—362页。

[492] 参阅蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，145页。

[493] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，51页上—51页下。事实上，英法联军有三万兵力，外加一万法军预备队。

[494] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，130—131页。

[495] 同上书，131页。

[496] 同上书，166—188页。

[497] Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione* , p. 74.

[498] Allgood, China War, 1860, *Letters and Journals* , p. 85.

[499] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. 130.

[500] 同上书，191—192页， 226—227页；M′ Ghee, *How We Got to Pekin* , pp. 201–289；Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 310； A. B. Tulloch, *Recollections of Forty Years' Service* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1903), p. 118。

[501] Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* , pp. 215–242; Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 190–227.

[502] Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* , pp. 224–225.

[503] 同上书，227页。

[504] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 306; Varin, *Expédition de Chine* , pp. 238–239.

[505] Cecile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione* , p. 74；这份自述原先是来自于不知名的法文谈话记录，记载了有关1860年所发生的事。它是由总督张之洞（1837—1909）的洋文案辜鸿铭送给晚清著名的上海记者汪康年，辜鸿铭的特殊见解被翻译成中文，可以在汪康年的信笺中找到，参阅《汪穰卿先生笔记》，第一册，39页，台北，文海出版社，1969。

[506] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，197页。

[507] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2421页；Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 362。

[508] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 194–195.

[509] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，134页。

[510] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，54页下。

[511] 参阅《英法联军史料》，77、80页。

[512] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，556页。

[513] 同上书，558页。

[514] 同上书，557页；〔清〕宝等纂：《清代筹办夷务始末》，刻印本，卷65，32—33页，北平，故宫博物院，1930。

[515] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，553—554页。

[516] 同上书，552—553页。

[517] 同上书，555页。

[518] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，51页上。

[519] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. 204.

[520] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，199页；李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，54页。

[521] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，200页。

[522] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 365.

[523] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，560页。

[524] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，201页。

[525] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，559—562页；恭亲王、桂良和文祥的备忘录，见蒋廷黻辑录：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》，第1册，269—270页；蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，157页。

[526] Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 388–390; Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 366.

[527] British Parliamentary Papers, "The Earl of Elgin to Lord J. Russell, Peking, October 25, 1860,"China (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), vol. 34, pp. 375–377, lxvi, No. 103; W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937, 1968), p. 337.

[528] M′ Ghee, *How We Got to Pekin* , pp. 222–229.

[529] 同上书，240、244—245页；参阅李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，47页下。

[530] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，192页。

[531] 在巴夏礼的叙述当中，把赵光称为赵老爷。

[532] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，267页；M′G hee, *How We Got to Pekin* , p. 241。

[533] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，268页；参阅拙庵：《圆明园余忆》，见沈云龙主编：《近代中国史料丛刊续编》，第43辑，174—175页。

[534] 引用蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，142、151页。

[535] 同上书，168页。

[536] 《大清文宗显皇帝实录》，见《大清历朝实录》，第93册，卷329，7页上。

[537] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，74页下—75页上。

[538] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 366.

[539] 额尔金与葛罗之间的通信被引用在蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，152页；葛罗向法国外交部呈交的报告刊于Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 358–362。

[540] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 300.

[541] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , pp. 361–362; Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 226–227.

[542] Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* , p. 279; Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 202–203.

[543] 引自汪康年：《汪穰卿先生笔记》，第1册，38页，台北，文海出版社，1969。

[544] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 329.

[545] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. 204.

[546] Varin, *Expédition de Chine* , p. 267；亦可参阅葛罗与额尔金之间的通信，刊于Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 368–383, 385–391, 409–415；参阅Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (London: Longmans, Green, 1910–1918, 1966), vol. 1, p. 610；Carroll Brown Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty* , p. 187。

[547] Demetrius C. Boulger, *Life of Gordon* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1896), vol. 1, p. 46.

[548] Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* , p. 279.

[549] 陈三立：《散原精舍文集》，103页，台北，台湾商务印书馆，1962。

[550] 吴可读：《吴可读文集》，卷4，12—13页，台北，学生书局，1978。

[551] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，59页。

[552] 恒祺名字在法文里翻译为Heng-k'i；在英文里翻译为Hang-ki。

[553] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，第1册，562—563页；蒋廷黻：《近代中国外交史资料辑要》，第1册，272—273页；Cordier, *L'Expédition de Chine de 1860* , pp. 361, 364, 373; Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860 , p. 194*。

[554] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，第1册，563页。

[555] Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860*, p. 280.

[556] Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* , p. 330.

[557] 《世界日报》，1996年3月21日。

[558] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. 233; Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* , p. 279.

[559] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，551页。

[560] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2413—2414页；舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，139页；参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，209页。

[561] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , p. 198.

[562] 翁同：《翁文恭公日记》，卷1，204页。

[563] 同上书，205—206页。

[564] 宝成关：《奕慈禧政争记》，长春，吉林文史出版社，1980, 75—76页。

[565] Walrond ed., *Letters and Journals of James, 8th Earl of Elgin* , p. 371.

[566] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，65页下。

[567] 贾祯等编：《咸丰朝筹办夷务始末》，卷7，2496—2497页；蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，161—162页。

[568] 引自《圆明园》，第1期，1981年11月，209页。

[569] 引自吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，204—205页。

[570] 郭嵩焘：《郭嵩焘日记》，第1册，428页。

[571] Tsiang, *China After the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859* , p. 82.

[572] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，573、576页。

[573] Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens* , pp. 58–59.

[574] 陈增厚：《雨果和圆明园》，载《侨报》，第33版，纽约，1997年7月14日。

[575] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，573—576页。

[576] 同上书，上册，571—572页。

[577] 张跃进：《文渊阁四库全书残卷发现记》，载《侨报》，第19版，纽约市，1997年5月19日。

[578] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，第1册，576—578、583—585、587—596页。

[579] Victoria Siu, "Castiglione and the Yuanming Yuan Collections,"*Orientations* (Hong Kong)

19 (1–6 November 1988): 75–76；参阅孙若怡：《从圆明园西洋楼景区的建筑园林看中西文化交流与乾隆时期的精致文化》，72—73页。

[580] 倭仁：《遗折》，见沈云龙主编：《近代中国史料丛刊续编》，第34辑，207页。

[581] 参阅康有为：《康南海先生游记汇编》，294—298页，台北，文史哲出版社，1975。

[582] 顾随：《顾随文集》，481页，北京，中华书局，1986。

[583] 李大钊：《李大钊诗文选集》，12—13页，北京，人民文学出版社，1981。

[584] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，316页。

[585] 向达：《圆明园罹劫七十年纪念述闻》，载《圆明园》，第1期，115页，1981年11月。

[586] 蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，113页。

[587] 王威：《圆明园》，48页。

[588] 张爱萍：《如梦令》，载《圆明园》，第1期，10页，1981年11月。

[589] Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 204.

[590] Loch, *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin' s Embassy to China in 1860* , p. 168.

[591] Michèle Perazzoli-t' *S* erstevens ed., *Le Yuanmingyuan* , pp. 7, 34.

[592] 蔡申之：《圆明园之回忆》，140—141页。

[593] Knollys, *The Incidents in the China War of 1860* , pp. 224–225.

[594] 吴可读：《吴可读文集》，卷4，12页。

[595] 李慈铭：《越缦堂日记补》，卷9，74页下—75页上。

[596] 王先谦编纂：《东华续录：同治朝》（100卷），见《十二朝东华录》（509卷，1884），卷73，35页，台北，文海出版社，1963。

[597] 王闿运：《湘绮楼日记》（1927），重印（16册），第2册，257页，台北，台湾商务印书馆，1973；舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，324页。

[598] Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces under the Ch'ing Dynasty* , p. 195.

[599] 王闿运：《湘绮楼日记》，第2册，258页；徐树钧的评论引自舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，324—325页；彭哲愚、张宝章编：《颐和园圆明园的传说》， 126—130页。

[600] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，331—332页。

[601] 滕固：《圆明园欧式宫殿残迹》，1—6页。

[602] Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens* , pp. 62–64.

[603] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，628—629页；李宗侗、刘凤翰：《李鸿藻先生年谱》，第1册，190—191页，台北，中国学术著作奖助委员会，1969。

[604] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，627—628页。

[605] 同上书，629页。

[606] 《穆宗实录》，见《大清历朝实录》，卷310，58页。

[607] 参阅《刘敦桢文集》，298页，北京，中国建筑工业出版社，1982；王威：《圆明园》，52—53页。

[608] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，629—631、633—635页。

[609] 同上书，631、637—638页；李宗侗、刘凤翰：《李鸿藻先生年谱》，第1册，194—195页。

[610] 现代建筑师刘敦桢对有关修理圆明园物料总计的收集和分析，让人印象深刻。他对圆明园所做的一流研究，深入到技术层面的细节，可以参考刘敦桢的长篇论文（载《圆明园》，第1期，121—171页），亦可参考王璞子的文章（载《圆明园》，第2期，38—39页）。

[611] 《刘敦桢文集》，313、338页。

[612] 吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，120页。

[613] 《刘敦桢文集》，338—349页；李宗侗、刘凤翰：《李鸿藻先生年谱》，第1册，194页；吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，207—211页。

[614] 《刘敦桢文集》，313—318, 320—332页。

[615] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，674—675页。

[616] 引自李宗侗、刘凤翰：《李鸿藻先生年谱》，第1册，200—201页。

[617] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，721页。

[618] 引自黄浚：《花随人圣庵摭忆全编》，中册，413—415页；《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，724—726页。

[619] 引自吴相湘：《晚清宫廷实纪》，220页。

[620] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，677页。

[621] 同上书，693—699页。

[622] 同上书，675—676页。

[623] 同上书，678—680、700—702、 710—712页。

[624] 晚清政府因为财政困难，让富商以捐献一笔巨资来取得官位。这项"卖官"的政策使李光昭之流有机会通过官场的网络去寻求更大的财富报酬。如果不是李鸿章彻查这次事件的话，李光昭很有可能根据他的原定计划得逞。

[625] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，726—730页。

[626] 同上书，736—738页。

[627] 同上书，741—742、747、 750、 752页。

[628] 同上书，731—732、738—739页。

[629] 同上书，739—740页。

[630] 吴汝纶著、吴闿生编：《时政》，《桐城吴先生日记》，11 页下—12页上，台北，广文书局，1963。

[631] 同上书，12页下。

[632] 李宗侗、刘凤翰：《李鸿藻先生年谱》，第1册，211—212页。

[633] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，743页。

[634] 引自舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，319页。

[635] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，744—746页。

[636] 参阅于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1391页。

[637] 张家骥：《中国造园史》， 160页；刘侗、于奕正：《帝京景物略》，307—308页，北京，北京古籍出版社，1983。

[638] 乾隆的言论见于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1399—1400页。

[639] 徐凤桐编著：《颐和园趣闻》，61页，北京，中国旅游出版社，1986。

[640] 梁启超著：《饮冰室文集》，第19册，50页上—50页下，上海，中华书局，1926。

[641] 慈禧决定修复颐和园意外地留下了一座保存良好的宫苑，成为目前中国最受欢迎的旅游景点之一。

[642] 乾隆的铭文见于敏中等编纂：《日下旧闻考》，第3册，1396—1398页。

[643] 辑录于徐凤桐编著：《颐和园趣闻》，54页。

[644] 《圆明园》，第3期，150—161页，1984年12月。

[645] 辛文生编：《颐和园长廊的故事》，台北，世界书局，1998。

[646] 在长廊里的彩绘总计超过一万幅，在"文化大革命"期间再一次遭到严重破坏，那些传统形式的绘画被红卫兵随意涂抹。当我于1981年初访颐和园的时候，有人告诉我许多民间故事的彩绘都无法修复，因此有意重新绘制这些新的图画来取代旧的。辛文生编的《颐和园长廊的故事》和徐凤桐编著的《颐和园趣闻》是两部研究长廊最具参考价值的著作。

[647] 参阅徐凤桐编著：《颐和园趣闻》，76页。

[648] 作者于1981年游览颐和园的时候就看过这座殿堂，作者认为包括两张龙椅的位置等内部摆设一直维持到今天，并没有改变。

[649] 徐凤桐编著：《颐和园趣闻》，13—14、 104—107页。

[650] 见程演生编：《圆明园考》，27页下—28页上。这篇论著也载《圆明园》，第1期，95—113页。

[651] 吴相湘："李鸿章擅入圆明园"，《晚清宫廷与人物》，163页，台北，文星书店，1965。

[652] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，381—382页；吴相湘：《晚清宫廷与人物》，171页。

[653] 义和团运动是中国近代史上最重要的事件之一，它可以被视为是清朝走向灭亡的开始。

[654] W. A. P. Martin, *The Seige of Peking* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1900), p. 134； E. J. Dillon, *The Chinese Wolf and the European Lamb, Contemporary Review 79* (July 1900): 1–17, 28–30.

[655] Dillon, *The Chinese Wolf and the European Lamb*, p. 18.

[656] 参阅王威：《圆明园》，59—60页。

[657] Barrow, *The Fire of Life* (London: Hutcheson & Co., 1942), p. 64.

[658] 参阅赵光华：《圆明园及其属园的后期破坏例举》，载《圆明园》，第4期，13页，1986年10月。

[659] James Ricalton, *China through the Stereoscope: A Journey through the Dragon Empire at the Time of the Boxer Uprising* (New York: Underwood & Underwood, 1901), p. 344.

[660] 徐凤桐编著：《颐和园趣闻》，84页。

[661] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，763页。

[662] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，334页；程演生编：《圆明园考》，21页下。

[663] Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 224.

[664] 近代学者滕固在柏林找到这组照片，并在20世纪30年代作为插图把它们出版成书，这本书的书名为《圆明园欧式宫殿残迹》。也可以参考最近出版的Thiriez, *Barbarian Lens* 。

[665] 参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，766—769页。

[666] 同上书，上册，770—772页。

[667] 同上书，上册，773—779页。

[668] 同上书，上册，780—785页。

[669] 同上书，上册，789—790页。另参阅民国八年（1919年）溥仪档。

[670] 同上书，上册，800页。

[671] 同上书，上册，803—804页。

[672] 同上书，上册，802—823页。

[673] 《圆明园》，第4期，15页，1986年10月。

[674] 王威：《圆明园》，63页。

[675] 《圆明园》，第4期，15页；参阅中国第一历史档案馆编：《圆明园：清代档案史料》，上册，798—802页；王威：《圆明园》，62—64页；Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness*, p. 225。

[676] Danby, *The Garden of Perfect Brightness* , p. 226.

[677] 舒牧、申伟、贺乃贤编：《圆明园资料集》，354—360页。

[678] 《圆明园》，第4期，16—17页。

Epilogue The Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park

Regardless of the relentless natural and human assaults since the turn of the century, miraculously, the ruins of the Yuanming Yuan have survived to this day. The latest crisis was the tumultuous Cultural Revolution, during which farms, factories, and schools were established in the ruins, rendering damage to the landscape. The conclusion of the revolution in 1976 came in time to prevent the prospect of erasing the ruins entirely. Even more important, the bitter experiences of violence and destruction gave rise to a much stronger sense of treasuring cultural relics and of historical preservation. As a result, in 1976, the Yuanming Yuan Management Office (Yuanming Yuan Guanlichu) came into existence with the clear intention of keeping the ruins intact. Under protection, the ruins have since been open to the public, and the number of tourists, including foreigners from Japan, the United States, Britain, and Sweden, has risen dramatically since 1980 (YMYJ 1981, 1:21–22).

In 1980, a comprehensive survey of the ruins was carried out, yielding 5,220 *mu* (860 acres) in total: 1,400 *mu* (230 acres) covered with trees, 360 *mu* (59 acres) of reed ponds, and 200 *mu* (33 acres) of ruins. The other 60 percent can be broken down as follows: 1,400 *mu* (230 acres) of rice fields, 70 *mu* (11.5 acres) of reservoirs, 800 *mu* (131 acres) of farmland, 360 *mu* (59 acres) of huts, 480 *mu* (79 acres) of factories, schools, warehouses, offices, and shooting ranges, and 150 *mu* (25 acres) of roads. Numerous rock hills were leveled during the Cultural Revolution, and fewer than half of the original two hundred fifty survived (*YMYJ* 1981, 1:22).

The survey disclosed also that many "units" (*danwei*) had occupied the site. They included twenty villages consisting of at least 2,000 farmers, the Number 101 Middle School, the Municipal Chemical Engineering Institute, the District Military Shooting Range, a duck farm, and the District Machine Factory. The machine factory alone occupied 350 *mu* (58 acres) of the ruins. The presence of these "units," together with their construction projects, if not stopped, would surely threaten the obscured foundations of the original structures on the site. Many of the foundations, as the surveyors discovered, had already become difficult to identify. An urgent concern was to determine how to stop

the encroach- ment on valuable historic sites and to prevent their total destruction. The best way to ensure historical preservation, it was determined, was to remove the occupants from the sites; however, this task proved to be the most difficult (cf. *YMYJ* 1981, 1:21–24).

The Yuanming Yuan issue gained nationwide attention in the autumn of 1980 when a large number of political leaders, scholars of renown, noted architects, and distinguished artists expressed their great concern about how to preserve the ruins. They obtained 1,583 signatures on a public statement calling for "protection, reparation, and utilization of the Yuanming Yuan ruins" (*YMYJ* 1981, 1:1–6).

Shortly afterward, seizing the opportunity to commemorate the 120th anniversary of the burning of the Yuanming Yuan, the Chinese Association of Architects featured a large symposium in Beijing on August 13 to 19, 1980. Participants reached consensus that the best way to preserve the ruins was to renovate some scenes and structures on the site, since leaving the ruins as they were would inevitably lead to further destruction in the face of urbanization and modernization. In an effort to promote effective historical preservation, a preparatory committee was born on October 17, 1980, to make sure the Yuanming Yuan Society (Yuanming Yuan Xuehui) would be formally established as a permanent organization at the earliest possible date (*YMYJ* 1981, 1:230).

The Yuanming Yuan Society was at last inaugurated at a Haidian theatre on December 1, 1984. Some four hundred men and women, including many high-ranking officials, observed the opening ceremony. A constitution (*zhangcheng*) was drafted to underline the extraordinary value of the garden sites; goals were to enrich national cultural life, enhance patriotic education, and facilitate tourism and international friendship. This plan coincided with the promotion of Chinese "spiritual civilization" (*jingshen wenming*). Accordingly, preserving the historical ruins of the Yuanming Yuan became a national priority. The Yuanming Yuan Society, however, sought for more than mere preservation. Comprising several entities such as the Academic Committee (Yuanming Yuan Xueshu Weiyuanhui), the Chinese Yuanming Yuan Foundation (Zhongguo Yuanming Yuan Jijinhui), the Yuanming Yuan Development Company (Yuanming Yuan Guihuasheji Gongsi), and the Yuanming Yuan Management Agency (Yuanming Yuan Guanlixietiao Weiyuanhui), the society's purposes i

ncluded research, cultural activities, and construction (cf. *YMYJ* 1986, 4:2–3).

Few people taking part in the symposium or in the founding of the society failed to notice the importance of protecting the ruins from further encroachment and of cleaning them immediately, in particular the more visible ruins at the old European section. No agreement, however, emerged that the Yuanming Yuan should be renovated, or, if so, how and to what extent. The debate was quite intensive. Those who opposed substantial renovation cited the scarcity of national resources and insisted that precious money instead should be spent on desperately needed apartment buildings for ordinary people. A few participants even compared eager advocates of renovation to the Empress Dowager Cixi, who diverted much-needed naval funds to renovate the Pure Ripple Garden, renaming it the Yihe Yuan.

Every person in the debate knew that revival of the Yuanming Yuan's past glory would require an astronomical amount of money. Calculations based on the cost of renovating man-made structures in the Chengde Summer Mountain Retreat, excluding the cost of interior renovations, yield 500 *yuan* per square meter. Providing that the renovation of the main structures of the Yuanming Yuan would include 160,000 square meters, plus other expenses, the price tag could easily reach 160 million *yuan* , or approximately U.S. $107 million according to the exchange rate in 1980 (Wang Zhili 1983, 14). Such estimates no doubt played into the hands of those who opposed massive renovation. But, on the other hand, the renovation advocates did not abandon their enthusiasm, even though they acknowledged the paucity of national resources. They based their arguments on national pride and patriotism.

Finally, a compromise view prevailed. The general consensus was that the desolate Yuanming Yuan should at least be transformed into an impressive memorial park by renovating some of the essential structures. This majority viewpoint can best be seen in the proposal drafted by Wang Zhili, a man who was actively involved in launching the Yuanming Yuan Society from the beginning. He suggested that in principal the renovation of any old structure should accommodate changes or modifications to suit contemporary needs. He reminded his peers that changes in design and blueprint had been made frequently in the architectural history of the Yuanming Yuan. This being the case, however, he quickly added that the general layout of the garden should never be a

ltered, especially the fundamental arrangement of the lakes, canals, hills, building sites, and several dozen of the famous scenes. In Wang's view, it was simply and importantly necessary to retain the authenticity and integrity of the original garden. On the other hand, there was no need to renovate many highly significant structures of the past, such as the Main Audience Hall, the royal living quarters on the Nine Continents, Buddhist temples, and Daoist shrines. In their place, there would be more space for trees, flowers, and grass and for constructing modern facilities, such as paved roads, food outlets, resting areas, electricity, drainage works, security and antipollution devices, service departments, exhibitions, entertainment, and other cultural facilities (Wang Zhili 1983, 6, 8–10).

For those who were concerned about the Yuanming Yuan in the 1980s, any form of limited renovation would help prevent the historic site from further deterioration. With the support of the state and the prospects of tourism, a long-range plan began with constructing enclosures and cleaning the grounds. The immediate problem, however, was to secure the land legally before enforcing the evacuation of the large number of occupants. Relocating all of the huts, factories, and schools was a formidable task, to say the least. The peasants who depended on the land for living were especially difficult to deal with. A solution was at last found in offering material incentives to the occupants, which was possible in large extent due to the reforms of Deng Xiaoping. As a result, the occupants, whether peasants or workers, changed their professions by joining hands in "developing" (*kaifa*) the ruins as a profitable business. They became the partners of the newly founded Yuanming Yuan Development Company (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:231–232; cf. Wang Zhili 1986, 8–10). The occupants' roles were thus reversed; instead of damaging the site, they labored to create a pleasant Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park (Yuanming Yuan Yizhi Gongyuan). Finally, under a clear sky on August 10, 1983, the ruins park officially laid new foundations (*YMYJ* 1984, 3:211).

As a result, large-scale repair work was started in 1984. The opening ceremony at the site on December 1, 1984 assembled thousands of people and drew the attention of the international press. The goal was to create a more impressive park, and priority was given to the European section at the northern end of the Eternal Spring Garden. The decision was made by a group of specialists on the basis of a field report and a conference held in Beijing from July 12

to 14, 1984. Clearly, this particular site was chosen because it retained some visible remnants and rocks from the fallen Baroque buildings, which testified to the history of national humiliation, not to mention that the broken gigantic rock pieces displayed a solemn look. Once these noticeable remnants were cleaned and skillfully arranged, they became a monument to the ruins. Moreover, the solid foundations of many interesting fountains in this section were probably less costly to renovate, and they would surely become a tourist attraction. Profitable tourism, the prospect of which was never in doubt, would in turn generate revenues for further expenditure in the Yuanming Yuan. The only concern that the specialists had in mind at the time was that whatever might be done to the ruin site of the European section, it should not be severed from the rest of the Eternal Spring Garden. They were obviously most eager to see the preservation of the integrity of all of the Yuanming Yuan ruins (cf. *YMYJ* 1983, 2:5–14).

Even though the European section represents only a small portion of the lost imperial garden, to put it back in even loose order would be costly. Two specialists estimated that it would cost as much as 8.5 million *yuan* (approximately U.S. $2.1 million) (He Chongyi and Zeng Zhaofen 1984, 3:37). Certainly, this sum does not include the cost of renovating all of the European buildings, which the specialists found unnecessary. As early as March 20, 1982, when a symposium was held to discuss this matter, most of the artist and architect participants preferred to leave the broken rocks as they were so as to retain "a pathetic image of the ruins park" (YMYJ 1983, 2:176). After more than a decade, the work at the ruins of the European section was completed in 1992. The Chinese public seemed to welcome the effort, as the influx of small donations to show support has continued ever since. Particularly noteworthy, a certain set of Zhao brothers in Hebei, who made a fortune due to rural economic reforms, contributed 30,000 *yuan* to the Yuanming Yuan management agency. Other individual contributions, however small, made manifest the strong public enthusiasm (cf. *YMYJ* 1983, 2:175).

The great fame of the Yuanming Yuan almost instantly attracted large numbers of tourists, Chinese as well as foreign, to visit the park. The number of tourists rose steadily from 7,000 in 1979 to 280,000 by 1984, a thirty-nine-fold increase in five years, and continues to grow. In other words, prior to the formal opening of the park in 1984, over one million people had visited the si

te (cf. Wang Zhili's speech at a 1984 meeting in *YMYJ* 1986, 4:7). Tourism undoubtedly helps generate money for the park to finance additional projects.

Visiting the Yuanming Yuan again in 1986, I noticed that the ruins park had already been surrounded by newly built four-hundred-meter-long "tiger skin walls" (*hupi qiang*). Moreover, a paved road had been built from the main entrance to the ruins park, which displayed a few carved marble rocks, the dilapidated Zhengjue Si, a stone bridge, and a number of rearranged hillocks. Most remarkable, perhaps, the famous Sea of Blessing, which had been silted up for decades, was reopened as a beautiful lake on December 1, 1984, and was ready for boating and sailing in 1985 (*YMYJ* 1986, 4:6–11). Still, visitors would find 20 to 30 percent of the building foundations in this section covered by rugged earth and wild grass. Although many of them, including the broken ones at the edges of the park, had been cleaned and preserved, the precious foundations at the Lion's Cove and the Shopping Street in the southern neighborhood remained hidden, waiting for protection.

No one will dispute the fact that the creation of the park has helped historic preservation. In the process of making the park, numerous farming households on site were successively evacuated on schedule. When I visited the park for the third time in the summer of 1991, no fewer than 1,800 *mu* (296 acres) of the land, or approximately 35 percent of the Yuanming Yuan, had been recovered. Besides the old front gate leading into the European section, a newly built palatial front gate was visible, and the Western-style maze had been rebuilt on the basis of the original scheme. The projects completed between 1986 and 1992 included the palatial gate of the Variegated Spring Garden, about seven thousand meters of walls, the Mind-Opening Isle, the Phoenix Isle, the Other Paradise, the Ornate Garden (Zao Yuan), and dozens of other old scenes. In addition, more than 200,000 trees and over one million flowering plants have since been installed. At this point, within the nearly 3,000,000-hectare lot, which includes the Sea of Blessing and much of the Eternal Spring Garden and the Variegated Garden, a new park has been well-shaped in northwest Beijing.

A new concern, however, may be raised as the park restores more old scenes to attract still more tourists: elements of commercialism are noticeably distracting. The rebuilt man-made structures, whether bridges or houses, often

appear poorly constructed woefully lacking in artistic skill, a far cry from the supreme quality of the original craftsmanship that made the architectural wonder of the Yuanming Yuan so famous. For example, a wooden bridge across a stream that I observed in 1991 looks distasteful by any reasonable standard. It seems absolutely inexcusable to construct anything in this once-glorious garden in such a rough and slipshod manner. This sense of disapproval seems to be shared by others. A 1996 newspaper article sharply criticized the sloppy workmanship for quick commercial benefits. The so-called "rising phoenix," as the author put it, has turned out to be a "phony phoenix" (Cong Weixi 1996, 30).

In 1997, the booming city of Zhuhai in the neighborhood of Hong Kong constructed a new Yuanming Yuan (Yuanming Xinyuan), with copies of few selected scenes, but the quality of the craftsmanship at close look is terribly poor, to say the least. Evidently, commercialism was the driving force behind the project. Indeed, the first year's revenue of the new Yuanming Yuan reaches as high as RMB 160 million. The lucrative business inspired a new round of debate over the complete renovation of the imperial garden on its original site. Those who opposed it, including many prominent historians and architects, argued that the issue was really how to preserve the ruins of the original architecture in the process of modernization. For them, renovation borders on further destruction of the cultural relics, whereas preservation of the ruins serves both patriotic and aesthetic purposes (Jianmin 1999, 1). Furthermore, one may sound a wake-up call that the excellent skills in traditional Chinese architecture and garden craftsmanship have already been lost. A lost garden can be rebuilt anytime with sufficient funds, but a lost art seems much more difficult to reclaim.

Worse still there are new sorts of intrusions into the Yuanming Yuan ruins site. In the early 1990s, bohemian Chinese set up on the site the so-called Yuanming Yuan Village for Artists. Since 1996, an extensive residential complex has been constructed in the ruins neighborhood. For example, a real estate company in Haidian started a joint venture to construct the so-called Yuanming Yuan Garden Villas beyond the northern border of the ruins park in order to attract buyers. The prominent name certainly caused confusion, giving the wrong impression that the Yuanming Yuan was for sale. Furthermore, with the continuing expansion of Beijing's "Ring Road" (*huanlu*), the superhigh

way may run through the precincts of the Yuanming Yuan site. Ironically, the finally preserved ruins are still under the threat of urbanization and commercialism after all. Overwhelmed by commercialism, the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park appears anything but solemn and melancholy.

If neither the Yuanming Yuan Ruins Park nor Zhuhai's new Yuanming Yuan represents the artistic taste of the past, perhaps the great legacy of the Chinese imperial garden can be appreciated only by visiting the gigantic mountain retreat in Chengde and the well-preserved Yihe Yuan. The Yihe Yuan, originally the Yuanming Yuan's subsidiary Pure Ripple Garden, is perhaps the best preserved Chinese imperial garden of such grand scale and magnificence. After the fall of the Qing Dynasty, the garden was first opened for public viewing in 1924. Due to negligence, many of its man-made structures had deteriorated and the water level of its Kunming Lake had drastically declined. In 1964, a great effort was made to refurbish the 494-acre lake and to build a new canal for drawing ample water. Despite the fact that the Yihe Yuan took a beating during the Cultural Revolution, its structures and surroundings survived intact, which rendered its recovery relatively easy once the political storm was over. Since 1979, more than 70,000 square meters of the man-made structures in the Yihe Yuan, including 4,000 houses, have been cleaned and repaired. If its principal scene, the Shopping Street in the back hills of the Longevity Hills, which was devastated in 1860 and 1900, were finally restored, the Yihe Yuan would return to perfect condition and in some ways might represent the irretrievable Yuanming Yuan.

后记 圆明园遗址公园

自世纪交替以来，尽管历经天灾人祸的无情摧残，圆明园的遗址还是奇迹般地保留到今日。最后一次的危机是狂乱的“文化大革命”，在那期间，许多农场、工厂和学校都在圆明园的遗址上建立起来，严重破坏了圆明园的地貌。“文化大革命”于1976年告终及时防止了遗址被彻底地消灭。更重要的是，过去遭受摧残和破坏的严酷经验唤醒了更强烈的珍惜与保存历史文化遗址的意识。结果在1976年成立了圆明园管理处，目的很明确，即维持遗址的原貌。这个遗址在得到保护之下，从此对外开放。1980年之后包括来自日本、美国、英国和瑞典等国的外国人在内的游客人数急速地上升。[679]

1980年，曾对遗址展开一次全面性的勘查，总共丈量出土地5220亩（860英亩）：其中包括1400亩（230英亩）绿地、360亩（59英亩）苇塘和200亩（33英亩）建筑群遗址。其他60%的土地分类如下：1400亩（230英亩）稻田，70亩（11.5英亩）水面，800亩（131英亩）农田，360亩（59英亩）农舍，480亩（73英亩）的工厂、学校、仓库、办公室和靶场以及150亩（25英亩）道路。许多人造山丘在“文化大革命”期间被夷平，原来250亩的人造山丘只有不到半数得以幸存下来。[680]

这次勘查也揭露出很多单位占用遗址的情况，包括至少2000名农民居住的20个村落、101中学、市化工研究院（原化工五厂）、区武装部靶场、公社鸭场和区机械修造厂。光是机械工厂就占用遗址土地达350亩（58英亩）。这些单位的存在连同他们计划的营建工程，若不制止，肯定威胁到遗址上原建筑已经看不见的地基。根据勘查员的发现，许多地基已经难以辨认。当务之急就是决定如何中止侵占珍贵的历史遗址和防止遗址被彻底毁损。确保历史保存的最好方法，就是将那些占用者从遗址上迁走；但是这个任务也是最为艰巨的。[681]

1980年秋，大批政治领导人、有名望的学者、著名建筑师和著名艺术家表达了维护圆明园遗址的极大关切，圆明园终于获得全国性的注意。他们收集了1583个签名，在一份公开的倡议书中号召“保护、整修及利用圆明园遗址”。[682]

过了没多久，中国建筑学会利用圆明园罹难120周年纪念的机会，于1980年8月13日至19日在北京召开了大型的讨论会。与会者达成一致

的共识，认为保护圆明园遗址的最好方法就是在原址上修复部分景点和建筑，因为若将其放任不顾，在城市化和现代化的过程中，遗址难免继续受到破坏。为了提倡有效的历史保存，在1980年10月17日组成了一个筹备委员会，确保尽快正式成立“圆明园学会”，作为一个永久性的机构。[683]

圆明园学会终于在1984年12月1日于北京海淀剧院举行成立大会，包括许多高级官员在内，大约有400名各界人士出席这次大会。草拟完成的章程强调遗址公园的特别价值；目的是要丰富国家的文化生活，加强爱国教育，促进旅游业与发展国际友谊。这项计划与提倡中国的“精神文明”是互相吻合的。因此，维护圆明园这个历史遗址就成为国家优先处理的重点。不过，圆明园学会希望的不仅仅是维护而已。由圆明园学会委员会、中国圆明园基金会、中国圆明园规划设计公司和圆明园管理协调委员会等几个组织组成的圆明园学会，其宗旨还包括研究、文化活动和施工。[684]

讨论会或成立学会的参与者都注意到防止遗址继续受到侵蚀和立即清理遗址的重要性，特别是遗迹外貌尚清晰的欧式建筑区。不过，在应否修复圆明园上没有达成一致的看法，即使修复，如何修复和修复到什么程度也是意见分歧，讨论得相当激烈。反对大幅整修者，以浪费国家资源为由，并且坚持宝贵的经费应该用来满足普通百姓对住房的迫切需要。一些与会者甚至把积极提倡整修的人比喻为慈禧太后，因为她挪用急需的海军经费来整修清漪园并重命名为颐和园。

每一个参与讨论的人都知道，要恢复圆明园昔日的风光将需要天文数字般的资金。参照整修承德避暑山庄的人工建筑所需要的经费计算，扣除室内装修的经费，每平方米就需要500元人民币。假定圆明园里主要建筑的整修面积为16万平方米，加上其他各种开支，费用至少会高达1.6亿元人民币（以1980年时的汇率计算就差不多是1.07亿美元）。[685]这个估算毫无疑问是有利于那些反对大规模整修的人，但另一方面，尽管倡议整修的人也了解到国家的资源不足，却没有放弃他们的热诚，他们的论点是基于国家自尊和爱国情操。

最后达成了一个折中的看法。这个共识就是整修部分基本的建筑，至少让荒芜的圆明园转变成一座让人印象深刻的纪念公园。这个大多数人的观点可见之于汪之力草拟的提案中，他从一开始就积极参与创办圆明园学会。他建议，老旧建筑的整修原则上应该作些修改以符合当代的需要。他提醒他的同人，在圆明园的建筑历史当中，变动设计和蓝图是

经常的事。不过，他很快作了补充，认为圆明园的整体布局不可更动，特别是湖泽、水道、山丘、建筑地点和几十处著名景点的基本布置。汪之力认为，保持圆明园的本真与完整乃是最根本、最重要的要求。另一方面也没有必要去整修许多昔日极具重要性的建筑物，诸如正大光明殿、“九州清晏”的皇室寝宫、佛寺和道观。这些遗址的空间可以更多用来种植树木、花卉和草坪以及兴建现代设施，包括道路、小吃店、休憩区、电力设施、排水工程、保全和防污染装置、服务处、展览馆、娱乐及其他文化设施。[686]

对于20世纪80年代那些关心圆明园的人来说，任何有限的整修都能帮助防止进一步破坏这个历史遗址。在国家和旅游业前景的支持之下，建造围栏和清理现场等长远计划终于开始了。不过，立即面临的问题是合法地取得土地，然后强制驱离大批的占用者。重新安置全部农舍、工厂和学校是一件何等艰巨的工作。那些依赖土地讨生活的农民特别难以应付。最后找到的解决办法就是向占用者提供实质的奖励，在很大的程度上可以说归功于邓小平的改革。结果，这些占用者——不管是农民或工人——都改了行，联手开发遗址，将其视作一门可以赚钱的生意，并成为新成立的圆明园遗址公园开发建设公司的合作伙伴。[687] 这些占用者的角色因此得以转换：从破坏遗址转为致力于创造一座宜人的圆明园遗址公园。1983年8月10日，一个天朗气清的日子里，遗址公园终于正式奠基了。[688]

于是，大规模的修复工程在1984年开始了。动工仪式于同一年的12月1日在遗址上举行，数千人云集仪式现场，并引起了国际媒体的注意。修复工作的目标是要创造一个更引人注目的公园，优先处理的是在长春园北端的欧式建筑区。这是由一群专家在1984年7月12日至14日于北京举行的会议当中，根据田野报告作出的决定。之所以会特别选择这个地点，很明显是因为还留下部分仍然可以辨识的巴洛克式建筑残存的遗迹和石块。残迹为过去的国耻留下见证，更不用说巨石碎块呈现出庄严肃穆的外观。这些引人注目的遗迹，经过清理和巧妙地安置之后，就成为遗址上的名胜古迹。另外，欧式建筑区内有很多有趣的喷泉，由于地基坚固，可能不需要太多经费来修复，而且肯定会成为吸引游客的焦点。获利丰厚的旅游业，其商机是毋庸置疑的，其收益还可以转而用于进一步整修圆明园。专家们在当时唯一关心的是，对于欧式建筑区遗址上的古迹，不论如何整修，都不应该与整个长春园分割开来。专家们都渴望看到维护圆明园遗址的完整性。[689]

尽管欧式建筑区只代表此一失落宫苑的一小部分，但即使略为修复，亦将花费惊人，有两位专家估算大约要花上850万元人民币（约210万美元）。[690] 可以肯定的是，这个数字并未包含修复整个欧式建筑群的费用——那两位专家认为无此必要。早在1982年3月20日，当举行讨论会探究这一问题时，许多与会的艺术家和建筑师都倾向让那些巨石碎块原封不动，以保留这座遗址公园的“悲壮形象”[691] 。十多年之后，欧式建筑区遗迹的整修工作终于在1992年完成。中国民众看来都肯定这份努力，因为从那个时候开始就不断有小额的捐款汇入，以示支持。最受人瞩目的是，因为农村经济改革而致富的河北赵氏兄弟，向圆明园管理处捐出3万元。其他个人捐献尽管金额不大，却体现了广大群众的热忱。[692]

圆明园的名气几乎立即吸引了大量中外游客来参观遗址公园，游客人数从1979年的7000人次稳定增长至1984年的28万人次，五年间游客增加了39倍，而且人数还不断在增长。换言之，1984年正式开放公园之前，已有超过100万人次参观了这个遗址。[693] 旅游业无疑为进一步的工程提供了资金支持。

当笔者于1986年重游圆明园时，注意到遗址公园已经由新建的长约400米的虎皮墙所围绕。另外，从入口到遗址公园已经铺设了一条道路，沿途可以看到一些有雕刻的大理石、已经荒芜的正觉寺、一座石桥和许多重新布置的山丘。最引人注目的是著名的福海，淤塞了几十年之后，于1984年12月1日重新开放为一座美丽的湖泊，并且在1985年开放给民众泛舟游览。[694] 但游客会发现，这个区域内两到三成的建筑物地基仍被崎岖不平的土地和野草所覆盖。虽然许多地基（包括在公园边缘的破败地基）得到清理和维护，但在南边邻近地区的狮子林和买卖街的珍贵地基，却仍然被掩，有待保护。

创立公园有助于历史文物的维护，这一点无可争辩。在建造公园的过程中，居住在遗址上的大批农户按照计划被陆续迁走。当笔者于1991年的夏天第三次游访这座公园时，至少有1800亩（296英亩）土地被收回来，约占圆明园土地的35%。除通往欧式建筑区的老旧大门之外，还新建了一座引人注目的大门，西式迷宫也依照原样重建。在1986年至1992年之间完成的工程包括绮春园的宫殿式大门、大约7000米长的围墙以及“海岳开襟”、凤麟洲、“别有洞天”、藻园和其他数十个旧景点。除此之外，这段时间以来已经种植了超过20万棵树木和100万株以上的花卉。至此，包含福海、长春园的大部分以及绮春园等在内的近300万公顷

的用地上，一座新型的公园在北京西北部已经成形。

不过，恢复更多圆明园的旧景点以吸引更多游客，也许会引起新的关注，那就是商业化元素明显喧宾夺主。重建的人工建筑，不管是桥梁或屋宇，看起来十分粗劣，严重缺乏艺术技巧，远不能与闻名于世的圆明园之原有高超工艺相提并论。笔者曾于1991年看见一条横跨溪流的小桥，不管用什么合理的标准来看，都显得毫无品位。在这一座曾经辉煌的宫苑里，以如此粗糙和草率的方式营建任何东西似乎都是绝对不可原谅的。别人似乎也有同样的看法，一篇刊登于1996年的报刊文章就尖锐地批评这种蹩脚的手艺只是为了在短时间内取得商业利益，文章的作者嘲讽地称圆明园这只所谓“复活的凤凰”其实不过是“假凤虚凰”而已。[695]

1997年，邻近香港的繁荣城市珠海选择一些圆明园的景点仿建，造了一座新的圆明园（圆明新园），但做工极为粗糙，不忍卒睹——很明显，商业主义是这项工程背后的原动力。的确，这座圆明新园第一年的营业收入居然达到1.6亿元人民币之多。利润之丰引发了新一轮的争论——是否应在原址上完全修复这座帝王宫苑。那些持反对意见的人包括许多著名的历史学家和建筑师，他们认为，问题在于如何在现代化的过程当中维护原有建筑的遗迹。对于他们来说，修复几乎等于继续对文化遗迹的破坏，维护遗迹反而是符合爱国和美学的目的。[696]况且，我们应该警醒的是，传统中国建筑与园林工艺里最精巧的技术已经失传。充足的经费虽然可以在任何时候重建一座失落的宫苑，但是失传的技艺几乎不可能再找回来。

更糟糕的是，一些侵占圆明园旧址的新状况仍有发生。20世纪90年代初期，一些玩世不恭的中国人在圆明园旧址上建立所谓的圆明园艺术村。1996年之后，在圆明园旧址一带又建造了一大片的住宅区。某海淀地产公司成立了一家合资企业，在遗址公园北界外建造所谓的“圆明园花园别墅”，以吸引买家。这种名称肯定会引起混淆，给人一个错误的印象，以为圆明园在出售。此外，随着北京的“环路”不断扩展，一条高速公路可能会穿过圆明园旧址的周边地区。具有讽刺意味的是，好不容易保存下来的遗址到最后仍然还是受到都市化和商业主义的威胁。笼罩在商业化氛围中的圆明园遗址公园显得毫无庄严、悲怆之风。

如果说圆明园遗址公园和珠海的圆明新园都无法代表过去的艺术品位，也许只有观赏庞大的承德避暑山庄和保存良好的颐和园，才能重温中国帝王宫苑的伟大遗产。颐和园前身是圆明园的附园清漪园，大概是

至今保存最好的既庞大又壮观的中国帝王宫苑。清朝覆亡之后，这座宫苑于1924年首次向公众开放。由于疏于管理，园中很多人工建筑不断损坏，昆明湖的水位急速下降。1964年，这个3000亩（494英亩）的大湖得到大力整修，并建造了一条新的渠道以引入充足的水量。尽管颐和园在“文化大革命”期间也遭到破坏，但在政治风暴过去之后，其主要建筑和四周环境都完好地保存了下来，使得修复工作变得相对容易。1979年之后，颐和园里超过7万平方米的人工建筑，包括4000幢房屋，都得到清理和修缮。如果其主要景点——位于万寿山后山的买卖街（于1860年与1900年遭到破坏）——最终得以修复的话，恢复完好状况的颐和园在某种程度上或许可以象征那永远无可挽回的圆明园。

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[679] 《圆明园》，第1期，21—22页，1981年11月。

[680] 同上书，22页。

[681] 同上书，21—24页。

[682] 同上书，1—6页。

[683] 同上书，230页。

[684] 《圆明园》，第4期，2—3页，1986年10月。

[685] 汪之力：《圆明园遗址整修初探》，载《圆明园》，第2期，14页，1983年9月。

[686] 同上书，6、8—10页。

[687] 《圆明园》，第4期，231—232页；汪之力：《开创圆明园遗址保护、整修与利用的新局面》，载《圆明园》，第4期，8—10页。

[688] 《圆明园》，第3期，211页。

[689] 汪之力：《圆明园遗址整修初探》，载《圆明园》，第2期，5—14页。

[690] 何重义、曾昭奋：《长春园的复兴和西洋楼遗址整修》，载《圆明园》，第3期，37页。

[691] 《圆明园》，第2期，176页。

[692] 同上书，175页。

[693] 汪之力于1984年发表的演说，见 《圆明园》，第4期，7页。

[694] 同上书，第4期，6—11页。

[695] 从维熙：《假凤虚凰鉴戒——关于修建圆明园》，载《侨报》，第30版，纽约，1996

年2月24日。

[696] 参阅建民：《圆明园重修与否引争议》，载《神州乡情周刊》，第2期，1页，纽约，世界日报社，1999年4月25日。

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Literati Gardens
—Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure

汉英对照

中国文人园林

陈从周 著　凌 原 译

外语教学与研究出版社
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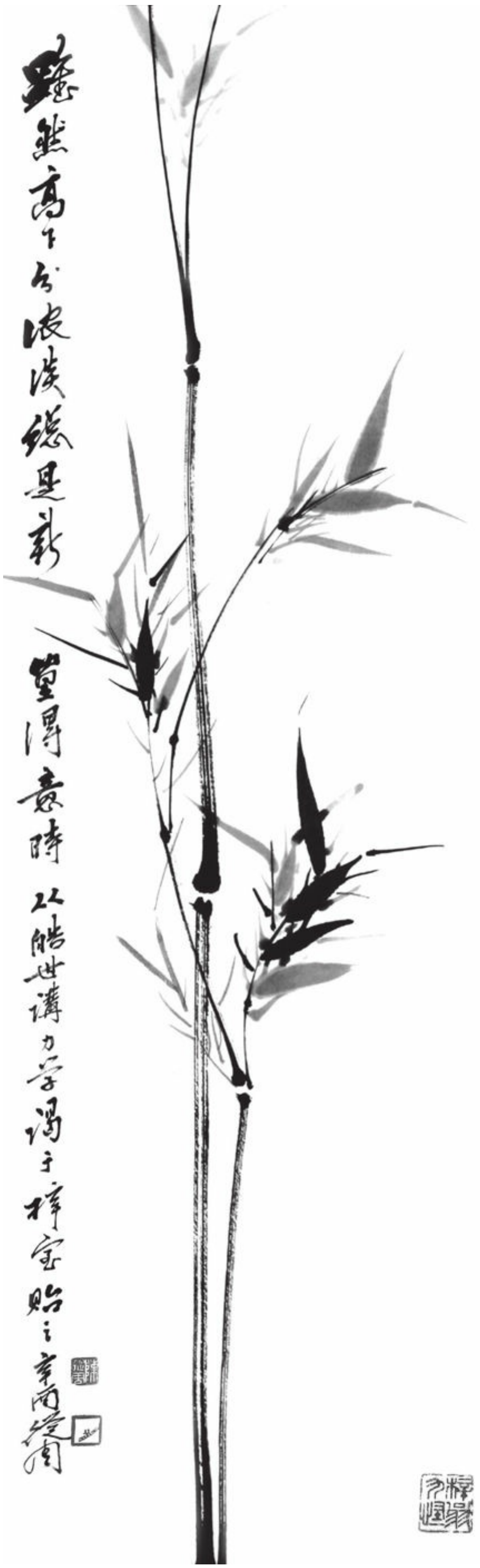
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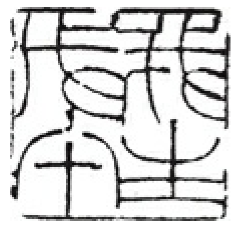
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疏然高下分濃淡總是新篁得意時
以皓世講力學寫于梓室貽之 辛酉





“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last*

Confucian ），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* ）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince* ），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

PREFACE

> [Gardens in dynastic China] were expensive pieces of real estate, but they were also consciously constructed and aesthetically perceived artifacts. They overlap intriguingly the boundaries of several Chinese categories, and have a power to illuminate the border regions they traverse. [1]

The human relationship with land is fundamental. It predates society—we were pillaging the land for food and shelter long before we understood much of nature's power and abundance—and the phenomenon of the garden, which the settling of people in one location and the societies that evolved as a result, enabled. With the fact of the first consciously constructed dwelling established, as time flowed on, social structures gained ever deeper footholds within human communities and engendered inevitable societal differences; certain groups of people discovered new and various relationships to the land that afforded what we now describe as privilege. But these conditions further required a degree of economic stability before the land could be put to uses other than that of accommodating purely pragmatic needs of survival. As this economic foundation assumed tangible form, however, so too did the garden as enclosed stretches of nature, owned and altered at will by those to whom they were granted. In time, too, these gardens became less private, less exclusive, soon to occupy a place in almost every culture and geography worldwide, with some of the earliest examples dating back over four thousand years, to Egyptian times. Today we might venture to describe the garden as that most democratic and welcoming of all cultural forms. As one reads in the pages of this book,

> Even the rank and file, including those who are hard up, know how to enjoy

themselves by gracing their homes with miniature rockeries and potted islets.

That love is only slightly diminished today, as a result of the speed and voluminous elements of contemporary life which increasingly encroach on the time and the level of general knowledge once commonly held amongst that "rank and file."

In every sense, then, gardens embody man's relationship with nature culturally and, to recent generations carrying the insights of the father of psychoanalysis, the German Sigmund Freud, psychologically. From whatever perspective it is viewed, that relationship constitutes, arguably, a dominion over nature as much as an admiration of its forms and a tangible, if idealized, desire to enhance the natural world and experience it as nature surely intended—Man was, from the first, subject to the folly of immodesty. Ultimately, as demonstrations of our ability to bend and fashion nature to our vision and will, gardens are, both practically and metaphysically, a keystone of human civilization. From Mesopotamia to Greece, Rome to Europe and the modern world, examples abound, and for civilizations as diverse as Arab, Seljuk, Persian, Islamic, European, and Asian. Amongst all these, the most enduring association is perhaps that between China's classical cultural traditions and the exquisite aesthetics that affectionate energy brought forth in the process of creating some of the world's most famous gardens.

Gardens in China have their origins in imperial parklands and hunting grounds but proliferated in aesthetic form from the 12th century as private estates, the purview of wealthy individuals, became a phenomenon. As a concept, a garden provided "scholargentlemen a means, at least in part, of achieving these antithetical ideals of pursuing self-cultivation while fleeing from the 'dust' of the world and living in reclusion in nature." [2]

The story of a garden almost always begins with an individual, be that

the adroit lord of the manor or person of social standing who commissioned and funded it or in whose name it was enshrined. Equally, it might be the individual designer to whose vision the garden first owed its formal beauty and emotive appeal. From the 12th century onwards, the task of providing China's scholar-gentlemen with a sanctuary for self-cultivation provided a livelihood for numerous individuals who took on the responsibility of formulating garden designs, a task at which they worked assiduously as this book can attest. Foremost amongst these was the eminent 17th-century scholar Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642), a native of Wujiang in Jiangsu province, who created a number of exquisite gardens, examples of which remain today as some of this art form's finest archetypes.

Significantly, Ji Cheng's concepts are preserved for posterity in the celebrated volume *The Craft of Gardens* , which its author completed in 1631, and with which his handiwork was readily compared through the succeeding several centuries. For recent generations, the singular significance of Ji Cheng's skill is how well his creations have stood the test of time. *The Craft of Gardens* continues to be of immeasurable influence to anyone interested in the richly entwined cultural concerns brought to bear on his life's work of cultivating gardens as an art form. This influence was firmly embraced by 20th-century garden expert, Chen Congzhou, whose diligent scholarly writings are collected together in this exhaustive volume.

Modestly titled *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* , this compendium brings together transcripts from lectures Chen Congzhou presented at Shanghai's Tongji University between 1979 and 1982 and presented at various seminars with a range of articles penned for the university's journal. It further includes a range of articles published across China in museum newsletters and academic journals in the late 1950s, early

1960s, and on through to the early 1990s. *Literati Gardens* thus represents a serious, indepth work of research into the history of gardens across China concerning their form and content, the discrete biography of their creators and the individual characteristics that make up the rich history of garden design in China through time. Within the nation's distinct socio-cultural history, the concept of the garden as consciously formulated sanctuary-retreat was, from the first, viewed as "an artistic synthesis of architecture, rockery, water, and horticulture." Enclosed within physical parameters of a piece of land, a garden was cultivated for the pleasure of communing with nature but in an elegant, restrained manner. As so many classical brush paintings illustrate, where figures are depicted in states of meditative reflection standing on a rock, beneath a tree, or seated in a pavilion, at times with friends, but usually alone, these enclaves were viewed as a composite realm of navigable form, where the mind was calmed and wildness dispensed with.

It took designers and horticulturalists more than two thousand years—beginning in the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BC)—to evolve a holistic conceptual aesthetic of the ideal garden which drew upon the multitude of sensibilities that were brought to other art forms through the same period. This process surely involved a great deal more trial and error than is ever discussed, although allusions can be read between the lines Chen Congzhou writes where plants are transplanted from their native regions and not to best effect, or where later hands are seen to intervene in the classical lines of an ancient garden. We might say the invisible force of time at work in nature here is complemented by the invisible hand of the original designer which sought to lead the meditative wanderer to the vistas that lie within. For it is once inside that the observant visitor recognizes a multitude of such scenic settings that allow one to "make sense of the divine philosophy implied in

landscape gardening."

By Ji Cheng's time in the 17th century, the aesthetic was at a peak of perfection, aided by this particular master's contributions, which Chen Congzhou duly notes. "Love for nature, indeed, is borne deeply in the hearts of folks in Suzhou," he says, where many of Ji Cheng's designs flourished. "No place in the world has more traditional gardens—and has them in a complete array," Chen Congzhou confirms. From the first, the essential components remained elemental, but the garden was, under Ji Cheng's deft hand, a physical mapping of a harmony achieved through a sequence of imperceptible transitions, often completed using physical structures like the architectural form of the pavilion. These also provided places to pause, to contemplate, to enjoy and appreciate seasonal shifts reflected in changing contours and colors. "Ideal gardens," Chen Congzhou wrote in 1994, "are like superb lines of verse." In common with poems and paintings, the perfect garden, he adds, should be filled with "implicit undertones." These he recognizes in the work of many others besides Ji Cheng, for few it seems, at least in recent history, can have looked at so many gardens and looked so closely as Chen Congzhou. Intricately observed, detailed and described, Chen Congzhou's writings combine to a comprehensive survey of ancient buildings, gardens and dwellings. Even a casual glance reveals an extraordinary eye for details that are both lovingly observed and explained.

One example is the following anecdote concerning the structure of bridges found in simpler gardens:

> The bridges in traditional Chinese gardens are often balustraded on one side and left open on the other, to the bewilderment of many observers. This arrangement is actually adapted to everyday rural life. When a peasant crosses a bridge with a load on both ends of his shoulder pole, or with a buffalo in tow, his movement is

> likely to be hampered if the bridge is narrow, and, worse, balustraded on both sides. This is why many rural bridges have no balustrades at all or have a balustrade on just one side. In what is a typical case of someone being well-read but having a poor memory of his ancestors' way of doing things, garden crafters of later generations often forget this simple reason and turn a small bridge into a narrow lane by sandwiching it between tall railings.

Chen Congzhou's investigation of gardens was ever underscored by his interest in examining and re-establishing the personalities with which each garden was "imbued with the botanical character of the place in which it finds itself," and was, in many cases, conceived to express. He found in the writings of Ji Cheng inspiring examples of creativity in the diverse elements and materials that this master himself employed to achieve texture and depth in the designs and which were both a response to place and to craft, techniques in which Chen Congzhou delighted. Within the wide-ranging aspects of the gardens Chen Congzhou discussed, historic context is not without influence in the evolution of the garden as form and aesthetic, but his interpretations draw with particular intensity upon his deep knowledge of the arts and the evolving relationship these enjoyed with the concepts applied to garden designs. "…poetry and prose, calligraphy and painting, and theater and balladry are, after all, different forms of expression for the same thought or feeling." Chen Congzhou explains:

> The gardens made by literati-officials, most of whom were proficient in poetry and prose and could paint and sing, were inevitably rooted in their shared ideals or feelings, with elegance as the chief mode of expression. Full of allusions to poetry and prose, their gardens achieve oneness with literature by means of inscribed boards and vertical couplets, as well as records and colophons on classical paintings. That is why whenever a visitor steps into such a garden, he

> feels as if he were visiting the realms of poetry and painting. If he is highly attained in literature, he may improvise a poem on the spot; if he is a painter, he may depict the garden's scenery with freewheeling brush strokes in the late Ming tradition. All this I believe has happened to every educated visitor to such a garden.

More pertinent still to the achievement to which Chen Congzhou's writings attest, he writes that "…to make convincing comments on a garden, one must delve into its history and, more than anything else, become well acquainted with the lifestyle of its day. Every garden provides an integral sightseeing route that cannot be put upside down. This is like a piece of writing that must have a beginning, development, transition and a conclusion…"

It is a process Chen Congzhou clearly adopted and followed. The density of detail involved in the lengthy descriptions, as well as the effects of repeated visits through time, may at times imbue the writing with a prosaic air, but, the gentle interweaving of references in the text to ink painting or Kunqu Opera, juxtaposed with a profusion of poems, serves to evoke the various moods one might encounter whilst perusing in a garden's myriad vistas should a visit be possible—and, should the garden be unaltered by the machinations of time and the demands of urban development and growth. The phenomenon of urban sprawl is not uncontainable, it is desired as a means of coping with the density of large cities and their burgeoning populations.

For the love Chen Congzhou exhibits in these writings, perhaps because of it, we understand that he was also aware of how gardens always were, as Craig Clunas describes at the beginning of this text, in essence "pieces of real estate." This sense is prescient today as those ancient gardens that continue to

exist are preserved by contemporary hands and, increasingly, monetized in the name of modern tourism. Chen Congzhou laments the practice of renaming gardens and altering aspects of their content which disturbs the original aura of place with which they were imbued. He goes to great lengths to describe how the reorganisation of the form—such as the opening up of new gates, or the altering of pathways—impacts the flow of "beginning, development, transition and conclusion" upon which the design was conceived, and turning, in his view, that flow "upside down." That only lends greater import to the body of research and writings compiled here in the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* ; the life-time work of a man from possibly the last generation in China to experience a traditional education schooled in the four classics, to have been afforded a university education and to have seen the gardens he describes in an almost original state. The preserving of these writings together in one volume achieves a fitting tribute to the life work of a man delightfully evoked in the words of Song Fansheng, professor of Zhejiang University, as the "only man in modern China who could make gardens and restore old ones with his own hands while writing books to appreciate and comment on Chinese gardens."

That the poetic language of the original writings is also preserved in the masterful translation presented here is to the credit of the team led by Professor Ling Yuan, an FLTRP senior translator whose painstaking work on rendering Chen Congzhou's texts available in elegant English echo the diligent efforts that the great garden designers expended to cultivate a traditional garden. The translation is nothing less than meticulous, and every effort has been made to retain the authentic aura of the original text with particular diligence brought to achieving the appropriate meter of the poetic verse contained within and the descriptive names which apply. Like the

gardens Chen Congzhou describes, the manifold writings in the *Literati Gardens* can be seen to overlap the boundaries of multiple intriguing "Chinese categories" and beautifully "illuminate the various borders they traverse."

Karen Smith
Chinese art historian, Great Britain
June 26, 2018

前言

[历朝历代的中国园林]都是身价不菲的地产；与此同时，也是精心建造且富有美感的人类遗产。园林横亘于几类中国学科的交叉地带，烛照它们所跨越的边缘区域，并拥有为之一亮的艺术魅力。

人与土地之间的关系是最根本的。这种关系的产生早于社会的产生——早在对大自然的力量与丰饶有所了解之前，人类就为食物和蔽身之处而搜刮着土地——也早于园林这一现象的产生。人们在某地定居，因此社会得以演化，园林成为可能。随着时间的流逝，人类第一次有意识地建造住所，社会结构在人类聚群中更加牢固，社会差异随之而来，不可避免。某些群体发现了人与土地之间新的关系，由此产生我们现在所谓的“特权”。这就要求在土地满足人类纯粹的生存需求之余、用于其他目的之前，社会经济必须达到相当稳定的程度。因此当这一经济基础形成之时，由绵延不尽的大自然围合而来的园林之形也随之诞生，园林作为封地被拥有、随意让渡或改建。随着时间的推移，这些园林的私有、专属性越来越低，很快在几乎所有文化和地区都占据了一席之地。最早的园林可追溯到四千多年前的埃及。今天，我们甚至可以大胆地将园林描述为所有文化形态中最为民主、最受欢迎的一种形式。正如读者在本书中所读到的，

虽闾阎下户，亦饰小山盆岛为玩。

时至今日，对于园林的热衷略有减褪，究其原因，是由于当代生活节奏加快、内容繁多，不断侵蚀这些“闾阎下户”曾经拥有的闲暇时光以及赏识水准。

园林从文化层面上彻里彻外地体现了人与自然的关系；而对于拥有德国精神分析学之父西格蒙德·弗洛伊德之洞察力的近代人而言，这种关系还体现在精神层面上。不论哪个层面，可以说这一关系既体现了人

类对大自然的控制欲望、对其千姿百态的崇敬心情，也寄托着人类加强大自然、本然体验大世界的真切理想。人类从来都是傲慢不逊的动物。作为人类有能力按自身意志塑造大自然的最终实证，神形兼备的园林称得上是人类文明的基石。从美索不达米亚到希腊、从罗马到欧洲与现代世界，有大量例证可循；阿拉伯、塞尔柱、古波斯、伊斯兰及欧亚大陆等文明也概莫能外。这当中一条源远流长的纽带，也许要数中国的古典文化传统及其精湛的美学之间的联系了。这种美学，在创造世界名园的过程中产生了深情和动力。

中国园林起源于皇家苑囿和狩猎围场，但是从12世纪起，当园林作为私人庭园即富豪的专属领地问世时，其审美形式也更上一层楼。作为一种理念，园林“给士大夫提供了一种方式，至少在某种程度上，让他们得以自我陶冶，同时又能避尘嚣、隐自然”。

园林的故事总是以个人开场，几乎无一例外。这个“他”也许是精明的地主或社会名流，他们雇人出资兴建园林，或以其大名为园林命名。同样，也可能是一个设计师，园子因其设计而初具样式之美和情感魅力。12世纪以来，给中国文人士大夫提供修身之所，成为众多营造匠师的生计着落；他们不遗余力构园的业绩，本书足以见证。其中最突出的，当数17世纪的知名学者计成（1582—约1642），江苏吴江人氏。他营造了许多精致的园林，其中一些至今仍是这门艺术形式的最佳典范。

值得注意的是，计成的理念在其著作《园冶》（1631年完成）中得以留传后人，他的实际营造物在接下来的几百年中可随时随地供人评说。近代人认为，计成技艺的奇特之处在于，他的作品都完美地经受了时间的考验。他毕生从事的造园活动是一种艺术形式，有着丰富的文化联系，对有志于此的人而言，《园冶》有着不可估量的影响。20世纪的园艺巨擘陈从周身上就体现了这一影响，他勤勉而成的学术论著就囊入本书。

编者自谦，集子取名为《中国文人园林》，汇集了陈从周先生1979

年至1982年在上海同济大学以及各种研讨会上的演讲笔录，还有他为校刊撰写的一系列文章。此外还包括他20世纪50年代末、60年代初直到90年代早期在博物馆通讯和学术期刊上发表的一系列文章。《中国文人园林》因此体现了严肃深入的园林史研究，遍及中国大地，提及园林的样式与内涵、造园者传记以及中国由来已久的精深造园史的特性。在这个国家独特的社会文化范围内，园林作为有意规制的避隐之所，从一开始就被赋予了“由建筑、山水、花木等组合而成的一个综合艺术品”的观念。园林圈围在一片实在的土地之内，为了与自然相应的乐趣而营造，优雅而有节奏。正如许多中国画所描绘的那样，画中人或参悟冥想，或肃立巨石之上，或栖身大树之下，或休憩凉亭之中，间或友朋为伴，但常形单影只。置身其中的这些园林是一综合领域，游憩其间则心田澄静而粗野顿消。

自周朝（前1046—前256）始，设计师和园艺师花了两千多年时间才演化出理想园林审美观的整体概念，汲取了同时期其他艺术形式的审美情怀。审美观的形成肯定涉及各种试错实践，数量之多远超议论范围。陈从周的字里行间也提到植物从原生地移栽未果，抑或后人干预古旧园林的原有形制。可以说，自然里存在着无形的时间力量，造园师有着引导沉思冥想的访客进入景点的无形之手，二者互为补充。细心敏锐的访客一旦进入，便能从众多的场景中领会“构园神理”。

到了17世纪计成的年代，缘于这位大师的贡献，造园美学达到巅峰。对此，陈从周敏锐地指出:“这足以说明当地人民对自然的爱好。”他确认，计成的许多园林创意在苏州兴旺不衰，“苏州园林在今日保存者为数最多，且亦最完整。”那些基本的组成元素是最起码的要求；但在计成灵巧的手下，园林的物理布局处处体现着和谐之美。这是通过一系列巧妙的过渡实现的，如使用亭子这类建筑形式进行贯穿连接等。这些过渡为人们提供了一个空间，能够停留、沉思、玩味轮廓及色彩变换中的季节更替。陈从周在1994年写道，“造园如缀文。”完美的园林与诗文

和绘画如出一辙，他认为每一个这样的园林应该“蕴藉有余味”。这余味在计成之外许多造园家的作品中都得到了体现。很少有人能像陈从周那样有缘欣赏并仔细观察如此之多的园林，至少在近代史上如此。陈从周那些观察细致、描述详细的文章，结合起来就是对古建筑、园林和住宅的综合调查。即便是随意一瞥，人们也能看出陈从周的慧眼，他能注意到那些细节并详作解释。

如下例谈到在一些小园子里见到的桥：

> 对于古代园林中的桥常用一面阑干，很多人不解。此实仿自农村者。农村桥农民要挑担经过，如果两面用阑干，妨碍担行，如牵牛过桥，更感难行，因此农村之桥，无阑干则可，有栏亦多一面。后之造园者未明此理，即小桥亦两面高阑干，宛若夹弄，这未免“数典忘祖”了。

陈从周对园林的调查凸显其在观察、重建园林个性方面的浓厚兴趣。在他看来，每座园林“应该有那个地方的植物特色”，而且大多是为了表达某种蕴藉之意而设计。他在计成的著作里发现了各种具有启发性、创造性的例子。令陈从周为之欢欣的是，为保障设计的质感与深度，计成针对园林内部布局和工艺不惜运用多种元素与材料。在他讨论的园林的各方面当中，历史语境在园林形式与审美的演变中不无影响。他的阐释非常仰仗于自身深厚的艺术造诣，以及各艺术门类与构园理念之间的演进关系。“……诗文、书画、戏曲，同是一种思想感情，用不同形式表现而已。”陈从周解释道：

> 士大夫可说皆为文人，敏诗善文，擅画能歌，其所造园无不出之同一意识，以雅为其主要表现手法了。园寓诗文，复再藻饰，有额有联，配以园记题咏，园与诗文合二为一。所以每当人进入中国园林，便有诗情画意之感，如果游者文化修养高，必然能吟出几句好诗来，画家也能画上几笔晚明清逸之笔的园景来。这些我想是每一个受过教育的游者所必然产生的情景，而其产生之由就是这个道理。

谈到与他所见证的园林成就更密切相关的一点，他写道：“……评

园必究园史，更须熟悉当时之生活，方言之成理。园有一定之观赏路线，正如文章之有起承转合……”

这也是陈从周采纳遵循的一个过程。冗长描述中的细节之密，加之经年累月一访再访的结果，有时可能给文章增添了学究般平淡的气息，但是文中穿插提到的书画、昆曲、诗词等，都激发了读者的心绪：那是倘若一旦成行之时——且园林并未因时间的流逝、城市的发展而有所变化——在园林的无数景观中徜徉沉思，可能际遇的种种心绪。城市扩张只是一种手段，用以对治密集的都会及其日渐膨胀的人口，并非无法控制。

陈从周在这些文章中所展现出的热爱之情，也许正由于此，我们知道他也意识到了园林始终在本质上——正如柯律格在本文开篇处描述的那样——是“地产”。这一见识在今天是先见之明，因为现存的古园林正是经由当代之手得以保存下来，并正以现代旅游的名义搞得越来越商业化。园林改名换姓，部分内涵不复原貌，陈从周哀叹不已，这都破坏了园林本身的氛围。他不厌其烦地描述形式的改变——开启新大门或改变步道——在他眼中是如何影响、“颠倒”了构园中“起承转合”的自然流畅。这就使得编入此书中的研究与文章越发重要了。这是他毕生的结晶，而他可能是中国最后一代于私塾治四书、接受大学教育，并得以一睹“原”林风采的学者。浙江大学的宋凡圣教授称陈从周先生为“现当代既能亲自动手造园、复园，又能亲自著书立说、品评论述中国园林的第一人”。这部汇编作品便是对他一生工作的礼赞。

中文原著诗般的语言，在本书高超的翻译中也得以延续，这归功于外研社资深翻译凌原教授带领的团队。他努力将陈从周的作品以优雅的英文呈现在读者面前，这种努力与伟大的造园师营造传统园林时煞费苦心是和声共振的。翻译细致有加，尽力保留原作风韵，尤其为了再现其中诗行音步以及园林名称的文学历史渊源而不懈努力。正如陈从周描绘的那些园林，这本《中国文人园林》中的篇章也可看作是巧妙融合了若

干的“中国元素”，洵美且异地“烛照它们所跨越的边缘区域”。

凯伦·史密斯
英籍中国艺术史家
2018年6月26日
任小玫　译

NOTES FROM THE TRANSLATOR

The traditional Chinese gardens are known as "literati gardens." Originated in the cultural heritages of the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), they were owned, designed and built by scholar-officials, men of letters, painters or garden-makers who excelled in prose, poetry, painting, calligraphy, opera and shared the desire to shun the turmoil of the mundane world by returning to nature. According to Chen Congzhou, the literati gardens are conceived in literature, and their names are spread through literature as well. In this mutually supplementary relationship, the gardens are tangible embodiments of literature, and literature finds tangible expression in gardens.

This bilingual *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiments and Picturesque Allure* features by far the largest translation of the late Tongji University professor's writings on gardens. As Chen Congzhou worked for much of his lifetime as a teacher, prose writer, painter and garden-maker in the literati tradition of the Ming and Qing dynasties, it is safe to say the Chinese text of this book is written by a modern-time literatus on literati gardens. In the sixteen articles featured in Section I, "Gardens Wrought in Spitten Images of Nature," Chen Congzhou turns himself into a scholarly tour guide to share his "everyday joy of rambling gardens" by showing his readers around some of the nation's best literati gardens. He ushers them into one fascinating scenery after another in deep recesses or along a serpentine stream or roofed walkway, and reels off one anecdote after another about people, history or events off his finger-tips, but all the while he does not forget to introduce garden-making precepts and technicalities such as siting, layout, view

borrowing, in-situ and in-motion viewing. Section II, "Garden-Making Precepts and Aesthetic," begins with "On Gardens," a five-installment discourse that establishes him as the patriarch of gardens of 20th-century China and the legitimate heir to the mantles of Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642), the 17th-century Chinese garden-maker whose *The Craft of Gardens* is the world's first ever garden-making manual. However, insofar as accomplishments are concerned, Chen considerably overshadows his predecessor. This is proved not only in "On Gardens," whose coverage is already broader and profounder than *The Craft of Gardens* , but also in his seven other essays presented in Section II, in which he goes beyond garden-making *per se* to delineate the intricate ties of the literati gardens with classical Chinese poetry and prose, traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy, Kunqu Opera, and dwellers' everyday life.

Between the pages of this Chinese-English edition, he introduces hundreds of gardens and scenic views in detail or in passing, quotes more than one hundred works of literature, and cites even more literati-officials, writers, painters, garden crafters and owners. With such wealth of information and the author's compelling and exquisite narrative, it is hoped that the *Literati Gardens* will provide garden experts and students with a valuable textbook on all aspects of the legendary craft of Chinese gardens. As to our general Chinese or English readers, even if you are cocooned alone in your tiny room, with this book in hand you can still have the fun to traverse some of the nation's best gardens with exuberant flowers and bushes, limpid waters and ethereal mountains, and to ponder the poetic implications and picturesque charms of rosy clouds framing emerald pavilions, threads of rain and petals borne on a breeze, and gilded pleasure boats in waves of mist.

Chen Congzhou's success as an ingenious polymath in Chinese culture

originated in his well-disciplined upbringing. He kowtowed to a portrait of Confucius in a traditional illiteracy-breaking ceremony to begin learning to read and write when he turned five, and, at seven, was sent to a small private school where he memorized classic texts in the morning and exercised calligraphy in the afternoon, with a class set aside every four days to make sentences. The studies went without letup all year long, and he must fluently recite all the texts he had been taught over the past twelve months before he could enjoy Spring Festival celebrations. When he turned eight, his newly widowed mother increased his workload by having him practice calligraphy from a copybook in the morning and keep family accounts using traditional Chinese numerical symbols [1] at night. He recalls in a short memoir, "A Man's Soliloquy Beside Bookshelves" [2] :

> Life was boring and lonesome all those years, and my private teacher's sense of responsibility was stringent to the utmost, but it was exactly in those years that I acquired the basic skills in calligraphy and learning by heart, among other things.

After he was enrolled in a church-run primary school as a third-year grader at age ten, his mother put him under the tutelage of an uncle on her side for after-school education in such classics as *The Finest of Ancient Prose* , *Children's Treasury of Knowledge* and *Three Hundreds of Tang Poems* , all of which he smoothly committed to memory. He says,

> What was required of the school children of my age was to learn by rote all the books you could lay your hand on, practice calligraphy with a writing brush, and nothing else. It may sound primitive nowadays to ask someone to memorize all the classic texts, but looking back, it beats all the sophisticated things like computers and audiovisual devices, because all the knowledge I acquired through such training can never be disowned, and because I, with time, could fathom out what was said in the books and put them at my fingertips, which means I could

> retrieve them from my mind and put them to use without the aid of reference books or such gadgets as photocopiers. Learning by rote is one of the many things in this world that appear to be stupid but are actually rather smart.

Rigorous school and family training and self-study helped cultivate a photographic memory in him. Apart from the classroom book knowledge he had memorized, he also remembered every morsel of culture or folkways that came casually to his attention, including couplets, inscribed steles and name boards, and street scenes, as well as tidbits and anecdotes overheard from elders'chitchats over a cup of wine or tea. According to him,

> I know how to use my brain like a data bank, in which all my knowledge is systematically categorized, so that all the new things I have learned can be put where they belong in my mind for easy retrieval.

His well-developed memory made his studies so much easier and enjoyable, and it also kindled an unquenchable thirst to learn more. As a young boy he learned to paint, mount and repair paintings, grow grass and flowers, and build mini-landscapes. He availed himself with every opportunity to learn how houses were built from the treatment of timber to the installation of beams and rafters, and how rocks were selected and piled up to become rockery or mountain. All the knowledge and expertise accumulated year in, year out replenished the easily retrievable stock of encyclopedic knowhow in his mind.

In his youth he loved to visit his mentors in their homes, so that he could see their manuscripts and book collections, and learn things that could not be learned in the classroom. In the course of it, he fostered a modest attitude toward teachers. Some of them might be hot-tempered and given to scolding people, but he never minded:

> The sterner the teacher's countenance turns, the more obedient the student should

> be, because they love teaching and are so pleasant and affable when they talk, offering extremely valuable things derived from their lives' experience. When they hit the nail on the head, you see the light right away.

Without an obedient attitude, he adds, "How can you find favor with your teacher?" Such modesty won him the mentoring of the right man at the right time throughout his formative years. The foremost scholar in classical Chinese architecture Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), for example, voluntarily became his mentor and close friend despite their age gap because of his modesty and the fact that he could recite the seemingly onerous text of the professor's *Annotated Treatise on Architectural Methods* from cover to cover.

His strict training in literature and art culminated in excellence in multiple fields. When he was a junior high student he was already contributing to local newspapers and journals with writings on local history, folkways, anecdotes, handicrafts, fauna and flora, etc., to the great emolument of his teachers. He published an article about his favorite poetess Li Qingzhao (1084-1155), "A Chronology of Li Qingzhao and Husband" at age twenty-two, and *A Chronology of the Life of Xu Zhimo* (1889-1931) nine years later, which remains a crucial reference source for studies of the prominent modern Chinese poet. After graduating from Hangchow University with a bachelor's degree, a multi-talented Chen taught Chinese, history, geography, drawing, and biography as a high school teacher, and art history, education, aesthetics, and poetry as a junior college teacher. When he turned thirty, he held his first personal retrospective of figure, landscape and floral paintings in Shanghai as a fledgling ink and wash painter. By the time he became a Tongji University professor in classical Chinese architecture and gardens, he was already an accomplished essayist, prose-writer, poet, and painter, a calligrapher whose inscriptions graced many gardens and buildings

around the country, a self-styled "carpenter" and ink-slab carver, and the first man to connect garden aesthetic with Kunqu Opera librettos, among other things.

It was literature that ushered Chen Congzhou into studies of literati gardens and classical architecture and turned him into the all-important practitioner and theoretician in both fields. He says in a June 1984 sketch, "Miscellaneous Recollections by a Table Lamp":

> As I recollect today, I was fond of reading the lyrical poems of Li Qingzhao, who drew my attention to her father Li Gefei (*c.* 1045-*c.* 1105) and his book, *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens in Luoyang* . The venerated Li thus became my first teacher in the studies of gardens. In that book he taught me how to appreciate gardens and talk about them, but more importantly, it was his literary talent and grace that deepened my passion for gardens. Because his *Record* mentioned the *Classic of Architectural Carpentry* [3] , I came to know the *Treatise on Architectural Methods* , which became my major textbook on architecture. When I had trouble understanding the *Treatise* , I looked around and got hold of *A Compendium of Architectural Methods* and interpretative articles written by scholars of the older generation, which turned me into a self-educated student in this field. Later, I joined these scholars and adopted architecture as my career for the rest of my teaching career. No one could have imagined that my humble achievements in traditional architecture and gardens should be owed to Li Qingzhao. This sounds so incredible, but that's what really happened to me.

Obviously from this crucial switch in his career, 20th-century China gained her foremost scholar capable of interpreting literati garden-making precepts and aesthetics in terms of literature and art, and making gardens with his own hands. This is amply reflected in the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiments & Picturesque Allure* , a book with a simple theme but complex

topics. Its narrative is paced by the author's lucid and elegant prose belonging in a semi-vernacular, semi-classical school that puts him on a par with such eminent essayists and prose masters as Li Gefei, Zhang Dai (1597-1689), Yuan Mei (1716-1797) and Li Dou (1749-1817). Relying solely on the comprehensive data he had memorized, he apparently finished writing every essay at one sweep, without so much as a halt to look up references. As a result, his Chinese writings are sparsely annotated, with the few available footnotes looking more like his afterthoughts than interpretations, and in these writings, so many prose passages and poems are quoted without mentioning their titles and authors, and virtually all the ancients and his contemporary friends are addressed by their sobriquets or style names. In all, Chen Congzhou's classical garden literature makes pleasant and intellectual reading for well-read Chinese readers who either can take the "missing parts" for granted or simply do not want their enjoyment of his limpid prose impeded by what they may see as so many frivolous things.

As much as I enjoyed reading Congzhou's prose as a translator, I could not afford to ignore these things when I was entrusted to produce a bilingual book of sinology for international readers by matching his Chinese texts with English renditions I was supposed to deliver. If all those "frivolous things" were not properly addressed in English along with so many historical and literary allusions, professional parlance and technical terms, our English readers unfamiliar with the Chinese culture might be hard put to make sense of the book.

For this reason, we took pains in researching the Chinese texts while translating them into English. A wealth of "invisible" information "surfaced" in the process, including 140 titles of literary works and 197 personal names. The simplest sort of information thus found, such as a quoted poem's title or

an author's name, is blended into the flow of the English narrative as far as possible. While all the style names and sobriquets are retained in the Chinese text, they are replaced with formal names in the English text as per a sinology stylebook, but we make a point of attaching the style name or sobriquet where a formal name is annotated in a footnote. The names of people, gardens, scenic attractions, terminologies, and so on are also categorized in the Glossary's four columns. The lion's share of our research findings, however, are represented in 260 English footnotes we have written. Chen Congzhou's twenty original footnotes, including four stripped from relevant original texts for succinctness's sake and eight unusually long ones that are highly informative and of stellar literary value, are also rendered into English and attributed to his name.

In the days and months in which we were immersed in this task of research-based translation, we were increasingly fascinated by the garden and scenery names that kept popping into our eyes. We pondered their literary and poetic meanings and undertones and cultural roots, and replaced some long-standing *pinyin* names that mean little to foreign readers with our English translations, such as "Shanjuan's Hermitage Cave" for Shanjuan Cave, "Solace-Imbued Garden" for Jichang Garden, "Gratification Garden" for Yuyuan Garden, Mountain-Level Hall for Pingshan Hall, each having a footnote attached to explain the reason. We have also found some long established English names of gardens and scenery inappropriate, including the very popular "Cloud-Dispelling Hall" for 排云殿 in the Summer Palace, which should be "Hall of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds." We have no intention to shake up all the available English translations of Chinese literati garden names, some of which are well-established and have even made the UNESCO world heritage list, even though we are doubtful about their

correctness. We offer our English versions with a desire to return the Chinese names of gardens and famous scenery to their cultural origins, and to help English-speaking readers appreciate their rich, profound, and oftentimes poetic and picturesque implications.

While preparing Chen Congzhou's original Chinese texts to match our English translations for this bilingual book, my colleague and co-translator Zhong Zhilan amended quite a few typos, missing words and other mistakes that were unavoidable given the fact that these originals had been repeatedly typeset for different books by different publishers, and that the author habitually committed information from his memory to paper without looking up references. For example, he attributed two quotations in "On Gardens 4" to the same article "Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights" by Wang Shimin (1592-1680), but the second one is actually originated in Wang Baoren's *Chronicle of the Respected Flagbearer* . In another example, Chen's quotation from Wang Yuanqi in "On Gardens 5" puts it as "study its concept, strengths and drawbacks…," but the correct version reads, "study its concept and its composition, its discrepancies, strengths and drawbacks…." These and other oversights we have addressed in the current Chinese text and rendered into English accordingly. In between the copy-editing work, she also contributed her excellent English translation of the second longest, book-sized "Suzhou Gardens: An Overview"[4] and her classical-style Chinese translation of the "Notes from the Translator" while researching and proofreading every piece of my English texts, and working as copy editor, liaison, and Yangzhou gardens investigator; she also translated the articles of "Qiao's Garden, Taizhou" and "A Note on Rebuilding Water-Inked Garden." Three other young colleagues also contributed to the book. Ren Xiaomei offered her meticulously annotated English translation "Shen's Garden,

Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing" and her exquisite prose translation of the English Preface written by Karen Smith; Duan Huixiang translated "Summer Palace, Beijing," and Qian Jingyu did the "South-and-North Lakes."

The success or failure of the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* hinges on if the host of quoted classical poetic lines and prose passages in Chen Congzhou's narrative have been translated into proper English. We translated the lion's share of them on our own and enjoyed doing it very much, as we regarded them as the most meaningful and challenging part of the entire translation project. But at the same time we have also quoted from the peerless works by some of the world's elite translators, including James Legge's *Book of Poetry* , *The Four Books* , and *The Yi King* ; Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang's *A Dream of Red Mansions* and David Hawkes' *The Story of the Stone: a Chinese Novel* ; Cyril Birch's *The Peony Pavilion* ; Leonard Pratt and Chiang Su-Hui's *Six Records of a Floating Life* ; Alison Hardie's *The Craft of Gardens* ; and Yang Xiaoshan's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* . (For a full list of the translated works we have quoted, adapted or consulted in this book, see "Bibliography.")

Before this book comes off the press, we would like to take the opportunity to thank the late professor's elder daughter Chen Shengwu for permitting us to publish this book, providing copies of her father's precious pictures and paintings, and taking time from her busy schedule to check up and replenish the "Chen Congzhou Timeline" we have compiled for this book; Yue Feng, last student of the late professor and author of the book *Chen Congzhou's Life,* for supplying the photo of the Astor Court on the cover of this book; Su Meijuan for correcting some of the mistakes in the original text; Wang Weiqiang for supplying a photo of the Gratification Garden; as well as Wang Shuaishuai and Yao Wu for supplying photos of the

Summer Palace from their respective repositories. Our thanks also go to professor Han Feng with Tongji University, without whose advice we could not have presented the essays in such a logical and sensible order.

I am deeply indebted to Cheng Zhaojun of the Yangzhou Municipal Development and Reform Committee, and Zhao Yulong of the Municipal Garden and Forestry Administrative Bureau, for hosting my visit to Yangzhou and sponsoring a forum on Chen Congzhou's "Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings" during Beijing's November 2014 APEC holiday; to Xu Shaofei for contributing vital corrections to this essay's original text at the forum and his appendix "Yangzhou Gardens Today."

It is my hope that this bilingual *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* that we have managed to put on the table in the wake of twenty months of toil will do justice to the late professor's state-of-the-art garden prose and verse and live up to our Chinese and foreign readers' expectations.

Ling Yuan

Foreign Language Teaching and Publishing

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译者絮语

中国古典园林实为“文人园”。士大夫、文人、画家或造园家秉承明清文化传统，设计、建造、拥有文人园。他们敏诗善文，能写会画，兼工戏曲，皆欲避喧嚣以归自然。正如陈从周先生所言，园之筑出于文思，园之存，赖文以传；相辅相成，互为促进，园实文，文实园，两者无二致也。

《中国文人园林》是一部汉英对照作品，也是迄今为止，这位同济大学教授园林著作中最大体量的译作。陈先生是教师、作家、画家，毕生投身于明清传统的造园事业。可以说本书的汉语就是当代文人写的文人园。书中第一部分“虽由人作，宛自天开”由十六篇文章组成，先生变身儒雅的导游，带读者游园赏景，分享他的日涉之趣。他引领读者或探寻幽深之处，或信步曲折水岸游廊，领略不同风景，一路走来逸闻趣事信手拈来，同时还不忘介绍选址、布局、借景、静观、动观等造园原则和技术细节。第二部分“造园准则与美学”以《说园》五篇连载开篇，奠定了他20世纪中国园林大家的地位。他继承了明朝计成的衣钵，计氏的《园冶》是世界上首部造园著作，他则青出于蓝而胜于蓝。《说园》五篇的内容比《园冶》更加广泛深入；第二部分收录的其他七篇文章更是超越了造园本身，讲述了文人园与中国诗文、绘画、书法、戏曲和居住者日常生活的微妙联系。

据统计，此书详述和提及的园林、景点有几百个，引用古典文学、诗词散文作品百余处，涉及的士大夫、作家、画家、造园家或园林主人更是数不胜数。如此丰富的信息，加之作者引人入胜的文笔，希望本书能使专家和普通读者得以管窥中国园林造园的方方面面。读者即便身处斗室，一卷在手，亦可神游名园，嗅花香临清池品假山，体会云霞翠轩、雨丝风片、烟波画船的诗情画意。

陈从周先生的博学多才源于良好的教育背景。他五岁向孔夫子叩头破蒙，七岁进私塾，从早到晚就是读书背书，午后习字，隔三天要学造句。寒暑不辍，到年终要背年书，就是将一年所读的书全部背出来才可放年学。八岁丧父，母亲要他清晨临帖习字，每晚灯下记账。他在《书边人语》里回忆：

> 当时的生活是枯寂的，然而塾师对学生的责任感是强的，真是一丝不苟，我背书与写字的功夫，基础是这时打下的。

十岁那年上教会小学，插入三年级。母亲将他托付给老姑丈，放学后读古文，《古文观止》《幼学琼林》《唐诗三百首》等，统统要背。他写道：

> 当时孩子的读书任务，说得简单点，就是背书、写字。看来似乎是原始，但今天看来，比电脑、录音机、录像机等都先进，因为通过这样的训练，知识都为我所有了，什么办法也拿不走。所以我后来能逐渐领会书中内容，又能不需检书而信手拈来，也不用仪器来画字，用复印机来代替抄书，我自己掌握了主动权。天下有许多事看来似乎是愚蠢，但反转来又觉得是先进。

通过学校、家里的训练以及自修，他练就了惊人的记忆力。除去背书，门联、字屏、匾额、街景以及父老茶余酒后的清谈，一方的乡土历史知识也背得一字不差。他说：

> 我懂得利用脑瓜子这个仓库，分门别类，迅速归档。

博闻强记，学起来轻松愉快，也激发了他更大的学习兴趣。他从小就学画画、裱画、艺花，把玩小盆景；喜欢看建屋造园，从断木到架梁，从选石到叠山。如此经年累月，获得的知识技能极大扩充了他的信息储备。

学生时代他常去老师家中，看老师的藏书手稿，学习课堂中得不到的东西。在此过程中形成了事师必谨的态度。有些老师还有点脾气，但他毫不介意。

色愈厉而礼愈恭，人家还是乐于教导的，娓娓清谈，其中真有极宝贵的东西，都是他一生总结下的经验。一语道破，豁然开朗。

他说，没有谦恭的态度，“又如何能得到前辈的垂青呢？”这一美德每每给他在恰当的时候赢得恰当的老师。因他心诚，并能逐页背诵中国古建翘楚梁思成的《营造法式注释》，梁就主动收他为徒，二人谊兼师友。

他在文学艺术领域获得了极高的成就。早在初中时就开始投稿，写些传闻掌故、花鸟工艺之类的文章，赢得老师好评。喜读李清照词，二十二岁就完成了《李易安夫妇事迹系年》；九年后发表的《徐志摩年谱》，至今仍是研究徐志摩的宝贵资料。之江大学毕业后，他在中学里教语文、史地、图画、生物，在大专院校教美术史、教育史、美学、诗选。三十岁举办首场个人画展，以人物、山水、花鸟画蜚声沪上。同济大学聘其为教授，教授古建筑和园林。他还写文章，作诗绘画，习字，给园林、建筑题词，做木工，制砚，并首先将园林美与戏曲美联系起来。

文学为陈从周打开了文人园和古建筑的大门，成就了这位理论家和践行者。他在1984年的《灯边杂忆》写道：

> 今天回忆起来，我因喜读李清照的词，进而读了她父亲李格非的《洛阳名园记》。这位李老太爷还是我研究园林的启蒙老师，他不但教导了我怎样品园，怎样述园，而最重要的，他的文采使我加深了钟情于园。因为文章中提到《木经》，因《木经》知道了《营造法式》，找到了《营造法式》，我的大建筑课本有了，但是看不懂。我再寻着了《中国营造学社汇刊》，我们古建筑的老一辈的文章，有了说解，使我开始成为一个私淑弟子。后来又进入了他们的行列，终于成为我终生事业。谁也料不到我今天在古建筑与园林上的一点微小成就，这笔功劳账还要算到李清照身上，似乎太令人费解了，然而事实就是这样。

显然，他这次事业转型，使20世纪的中国得以产生了一位园林大

家，善用古典的文学语言阐述文人园的准则、美学并亲手造园，这一切在这本汉英对照的《中国文人园林》中得到充分体现。本书主题简明，话题丰富，行文半文半白，可与李格非、张岱、袁枚、李斗的文字相媲美。他凭着过人的记忆力，笔不停歇，一气呵成；很少作注释，仅有的几条也不像当时批注，更似事后所为。他旁征博引，无暇提及引文题目、作者信息等，对古人和同代好友皆以字号呼之。总体来讲，古文基础较好的读者能踏上愉快的阅读之旅，增广见闻。对于“未点明的部分”，他们或认为理所应当，或不愿顺畅的阅读为此类琐碎而打断。

作为译者，我也很喜欢读他的文章；但接受了翻译任务，要给中外读者奉上尽量与原作相应的英文，就不能忽视上述省却的文字。若这些“琐碎”、历史文学掌故，术语在英文中没有体现，对中国文化生疏的英语读者难免感到艰深。

为此，我们一边翻译一边调研原文，不敢懈怠。大量“无形的”信息由此浮出水面，包括140部文学作品的题目和197个人名。其中简练的信息，如所引诗文题目或作者大名，尽量糅入英语行文。文中人物都以字号称呼，在英文里则一律替换为正名，并于注释内附上相关字号。附录中罗列了人名、园林名、景点名称、术语等信息，数百个英文脚注更是译者多方调研的成果。陈从周先生原作有二十条脚注，带有“从周案”字样，均以汉英对照形式出现，其中四条是为行文简便从文中挑出者；另有八条尤长，内容充实，兼具文采。

沉浸在翻译的日日夜夜，我们对书中琳琅满目的园林、景点名称所蕴含的文情诗意、文化渊源日渐着迷。这样，我们就有机会把充斥坊间的那些外国读者不知所云的拼音名字替换为得体的英文名称，并做注说明如此翻译的原因，如：Shanjuan Cave（善卷洞）为Shanjuan's Hermitage Cave；Jichang Garden（寄畅园）为Solace-Imbued Garden；Yuyuan Garden（豫园）为Gratification Garden；Pingshan Hall（平山堂）为MountainLevel Hall。同时我们还发现有些流传已久的译名并不确

切，例如颐和园的排云殿应是Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds，而不是Cloud-Dispelling Palace。现有的译名——有些甚至已经登上联合国教科文组织的世界遗产名录——尽管对其准确性持有异议，我们并无意颠覆它们，只希望在我们亲手生成的译文中，让这些名称回归各自的历史和文化原点，帮助英语读者欣赏它们背后无限的诗情画意。

在中文编辑工作中，我的同事仲志兰对原稿中的打印差错、错字漏字和其他纰漏进行了修订、弥补。这些文章经由不同出版社重复排印，加之作者下笔立就不查资料，纰漏在所难免。如《说园（四）》中的两条引语，陈从周称都引自王时敏的《乐郊园记》，实际上第二条源自王宝仁编撰的《奉常公年谱》。再如《说园（五）》引用王原祁的文章作“视其定意若何，偏正若何……”，应为“视其定意若何，结构若何，出入若何，偏正若何……”她发现的此类疏忽都在汉语中加以更正，并译成相应英文。在忙碌的编务工作之外，她承担了《苏州园林概述》的英译任务，这是本书第二长篇幅的文章，曾单独成书出版；翻译了《泰州乔园》和《重修水绘园记》；还将我的《译者絮语》英文稿译成汉语，对全部英译文进行调研、编校，并联络调查扬州园林的工作。感谢其他三位年轻同事，任小玫详细注释翻译了《绍兴的沈园与春波桥》，并将凯伦·史密斯的英文前言译成典雅的汉语；段会香翻译了《颐和园》一文；钱静雨翻译了《南北湖》一文。

本书的成败在于是否能将原作征引的大量诗文译成准确的英语。这是此次翻译任务中最有意义、最具挑战的一部分。我们自己翻译了大部分并乐享其中，同时也引用了世界顶级译者的译作以增添风采，包括理雅各的《诗经》《四书》《易经》；杨宪益、戴乃迭的《红楼梦》，霍克斯的《石头记》，白芝的《牡丹亭》，白伦和江素惠的《浮生六记》，艾丽森·哈迪的《园冶》，杨晓山的《洛阳名园记》等。（参考、改写或引用的资料，请详见附录《参考书目》。）

付梓之际，衷心感谢陈教授长女陈胜吾女士同意出版此书，提供数

幅珍贵照片画作，并拨冗核实我们编译的《陈从周生平》的有关信息。感谢先生关门弟子、《陈从周传》的作者乐峰老师提供封面明轩照片。感谢苏美娟女士对中文原文错讹之处加以订正。感谢王伟强提供豫园照片。感谢王帅帅、姚武提供颐和园相关照片。感谢同济大学韩锋教授对我们的目录提出修改建议，将所选文章以这样一个有逻辑的顺序呈现给大家。

在此也向扬州发改委主任程兆君和扬州园林局长赵御龙致以诚挚的谢意。2014年北京APEC假期之时，我去扬州考察，他们二位亲自接待并组织了陈从周《扬州园林与住宅》研讨会。感谢许少飞先生在会上对该篇原文的错讹之处加以修正。

此书耗时近两载，希望能还原陈先生精美的原文韵味，不辜负中外读者的厚望。

凌原

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PART ONE　Gardens Wrought in Spitten Images of Heaven
第一部分　虽由人作，宛自天开

SUZHOU GARDENS: AN OVERVIEW

Architectural History Panel , Tongji University, October 1956
Translated by Zhong Zhilan

·(I)

From a historian's point of view, the Chinese garden takes its earliest forms as *you* and *yuan* in remote antiquity, and *yuan* as recorded in *A Study of the Han Institutions* by Wang Yinglin (1223-1296) [1] . According to *Interpreting and Dissecting the Chinese Characters* , a dictionary of the Eastern Han (25-220) in the second century,

> *You* is a *yuan* behind an enclosure wall. Some argue that a *you* is where poultry and animals are kept. *Pu* is where vegetables are grown, *yuan* is where fruit trees are planted, and *yuan* is where animals are kept.

And people are assigned to run these gardens, according to *The Rites of Zhou* ,

> "Offices of Heaven" (Greater Minister): … of the nine professions that employ people, the second one is gardening, which entails cultivating grass and trees.
>
> "Offices of Earth" (The Person in Charge of "*You* "): … The person in charge of a you patrols and herds all the animals.
>
> "Offices of Earth" (The Master of Loads): … the vacant land between the inner and outer city walls is used as threshing ground.

Thus the differences between these three Chinese characters are clarified.

From *Zhuangzi* we learn that in remote antiquity Xiwei [2] had his *you* and the Yellow Emperor (2717-2599 BC) [3] his *pu* , which may be deemed

predecessors of these two kinds of gardens. The *yuan* and *you* were fenced off as a hunting ground during the first three Chinese dynasties—Xia (2070-1600 BC), Shang (1600-1046 BC) and Zhou (1046-256 BC). According to *Mencius* , King Wen of Zhou (1152-1050 BC) [4] had a *you* 70 square *li* wide, with entrance permission granted to grass collectors, faggot cutters, and catchers of pheasants and hares.

From the Qin (221-206 BC) and the Han (206 BC-220 AD) onward, gardens were gradually turned into feudal monarchs' pleasure grounds, where elaborately appointed buildings were erected for this purpose. Some became very large, according to historic records. The Epang Palace of Qinshihuang (259-210 BC) [5] , for example, covered an area of 300 *li* on the Wei River in Xianyang, the capital of the Qin near present-day Xi'an. In comparable sizes were the sprawling Shanglin Park of Emperor Wu of Han (156-87 BC) [6] with the Grand Fluid Pond to the north of the Jianzhang Palace on its premises, and the Sweet Springs Park in Chang'an, the Han capital in present-day Xi'an. Prince Xiao of Liang (?-144 BC) [7] made Chinese garden history with the first ever-known rockeries piled up in his Hare Garden in present-day Shangqiu, Henan province. Emperor Wen of Wei (187-226) [8] had his Fragrant Forest Garden in Luoyang, the same city where Emperor Yang of Sui (569-618) [9] built his Western Park some four centuries later. Emperor Yizong of Tang (828-873) [10] decorated his gardens with trees and rock formations. The Northeast Mount Garden, in the possession of Emperor Huizong of Northern Song (1082-1135) [11] in present-day Kaifeng, is the most elaborately documented in history books.

After the imperial court of the Northern Song moved south and settled down in Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), [12] new gardens mushroomed there, including the Jade Ford Garden, the Prospects Assembly Garden, and the

Fragrance Collection Garden. In presentday Beijing, Kublai Khan of Yuan (1215-1294) [13] had the Grand Fluid Pond dug and dredged at the Longevity Hill, which was called "Jade Flowery Islet" during the Liao (907-1125) and the Jin. In addition to inheriting the former ones, more gardens were built from the Ming (1368—1644) down to the Qing (1616—1911), such as the Western Park, the Southern Park, as well as the Unimpeded Spring Garden, the Limpid Ripples Garden, and the Garden of Perfect Splendor in the western suburbs of Beijing.

Descriptions of private gardens also abound in historical records. For example, Yuan Guanghan, a well-heeled man from Maoling in present-day Xingping county, Shaanxi, had a garden constructed at the foot of the Beimang Mountain north of Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han. In his garden, which ran east-west for four *li* and north-south for five *li* , stones were arranged into rockeries and a variety of poultry and animals raised. Liang Ji (?-159) [14] defined gardens within a circumference of several thousand *li* that bordered on Hongnong in the west, Yingyang in the east, Luyang in the south, and Heqi in the north. The garden of Zhang Lun (*fl* . 5th century) [15] featured a rockery known as "Scenic Sun Mountain" against a background in close imitation of nature. These examples show that the Chinese craft of gardens had come a long way by that time. In addition, Ru Hao (*fl* . 5th century), a man from south of the Yangtze who served in the Northern Wei (386-534) court earlier than Zhang Lun, quarried fine rocks from the Beimang and Southern mountains to build the Flowery Forest Garden [16] , in which stately lofts and pavilions were erected in keeping with the line of the land, and bubbling spring water was channelled in to keep flowers irrigated in an attempt to match the craft of gardens with natural landscape.

No episode in Chinese history has seen more wars than the period that encompassed the Wei, the Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. However, it was also one in which pivotal changes took place in the annals of the Chinese thought while Buddhism throve more than ever. Everyday apparels and food, easygoing "pure conversations" on lofty and non-mundane matters, and mental cultivation through worshipping the Buddha were all the rage among scholar-officials of the time. Living in cities, they pined for wooded mountains where they could forget all worldly engagements. As a result, literary works in eulogy of nature emerged along with landscape painting; in the field of architecture, landscape gardens began to appear right beside their residences. Shi Chong (249-300) [17] built his Garden of Golden Valley in Luoyang with the intention to "shun the hustle and bustle of the world" and "invest passion in enjoyment of nature," as he professed in his "Preface to 'Longing to Return.'" His intention is echoed in the *Book of Liang* ("Biography of Xiao Tong"), in "A Letter of Admonitions to My Son Xu Song" by Xu Mian (466-535) [18] , and in the "Small Garden Rhapsody" by Yu Xin (513-581) [19] . The gardens built during the Tang, such as the Lantian Villa of Song Zhiwen (*c* . 656-712) [20] , the Wangchuan Villa of Wang Wei (706-761) [21] , and the Pingquan Villa of Li Deyu (787-850) [22] were invariably graced with picturesque bamboo islets, sunken parterres, and pellucid brooks. In these villas, man-made scenes are easily mistaken for natural ones. Of all these gardens of the Tang, the Thatched Hut of Bai Juyi (772-846) [23] , Li Deyu's contemporary, stands out by taking advantage of natural landscape through ingenious view-borrowing techniques. The accounts in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* by Li Gefei (*c* . 1045-*c* . 1105) [24] of the Northern Song about the Garden of Duke Fu of Zheng [25] and other private gardens from the Sui and the Tang down to his day, and the presentations in

"Records of Gardens in Wuxing" by Zhou Mi (1232-1298) [26] of the Southern Song (1127-1279) of Minister Shen's Garden and other gardens in his time, are so factual that they tally with what we can see in gardens seven centuries later today.

Far more gardens were built during the Ming-Qing years than the total made in previous dynasties. There were, to name just a few, the Ladle-of-Water Garden [27] and the Water-Brimmed Garden [28] in Beijing; the Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, the Nine Peaks Garden and the Geyuan's Garden in Yangzhou; the Billow-Tranquilizing Garden in Haining; the Small Sky Garden in Hangzhou; as well as the Eastern Garden among those described in Wang Shizhen's [29] "A Tour of Gardens in Jinling" of the Ming period.

Fortunately, quite a few gardens listed in those writings are still there today, including the Gao Yu Garden [30] in Hangzhou, the Obedience-to-Parents Garden, the Congenial Garden and the Small Lotus Village Garden in Nanxun, the Gratification Garden in Shanghai, the Homecoming Swallow Garden in Changshu, the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos in Nanxiang and the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi. However, no place in the world beats Suzhou in the number of surviving ancient gardens.

Now let us have a look at the historical rise and fall of Suzhou gardens.

·(II)

Suzhou got a fine head start in political, economic, and cultural development when it was part of the kingdom of Wu of the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC), and it continued to grow through the Western Han, the Eastern Han, the Western Jin and the Eastern Jin. Suzhou gardens

were heralded by the Phoenix Tree Garden built in the kingdom of Wu during the Spring and Autumn period and Gu Pijiang's Garden [31] during the reign of Emperor Xiaowu of Eastern Jin [32] . The region south of the Yangtze, known more popularly as the "Jiangnan area," prospered in the Six Dynasties period that encompassed the Kingdom of Wu of the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), the Eastern Jin, and the Song-Qi-Liang-Chen Southern Dynasties (420-589). Suzhou emerged as a local aristocratic landlords' consumer city along with Yangzhou and Nanjing in this region, with its economy hinged on silk and handcraft industries.

From the Six Dynasties onward, the exchange of goods between north and south China grew robustly thanks to the completion of the Grand Canal under the rule of Emperor Yang of Sui. During the Tang, booming foreign trade through maritime shipping fleets brought unprecedented wealth to the Jiangnan area. Toward the end of the Tang, while the provinces in the Central Plain were considerably enfeebled by incessant war and turmoil, the kingdoms of the Southern Tang and Wuyue (907-978) in the Jiangnan area remained stable politically and affluent economically, with enough resources to spare for the construction of more gardens, one of which was the Lepu's Garden developed by Zhu Changwen (1039-1098) [33] on a Wuyue prince's old garden. With its Southern Tang and Wuyue economic legacies emerging unscathed from the destructive war north of the Yangtze, the Jiangnan area was able to maintain its affluence, and garden-making went on as usual in the Northern Song. After Emperor Gaozong crossed the Yangtze and founded the Southern Song, he stayed for a time in Suzhou, the seat of Pingjiang prefecture. Prefect Wang Huan (*fl* . 12th century) [34] had ponds dug and pavilions erected in north Suzhou to build gardens attached to government buildings, not to mention the emergence of more mansions of the rich and

powerful in the wake of a scramble for land annexation. Among the Suzhou gardens built during the Northern and Southern Song period were Su Shunqin's [35] Dark Blue Waves Pavilion on the former site of a Wuyue king's garden, Zhu Changwen's Lepu's Garden, Mei Xuanyi's [36] Five-"Mu" Garden, the Northeast Mount Garden built by Zhu Mian (1075-1126) [37] as a tribute for Emperor Huizong of Northern Song, and Zhu's own Garden of Universal Joy.

After the Mongols toppled the Southern Song in 1279 and extended the rule of the Yuan south of the Yangtze, the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang remained as repositories of great wealth. More gardens were built as a result, and the Lion's Grove was one of them. During the subsequent Ming-Qing period, land annexation went from bad to worse. Suzhou, an established national silk-producing and handicrafts centre since the Tang-Song period, was by now a concentrated settlement for landowners and government officials while leading the nation in the number of successful candidates for imperial exams. During the Qing alone, it was home to more *zhuangyuan* , or number one successful candidates in the highest imperial examination, than any other city across the land. Upon retirement, these scholar-officials, especially those who were Suzhou natives, would settle down in the city to purchase land and open stores. With the earnings from land and business, they had gardens built to entertain themselves in their evening years, and became big consumers of local handicraft products, something that had also happened in Luoyang of the Sui-Tang period, Wuxing (present-day Huzhou, Zhejiang province) of the Southern Song, and Nanjing of the Ming.

In terms of natural environment, Suzhou is crisscrossed by waterways and studded with lakes, which makes it easy to draw mountain springs and divert water to gardens, and its fertile soil is salubrious to flowers and trees. To the convenience of local consumers and crafters of rockeries, the city runs

its own quarries in the local Yaofeng Mountain and obtains Lake Tai stones from its East and West Dongting Mountains. Stone supplies are also available within manageable distances, such as the Yellow Hill in Jiangyin, the Lord Zhang's Cave in Yixing, the Chuishan Mountain and Greater Xianshan Mountain in Zhenjiang, the Mountain of Dragon's Pool in Jurong, the Blue Dragon Mountain in Nanjing and the Saddle Mountain in Kunshan. Though these rocks compare unfavorably in quality with Suzhou's own supplies; they are situated in the vicinity and within easy reach. Lake Tai stones are choicest for rockwork in Suzhou gardens for their picture-evocative shapes. As *Book of Song* ("Biography of Dai Yong") puts it,

> When [Dai] Yong came to live in Suzhou, local scholars managed to build a house for him. They collected stones, brought in water, planted trees and dug creeks. Before long, the estate was densely wooded and looked like born of nature.

Insofar as cultural environment is concerned, the land of Suzhou teems with gifted men in poetry, prose, calligraphy and painting. Local literati officials not only offered their own ideas about garden designing, but also drew inspirations from assorted hangers-on. In his *Record of Wu Customs* , Huang Xingzeng (1496-1561) [38] describes a group of such retainers who happened to be Zhu Mian's sons and grandsons,

> The sons and grandsons of Zhu Mian live at the foot of the Tiger Hill. They hang around with kings and dukes, offering service in horticulture and rockery making. "Layabout garden spongers" they are called.

Another passage from the *Miscellaneous Discoveries from Guixin Street* by Zhou Mi has this to say,

> The workmen, those hailing from Wuxing in particular, are called rockery crafters in a custom handed down from Zhu Mian perhaps.

From among these designers and skilled workmen, a legion of garden crafters came to the fore in the two provinces of Zhejiang and Jiangsu, beginning from the Song. These included Yu Cheng (*fl* . 13th century), Lu the Rockery Builder, Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642), Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645), Zhang Lian (1587-1673), Zhang Ran (*fl* . 17th century), Ye Tao (*fl* . 17th century), Li Yu (1611-1680), Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795) and Ge Yuliang (1764-1830). [39] Good rockery designers invariably come from Nanjing, Suzhou and Jinhua, with Suzhou having the very best to offer—a fact that is not without its historical reasons. Landscape gardening, however, is not limited to wealthy literati officials, as the author of the *Record of Wu Customs* observes,

> Even the rank and file, including those who are hard up, know how to enjoy themselves by gracing their homes with miniature rockeries and potted islets.

Love for nature, indeed, is borne deeply in the hearts of all folks in Suzhou.

No place in the world has more traditional gardens—and has them in a complete array—than Suzhou, which may be called a "Garden City" if all these gardens are properly repaired and conserved. It is why the name of Suzhou would leap into mind at the mere mention of Chinese gardens. Small wonder the Jiangnan gardens are extolled as the best under heaven, with Suzhou boasting the best Jiangnan gardens.

I have spent five years on on-the-spot surveys of these gardens and participated in their repairs and restorations. In the last two summers I have led students from the Architecture Department of Tongji University on cartographical fieldwork tours of these gardens, with focus on ancient architecture and garden-making. Availing myself of the long hours I had spent there, I compiled cartographical files and photographs, with the two largest gardens—the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Lingering Garden—as cases in point so that I can illustrate in a small way the historical

metamorphosis of the Suzhou gardens and of the design techniques employed on them. Where necessary, I also referred to some smaller gardens in my narration.

·(III)

The Humble Administrator's Garden, 178 Northeast Street. Situated between Loumen and Qimen City Gates in the northeast corner of Suzhou, the predecessor of this garden was a villa built during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566) of the Ming by Wang Xianchen (1469-?) [40] on the debris of the Temple of Grand Preachers of the Yuan. Its name, "Humble Administrator's Garden," is derived from a line in the famous poet Pan Yue's [41] "Idle Life Rhapsody,"

> [You ought to be filial, and discharge your brotherly duties.] This is how a humble administrator exercises his government duties.

The garden changed hands a couple of times. It was first sold to a local man surnamed Xu by Wang Xianchen's son to pay off a gambling debt. Chen Zhilin (1605-1666) [42] bought it for a song from Xu's offspring in the early Qing. After Chen was exiled to a place north of the Great Wall for military servitude, it became the official residence of a Manchu garrison commander of provincial bannermen, and then served as the seat of the Circuit Intendant. Wang Yongning (*fl* . 17th century), a son-in-law of Wu Sangui (1612-1678), the notorious Ming general who surrendered to the Qing army and led them through the Shanhai Pass, resided in this garden for a time before it was confiscated as a result of Wu's revolt against the Qing. The garden was converted into the Bureau of the Circuit of Suzhou, Songjiang, and Changzhou established soon after Emperor Kangxi succeeded the throne, who personally visited this estate on one of his imperial tours of the south.

After the Circuit of Suzhou, Songjiang, and Changzhou was abolished, the whole property was downgraded to a civilian dwelling. In the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1736-1796), it was divided into western, central and eastern parts, and Prefect Jiang Qi (*fl* . 18th century) took possession of the central part and renamed it "Restored Garden." During the reign of Emperor Jiaqing, it was acquired by Zha Shitan (*fl* . 19th century), a Haining native who was a department head of the Ministry of Punishment, and then it came under the ownership of Wu Jing (1747-1822) [43] from Pinghu. When the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Uprising troops took control of Suzhou, Li Xiucheng (1823-1864), the King of Loyalty, took the western and eastern parts as his mansion, but the Qing government seized the garden again after the uprising fell through. In the tenth year of Emperor Tongzhi's reign (1862-1875), it was converted into the Guild of Eight-Banner Members from Fengtian and Metropolitan Provinces, and resumed its original name, Humble Administrator's Garden. In 1877, its western part was sold to Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), a rich merchant from Wuxian county, who named it "Additional Garden." The three parts were not put together again until the 1960s.

The plan of the Humble Administrator's Garden is centered on water, which covers approximately three fifths of the total garden. Accordingly, eighty to ninety percent of the main buildings on the premises are water-bound. Wen Zhengming says in his "Record of the Humble Administrator's Garden,"

> In the area between the Loumen and Qimen City Gates in the northeast of the prefecture's seat, many vacant lots were waterlogged. They have been slightly dredged and conserved, with trees transplanted around them….

The water conservancy arrangement in compliance with the local terrain tallies with the principle of flexible adaptation of gardens to the lie of the land

laid down by Ji Cheng in his *The Craft of Gardens* ("Suitable Sites"),

> … If it is high and square you should make use of pavilions and terraces. If it is low and concave you can dig out pools and ponds.

These lines speak volumes for the feasibility of centering the layout of the Humble Administrator's Garden on its rich water resources.

Taking topography into full account is a common practice in many other gardens in this city, including the Master-of-Fishnets Garden at Kuojietou Lane, where eighty percent of the space is covered with water, and the Five-"Mu" Garden at the Pingmen City Gate, where ponds and pools are interconnected to form a serpentine water belt. In both gardens the bodies of water are dredged and regulated by giving full play to the topography. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode on Jingde Road is another example, where the water problem is tackled in a clever way. When Jiang Ji (*fl* . 18th century), the property's owner in the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign, was digging a pond in the garden, he hit upon a fountainhead with water gushing out of it, which he delightfully named "Flying Snow Flakes."

As is mentioned above, the Humble Administrator's Garden is made up of three parts. The central part has kept most of its old layout. The western part, known as "Additional Garden" under Zhang Lüqian's ownership, has been properly arranged after drastic renovations. The derelict eastern part, the Return-to-Farming Abode owned by Wang Xinyi (1572-1645) during the Ming, is now being restored from long years of dilapidation.

The main building in the central part, the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance, is a three-bay structure with floor-length windows on four sides, under a gable and hip roof with a side eave under one gable. Looking out from its sash bars, one gets a panoramic view of the garden. In the south, there is a small pond with rockeries around it, where blooming *yulan* magnolias are

well spaced, an old elm tree stands by a rock at the foot of an undulating wall, and green bamboos lean quietly against rockeries. A slender colonnade runs along the curve of the rockeries to usher the visitor into the garden—an arrangement that not only makes one wonder if he has entered a woody mountain upon crossing the threshold, but also makes the entrance somewhat "disappear" as a rockery blocks the prospects when he looks southward. Here, the rockery functions more or less like a screen wall standing behind the front gate of a house or dividing up the interior of a room. East of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance stands the Embroidered Damask Pavilion, with the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah sitting in the west and a lotus pond lying in the north. Poised atop the small mountains beyond the pond are the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion and the Frost Awaiting Pavilion. Along the north-south axis with the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance at the middle point, buildings now rise, now plummet to bring the scene's central theme into bold relief. The islets of the pond, in particular, are surrounded by flowing water, shaded by clustered bamboos, and adorned with shapely Lake Tai stones along the embankment. The whole view seems to extend infinitely, giving the impression that one is roving the realm of a natural lake.

A stroll along the shore eastward from the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance brings one to the Rainbow-Leaning Bridge. The bridge and its railings, which both originated in the Ming, lie low and short. A few steps away from the other end of the bridge stands the Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion, an otherwise hexagonal structure that clings upon a colonnade and only shows its three sides—as if its other half were slashed crosswise, hence its name, "East Half-Pavilion."

A passageway from the Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion conducts northward to the Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion, sporting a pyramid-shaped

roof and an arched door on each of its four sides, situated at the eastern end of the garden's central part. Observed through the pavilion's two opposite arched doors, the scenery in the pond seems to be framed inside a ring. Looming faintly in the deepest recess on the other side of the wide pond is the West Half-Pavilion, or the Pavilion of Celestial Vistas, opens onto the garden's western part while its arched gate is silhouetted in the pond. Behind this pavilion there is the towering Northern Temple Pagoda, which looks like close at hand but is actually one kilometer away from the garden. This is, indeed, another fabulous case of view borrowing.

Standing here, one sees the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance, the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah, and the Fragrant Isle on the left, and two islets on the right. The former is a set of magnificent buildings, and the latter a veritable scroll painting of natural scenery. "This is where the concept of contrast is used in the craft of gardens in full glory," my mentor Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968) [44] told me.

As a matter of fact, the distance between the pond's eastern and western shores is not that long, but the visual effect of the design yields an illusionary sense of depth thanks to the presence of a stone beam bridge on the water surface—one must look beyond the bridge to see what is going on on the other side of the pond. The narrow strip of water cuts the scenery in two, with gorgeous buildings on one side and nature-wrought lush green hills on the other, thereby enhancing the depth of distance and the width of field. On the other side of the pond, aged elms snuggle upon the embankment, weeping willows stroke the rippling water with soft twigs, and lofts and terraces are framed invitingly in an elegant arch gate.

A walk from the Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion and over a triple-bend Bridge brings one to a forked road at the foot of a triangular islet,

where a winding trail leads up to the Frost Awaiting Pavilion at the top, a hexagonal structure whose roof juts out over the bamboos like a wing. To the east is the Green Ripples Pavilion, and to the west the rectangular Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion perches on an elliptical islet. The two islets are separated by a creek with a small bridge across it, where bamboo groves in sequestered repose and old trees recline over the gurgling creek to greet the orioles flying between them—a setting that is thoroughly insulated from the mess and noise of the outside world.

Stroll from the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion, and one arrives at the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, another hexagonal building at the intersection of three passageways, with one zigzagging bridge linking its front to the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah and another at its back providing access to the Mountain-in-View Loft and the Pavilion of Celestial Vistas through the Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway. A two-storied structure crowned with a double-eave gable and hip roof, the loft is found in the northwest corner of the central part and keeps itself at a considerable distance from what is contained in its surroundings; from its upper storey, reachable via steps in a rockery, the views in the city's northern corners meet the eye instantly when one looks afar. The scenic vintage point of this kind is commonplace in the Chinese garden. For example, the pentagonal pavilion of the Half Garden at Zhongyouji Lane, and the fan-shaped pavilion in the Lion's Grove are sitting respectively on a high hilltop in a corner. Due to the large size of the Humble Administrator's Garden and its expansive water surface, however, such a two-storied loft does not look so overwhelming. What is more, the reflections in the calm water add beauty to the entire vista. Nonetheless, when designing a multi-storied building in a garden, due attention ought to be paid to skintled brickwork in elevation.

Horizontal lines parallel to the water surface are preferred in order to achieve coherence.

The Fragrant Isle is known by tradition as a "land boat" because it looks like a boat that cannot sail. A large mirror is hung inside of its cabin, so that when looking west from the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah, one cannot tell whether the view he sees is real or merely mirrored reflection. The upper storey of the Fragrance Isle is named "Loft of Cloudless Vistas," which commands a panorama that extends far into the horizon. To the south of the Fragrant Isle is the Truth Attaining Pavilion [45] with another mirror fixed inside of it to bring about a similar effect. This is where the water surface narrows down to a strip and is cut in two by a stone bridge known as "Lesser Flying Rainbow." To the south, the Lesser Dark Blue Waves Gazebo, a three-bay waterside structure, sits squarely on the water to divide its surface in two again. However, with open space beneath the bridge and the gazebo, one never feels constrained. Instead, the water looks vast enough to engender an unusual feeling of dynamic airiness, spaciousness, and gradation in depth.

At the Lesser Dark Blue Gazebo, when one looks over the Lesser Flying Rainbow and through the Pavilion in a Yard of Pines Howling in Wind and under Autumn Moon, the silhouettes of the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, the profile of the Fragrant Isle and the corners of the Mountain-in-View Loft simmering in the immense water surface come into sight one after another—a grand montage observed through a tiny portal that never fails to cheer up the observer in no time.

Separated from the garden proper by an undulating wall is the self-contained Loquat Courtyard to the southeast of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance. A moon gate provides the access to the courtyard, in which the Pavilion of Fabulous Fruits sits on one side and the Hall of Dainty Rocks and

Delicate Bamboos on the other. Looking back upon the moon gate, one finds the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion framed squarely in it—where the "opposite views" technique is employed to great advantage. Sitting in the courtyard, one espies an excellent scene of view borrowing, as the tall scholar trees and pavilions beyond the wall seem to have drawn themselves closer in no time. The ground of the courtyard is paved with cobblestones in patterns exceptionally elegant and neat. The pity is that the rockery along the wall has been distorted in the aftermath of shabby reconstruction, and the wall itself, in want of a traditional top, looks somewhat rigid and awkward the way it twists and turns.

A colonnade winds its way by the side of the Hall of Dainty Rocks and Delicate Bamboos, and encircles a two-framed verandah upon entering the Vernal Crabapple Yard, where two crab apple trees crane over a few rockeries at the foot of its stairway, and where pavilions, water and rocks are faintly visible beyond the latticework windows. The courtyard seems isolated, but actually it is connected to the outside world in all directions, and every façade of it is wrought exquisitely. Inside of it, sparseness is made up for with density, and greatness is found in small details, which speaks volumes for its designer's ingenuity.

The Humble Administrator's Garden used to be an integral whole before a wall was built to divide it into western and central parts during the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign. It was not until latticed windows were built into the wall that the two parts were united again. Some modifications were made in the western part to make it self-contained, including the addition of a waterside colonnade along its wall. Acclaimed as the best of its kind among all Suzhou gardens, the colonnade rises and falls and turns this way and that over the water, giving the impression as if it were treading

rippling water.

The centerpiece of the western part is the Twin Hall, which consists of the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks in the north and the Hall of Eighteen Camellias in the south. The halls, sitting under a big gable and hip roof, are actually a joint three-framed structure with four interior round ridge roofs. In each hall's four corners there is a small heating room, which is one of a kind in shape and structure in this country.

After the western part was partitioned off to stand on its own, the Twin Hall became its main architectural hallmark. To fit its bulky body to a constrained space, its frontal portion was downsized and its posterior extended over the pond. The problem is thus solved, but the resultant drastic reduction in the pond's water surface and distance to the rockeries on the opposite bank, coupled with its more constrained ground, makes the building look out of place in the whole garden. It is, indeed, a blemish in an otherwise perfect layout.

The Twin Hall is where the owner feasts his guests and appreciates Kunqu Opera performances, with the acoustic effects enhanced by interior round ridge roofs. The heating rooms in the corners serve multiple functions: as buffer zones for people entering and leaving the hall, waiting rooms for servants during banquets, and makeshift back stages for opera performers. How considerate the designers were! Among Suzhou gardens this Twin Hall is a rare interior-decoration gem along with the Stay-and-Listen Belvedere. As the Hall of Eighteen Camellias is where such flowers are marvelled at in early spring, and the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks is where these love birds frolic among lotuses in summer, there are good reasons to have one hall face north and the other face south.

Facing the Twin Hall across the pond is the Floating Emerald Belvedere,

a two-storied octagonal building whose top floor offers a bird's-eye view of the garden. The pity is that it is so high as to be disproportionate to its surroundings. The belvedere overlooks two tiny pavilions atop a hillock that is separated from it by a creek. They are the Bamboo Hat Pavilion and the Fan-Shaped Pavilion, looking diminutive because the hillock itself is low and tiny. The Fan-Shaped Pavilion is also known as "With Whom Shall I Sit" Verandah for its location at the slender creek's bend that offers a vantage point for leisurely sightseeing. Below the pavilion a wisp of water flows by. A walk along the colonnade over the water brings the visitor to the Loft of Inverted Reflections, a two-storied structure under a gable and hip roof. Some distance away is the Good for Both Families Pavilion, a hexagonal affair with a roof drawn up to a single point. The loft and the pavilion with their opposite views are both reflected in the water. Occupying the ends of a long and narrow creek west of the Twin Hall are the Stay-and- Listen Belvedere and the Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion, another pair of opposites that look alike and are arranged on a lower level in a similar layout and design.

The entrance from south of the Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion to the Additional Garden (that is, the Zhang's Mansion) in the west is now closed.

The eastern part of the Humble Administrator's Garden has long been deserted. Its rebuilding is being planned, but the details are beyond this book.

The Lingering Garden, 338 Liuyuan (Lingering Garden) Road. Located outside the Changmen City Gate, the Lingering Garden was originally the East Garden in the possession of Xu Taishi (1540-1598) [46] during the mid-Ming. Under Emperor Jiaqing's reign of the Qing, the garden was rebuilt by Circuit Intendant Liu Shu (1759-1816), which was also known as "Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode" for the lacebark pines planted in it or "Liu's Garden." The twelve peak rockeries Liu had procured were built of choicest

Lake Tai stones. The garden assumed its present name, the "Lingering Garden," when it came under the possession of Provincial Administrative Commissioner Sheng Kang (1814-1902) in the second year of Emperor Gaungxu's reign (1875-1909). Occupying an area of fifty *mu* , it is the largest garden in Suzhou.

The garden can be divided into central, eastern, western, and northern parts for convenience's sake. The central part features a lake surrounded by artificial mountains, lofts and pavilions linked with colonnades and bridges. The layout of the eastern part teems with changes, where large halls are kept apart with verandahs and rockeries. The western part highlights an artificial mountain covered all over with maple trees and graced with a few pavilions, with its southern side rimmed by a zigzagging stream to imitate the Peach Blossom Springs in Wuling dating back to the Eastern Jin. The western part, separated from the central part by an undulating wall, offers the best view to be borrowed by the central part when its maple trees would drape boughs of leaves over its white-washed wall like rosy clouds in congregation in autumn. The old structures in the northern part were no more, but their recent replacements are too mediocre and insipid to be elaborated.

Entering the garden's front gate and passing through two tiny courtyards, one arrives at the Green Shade Verandah in the garden's central part. Looking north through the latticed windows, one gets an eyeful of the hills and buildings in the garden. A passageway leads west to the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa. As the main building of the central part, the villa is a three-framed structure under a flush gable roof, with a courtyard containing a peony parterre in the front and a lotus pond at the back. Abutting on the villa to the left is the Bright and Clear Loft, a delicate two-storied building sporting a hipped roof, whose top floor is reached via a scaling ladder.

Turning west at the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa and embarking on a roofed walkway that climbs up a mountain, one reaches the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah, which affords a panoramic view of the central and eastern parts, where the Sinuous Gully Loft, the Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah, the Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well," and the Distant Emerald Belvedere are arranged one behind another in picturesque disorder and echo each other up and down amidst ancient trees and exotic rockeries. Adjoining each other south of the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah are chambers, lattice walls and waterside pavilions. The Bright and Clear Loft extends a little bit over the water surface, while the balcony of the Villa stretches a little farther in what looks like two arms poised to embrace the lake and the loft silhouetted in it.

Starting northward from the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah and turning east, one goes by a colonnade to stop at the Distant Emerald Belvedere in the northeast corner of the central part of the Lingering Garden. The belvedere serves the same purpose as the Mountain-in-View Loft in the Humble Administrator's Garden, though the former is seated on land and the latter surrounded by water on three sides. Separated from the eastern part only by a lattice-windowed wall, the Distant Emerald Belvedere offers the best view to be borrowed in the eastern part.

The foot of the Lesser Islet for Immortals in the center of the lake and that of the Hao & Pu Pavilion by its side look like at the same level of the water surface, an arrangement that makes the nearby hills and lofts look higher. Visitors ambling along the Sinuous Gully Loft would invariably find that the picture-perfect scenery keeps changing with the shift of their footsteps as they look through an array of brick frames and latticed windows opened into the building's western wall on the first floor. When autumn sets

in, the maples beyond the undulating wall will be crimsoned through and become a fiery ocean that seems to ebb and flow hand in hand with the wall —no visitor could bear to tear his eyes from this most fabulous scene. North of the Sinuous Gully Loft stands the Pavilion for Scenic Enjoyment, a hexagonal structure perched atop an artificial mountain, with a long colonnade at its back.

The eastern part of the Lingering Garden features two major buildings, the Five-Peak Celestial Hall fashioned out of *Phoebe nanmu,* and the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned. The five-framed Five-Peak Celestial Hall with a flush gable roof is regarded as one of the best old-style halls in the Jiangnan area for its fine interior décor and furnishing. Its four sides are each attached to a yard of varying sizes. The rockeries in both its front and back yards often make those sitting in the hall feel they were confronted with high rimrocks, a design that fails to impress Ji Cheng, who notes in *The Craft of Gardens* ,

> People always construct mountains in front of halls, with a row of three lofty peaks sticking up inside an enclosing wall. This looks exceptionally ridiculous.

Five rockeries are laid out in the front yard, making the court look crammed and robbing it of appeal. Ji Cheng suggests,

> In my opinion, if you have some fine trees in your courtyard, just arrange a few delicately shaped rocks around them; otherwise, you may embed stones into the wall or plant some flowering shrubs or hanging creepers on it. Only thus can some depth be achieved in the scenery.

This method of Ji Cheng's, as I see it, is a lot more workable. In the backyard, there is a pool of clean spring water in front of the rockery, which evokes a sense of utmost quietude. The pity, though, is that the spring has lost its source, so that the pool now dries up, now brims with water. On the artificial

mountain's backside a colonnade runs parallel to the wall, but as it leads to all directions, the visitor might get lost if his attention is by chance detracted. The Distant Emerald Belvedere on the other side of the wall is highly visible when one looks left from this backyard. The expansive spatiality of the garden is driven home to the visitor this way.

The Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well," a one-frame room adjacent to the Five-Peak Celestial Hall, borrows views from the central part through bright windows in its four walls. In what is an ingenious treatment of small space in garden design, a Chinese parasol stands straight under its canopy-like foliage in the tiny yard between the Studio and the Hall.

Two small courts to the left of the Five-Peak Celestial Hall—the Return-to-Read Study [47] and the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah—provide transition between this Hall and the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned. Surrounded by winding colonnades and kept apart with brick windows in its walls, the courts are interspersed with fine trees, slender bamboos, day lilies and small rockeries, all of which come in matching sizes in a layout at once neat and tidy. One can derive pleasure in the peace and quiet of the place and would hate to go away anytime soon.

To the east of the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah stands the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned, more popularly known as the "Twin Hall." Decorated and appointed most elaborately, the hall is five-framed with a single-eave gable and hip roof. Its two interior halls, one facing south, the other facing north, are each topped with a round ridge roof. The main beam in the northern hall assumes a rectangular shape with carved patterns, and the one in the southern hall is round without patterns.

North of the Hall there are the Cloud-Crowned Pool, the CloudCrowned

Pavilion, the Cloud-Crowned Loft, and three rockeries which have been there since the Ming as the largest Lake Tai rocks ever found in Suzhou: the Cloud-Crowned Peak, the Riddled-Through Peak Enveloped in Clouds and the Cloudlet-Enshrouded Peak.

The hexagonal Cloud-Crowned Pavilion behind the Cloud-Crowned Peak is tucked away under *yulan* magnolia trees. A scaling ladder north of the pavilion leads up to the Cloud-Crowned Loft, where open views beyond the garden, including trails, cultivated fields and the Tiger Hill Pagoda, come into sight before the windows. Flanking the Cloud-Crowned Pool are the Cloud-Anticipating Hut to the east and the Cloud-Crowned Terrace to the west. A walk from the terrace through a moon gate brings one to the Pavilion of Fine Weather, Beloved Rain and Timely Snow that houses six intricately carved *Phoebe nanmu* latticed doors, which, the pavilion being facing west, bear marks of damage inflicted by the elements. The eastern part, newly built with its commonplace rockeries, stands no comparison with the old dramatic scenery.

The western part seems to be a legacy of Xu Taishi's East Garden from the Ming. The hill inside it is built of soil and arranged with yellow stones as per an old method described by Li Yu,

> Small hills are built with rocks, while large hills are piled up with soil.

Thus the maple trees all over the hill in the western part are nourished by the soil in which they are rooted. Upon this hill there are two pavilions: the Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers with a conical roof, and the hexagonal Pavilion of Uttermost Delights which, regarded as one of a kind in south Jiangsu, is a slightly modified replica of the Imperial Stele Pavilion at the Fan's Memorial Shrine on the Tianping Mountain. The former of the two small pavilions is concealed amongst maple trees, and the latter is snuggled

halfway up the hill in the northwest and visited by those who come to gaze up and down and look far into the distance. The southern slope of the hill borders on a clear creek flowing in the shade of peach and willow trees; created in an assumed fashion, this man-made scenery fails to become the utopia retreat it was intended to be. Indeed, in landscape gardening it is no easy job to outdo nature with human artifice. The creek flows on until it reaches the Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising, giving those who happen to be inside the impression that they were standing right on the creek, without realizing that the creek has met its end right under their feet. The only weakness of the western part is that the rockeries in it have lost their original forms as a result of repeated additions and repairs.

The northern part of the Lingering Garden, however, has lost its appeals in the form of classical pavilions, terraces and horticulture, all of which have been destroyed and replaced with new constructions.

·(IV)

Small in floorspace as they are, all the classical landscape gardens in the Jiangnan area look picture-perfect with so many rockeries and ten times as many ravines that are also crisscrossed by tranquil streams, and strewn with green pools. The secret to this impression is decoded by Qian Yong (1759-1844)[48] in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* ,

> Garden-making is the same as composing poetry and prose,
>
> In which every twist and turn must be made methodically.

Accordingly, only if everything—artificial hills, waters, pavilions, terraces, halls, lofts, winding or square ponds, lattice walls, colonnades, and whatnot—are arranged and allocated by eschewing hackneyed prototypes can a

garden be refreshing and enchanting all the time and rank among the top-notch ones. For this reason, in overall planning and space treatment, it is imperative to make a garden look expansive and its scenery ever-changing.

The layout in Suzhou gardens is centered on the following themes:

First, water. A body of water is usually the centerpiece of such a garden, with a bridge spanning its surface, a colonnade encircling it, and the premises interspaced with pavilions, terraces and lofts. And an islet is always set in a large pond, as is the case with the Master-of-Fishnets Garden and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence. Small as the Comfort-Giving Garden on Temple-Shrine Lane is, it still leaves room for a pond in its center, and surrounds itself with chambers in such a way that it looks like a miniature landscape. Though the Lingering Garden also has a lake in its center, my teacher Liu Dunzhen believes that the garden as a whole is predicated on a cluster of buildings in its eastern part. His opinion is definitely not unfounded.

Second, artificial hills and exotic rocks. A garden with no readily available headwater or low-lying land cannot but give the limelight to such hills and rocks, just like what is done in the Cheng's Garden on Western Hundred Flower Lane. In the case of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, a large pond is out of the question for its small area. So its sole solution lies in building hills and erecting rocks, and spring water was then channeled in to bring the dead stones to life, cover the ground or stones with fresh and moist moss, and allow grass and trees to multiple and thrive, so that the garden, though man-made in its entirety, looks like reborn of nature.

Third, pervasive water surface. This works for a place endowed with a rich accumulation of runoffs and large enough to have much leeway for landscaping without being constrained by old ruts. The Humble Administrator's Garden and the Five-"Mu" Garden definitely belong in this

category—their large sizes allow them to make manifold changes while maintaining a high degree of spatiality. The small artificial hills in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden, in particular, are, to quote Zhang Lian, "complete with traverse ridges and tiny slopes, zigzagging lake embankments and curved sandy shores." Ji Cheng suggests in *The Craft of Gardens* ,

> The garden is created by man, but should look as if wrought by heaven.

My mentor Liu Dunzhen puts it this way,

> The bodies of water in a garden ought to be concentrated in the main, with scattered ones supplementing. It is better to keep water concentrated than scattered in a small garden. In a large garden, it can be partly concentrated, partly dispersed, but a decision must be made before action is taken: which approach should be prioritized, concentration or scattering?

Both the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are fine examples for the utilization of large bodies of water, which is why they are celebrated as the best of all Suzhou gardens in my opinion.

Fourth, water in the foreground and rockwork in the background. This calls for building a hall in front of a pond or stream so that it looks like a waterside verandah sitting astride the waves, and someone staying in the hall can feast his eyes upon the hills and rocks across the water. This layout finds expression in the Garden of Cultivation at 5 Literary Yamen Lane. The Fragrant Grass Garden to the east of the Northern Temple Pagoda seems to bear a close resemblance to it.

Fifth, juxtaposing hill and water in the center and surrounding them with an uninterrupted circuitous belt of lofts and chambers whose heights are congruous to these hills and waters. Examples of this plan are few and far between in Suzhou. A smattering of it can be espied in the eastern part of the

Loving Couple's Garden at Small New Bridge Lane, and the Han's Small Garden on Northeast Street shares something in common even though its hill and water are graced with two rows of buildings. As to the Half Garden on Zhongyouji Lane and the Song's Garden on Immortal Cultivation Lane, their clusters of buildings stand on one side of their respective central hills and waters.

The Suzhou gardens dating back to the Ming era bear a close affinity to nature, especially those created with techniques summarized by later garden crafters like Ji Cheng and Zhang Lian to factor in original terrains with minor modifications. The rocks used are primarily yellow stones, as exemplified by the two small hills in the central part and the one at the foot of the Embroidered Damask Pavilion in the Humble Administrator's Garden. Though lacking the exquisiteness of riddled-through Lake Tai stones, the yellow stones, when piled up judiciously, produce natural-looking rockwork without the least suggestion of affectation and the risk of collapse that piled-up rocks are prone to. If these and other techniques are studied to the minute detail, a lot of fine traditions can be carried forward to update landscape gardening today.

From the Qing era onward, all the rockeries in gardens in Suzhou were built of Lake Tai stones. The number of such stones and the merits and demerits of a single peak in a garden became the benchmarks for the quality of gardens, benchmarks which prompted greedy and curious rockwork crafters and garden owners alike to compete with each other in garden-making. Typical examples of such competition can be found in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, where choice Lake Tai stone rockeries were collected from three ruined gardens around the Dongting Mountain. Apparently, the principle that "small hills should be built with rocks" does not exclude the use

of soil at all; otherwise, trees planted in them would have nothing to survive on. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, on the other hand, is a good example. Renovated extensively during the Qianlong reign, it boasted, within its small space, a Lake Tai stone rockery built by drawing upon the Song-dynasty "axe-chopping" landscape painting brush technique and by inlaying stones in its surfaces to generate an unaffectedly vigorous style. Furthermore, nourished and moistened by water meandering in its deep ravines, the rockery exudes verdure and liveliness and ranks among the finest of its kind in all the gardens in the Jiangnan area. Such artistic masterpieces would not have been created at all if their designers had no sense of natural mountains and ravines in their vision and failed to apply their imagination and expertise with facility. All this speaks volumes for the importance of assiduous study and cultural cultivation for garden crafters.

Artificial mountain construction in the craft of gardens should be adapted to existing terrain and topography, whose unpredictable changes provide no set rules, but fortunately, the formation and development of a certain terrain still follow some principles. There is a grain of truth in the saying, "It is better to learn from nature than from the ancients." We can understand this philosophy by analyzing a given natural scenery and testify to it with the works of our ancients. One can come up with the best possible garden design by drawing upon these works and by clarifying its merits and demerits. However, nine out of ten Suzhou gardens built in recent times were, to our dismay, schematized at best. In the absence of an overall plan, such a garden is just a hotchpotch of pavilions, lofts and verandahs. As to the stones selected for artificial hills and rockeries, they were treated like antiques and curios to the neglect of their relationship with horticulture and architecture. The construction of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, for example, was

intended to benefit from the strengths of a host of counterparts, but its general plan is so lax and undisciplined that it seems to have fallen short of expectations—a lesson, indeed, poignant enough to sober up all the garden-makers today.

To keep or build a body of water in a garden, the first thing to do is to seek out its source. A pond or stream without a source is dead water. The Humble Administrator's Garden, for example, saves the day by making use of its original pools and marshes. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode obtains water by digging into its ground; the water obtained this way comes only in a trickling stream, but it is clean and cool all the same.

There are two tricks to make a pond of water in a tiny garden look expansive and boundless. Firstly, to make full use of the pond's irregular plane, sprinkle it with islets and build small bridges across it, so that its entirety cannot be seen through at one glance. Secondly, to add enough bends and twists to the shores and outlets of a pond or stream to make it look like having more than one source or coming out of nowhere or disappearing into an unfathomable hole or ravine. Reeds and cattails may also be planted along the shorelines and at the outlets to heighten the mystery of the scene. This second trick, however, is viable only to large gardens.

The Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising in the Lingering Garden is situated where a creek meets its end, but some of its water keeps flowing underneath, so that, from a bird's-eye view, the belvedere looks like sitting right on water and the creek seems to be flowing on. The water-bound rockery in the Garden of Salubrious Shades on Southern Xianzi Lane is built cleverly of layered rocks to resemble a cavernous cave with a hut atop it. Water is channelled into the cave and stepping stones are fixed inside, making visitors feel like venturing into the depth of a ravine. Celebrated as a

unique structure in the central Wu area, this rockery's design is probably based on one in the Southern-Song Garden of Zhao Yiwang (*fl* . 12th century) in Hangzhou.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion's scenery is dominated by rock formations. The waterside colonnade in the western part rises drastically in elevation to offer a bird's-eye view of the seemingly unfathomable pool below. Bridges in the Garden of Cultivation are almost level with the water surface that sets off the height and steepness of the rocks on both banks, whereas the bridges in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, though kept below the surrounding rockeries, are a little higher than water surface. What about setting up a bridge over a small creek? It is not hard to imagine, and this is why our predecessors used steppingstones instead, and the result is more natural and tasteful. There is a waterfall cascading to the rockery from the eave of a nearby loft when it rains in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, which is but a rarity among Suzhou gardens.

In addition to waters, rocks and ponds, architectural structures like halls, chambers, terraces, pavilions, gazebos, verandahs, vaultings, and walkways are also part and parcel of the traditional Chinese garden. Most Jiangnan gardens are known for the air of sequestered repose and low-key elegance about them, which ought to be matched with delicate and graceful buildings, and their siting, plane and appearance, too, must be brought into full account. Ji Cheng says in *The Craft of Gardens* ,

> What is fundamental to a garden to be constructed is to decide the positions for halls and chambers. Priority should also be given to the choice of sceneries, but the key to success lies in making the buildings face south. Where there are trees, keep just a few of them in the central courtyard.

This tenet on garden architecture is carried out to the letter in southern

Jiangsu gardens, such as the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa in the Lingering Garden.

As to the positioning of a loft, a terrace or a pavilion, there are no prescribed rules to go by, though principles can be found in *The Craft of Gardens* , the *Treatise on Superfluous Things* , the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* and other books: "Form should accord with the shape of the foundations"; "Patterns should be agreeable to the circumstances"; "Prospects should be adapted to the surroundings so that each owns its right niche"; "Every rafter or corner must look out of the ordinary"; "Let every gazebo be tucked away amidst flowers, and let every pavilion be found by the side of a pond or brook." All these principles call for flexible application by bearing the whole picture in mind.

Take the Humble Administrator's Garden for example. Looking down at the garden, we find that the orientation of buildings varies with the lie of land. Their exterior invariably looks lively, be their plane a square, a rectangle, a polygon, or a circle. As far as roofs are concerned, they assume a variety of forms, including *yingshan* , a pitched roof with two slopes on the front and the rear respectively; *xuanshan* , which adds to *yingshan* two walls up through to the roof on the left and right; *xieshan* , a gable and hip roof with eaves under one gable or both gables; and pavilion roofs. The main ridge of such a roof is always curved rather than straight. None of the roofs takes the *wudian* form, that is, a pitched roof with a slope on each of its four sides, which is exclusive for royal use. Their ridge ends usually turn up in the shape of a half-moon, which is called *faqiang* . In the manner of *shuiqiang faqiang* , overhang is achieved by turning up the four ridge ends instead of the minor hip rafters. The structures appear light and lively in a style similar

to that of the hanging fascia beneath the eaves and the "Backrest for the King of Wu," that is, a slightly curved balustrade.

The buildings in the central part of the Lingering Garden are good examples in elevation treatment. When one looks east from the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah, the Sinuous Gully Loft comes in sight as the verandah's major opposite view. With a gable and hip roof, the loft has its ground floor designed like a platform, with its molding in parallel with the water surface and separated from the upper floor, so that its two-storied structure does not look overwhelming in height. Moreover, the roofs of the three adjacent buildings positioned one after another—the Sinuous Gully Loft, the Western Loft, and the Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah—have elevations and roofs that look alike but, at a close look, are actually different and go well with the rockeries and water around them. The weathered ancient tree crabbing over the rippling surface of the stream, the brick-framed and lattice windows in contrast with the wall in which they are fixed, and the sparse and thin shadows of flowers are all unique features to the Suzhou gardens that, when mirrored in the water, beggars description.

The Green-Soaked Mountain Villa abuts upon the Bright and Clear Loft. Both have round ridge roofs, but the latter is hipped, and the former is flush-gabled on one side and has a vertical ridge on the other side—a change that, instead of looking awkward, perks up an otherwise dull design. A similar example is found in the treatment of the structure by a pond in the middle of the Comfort-Giving Garden's long and narrow plan: in the absence of a waterside verandah, a pavilion is installed that sports a roof with a side eave under one gable.

There are counterexamples, however. A corner pavilion in the Eastern Garden is crowned with a hexagonal conical roof. Its cornice is flat and its

ridges upturn a little at the hip, but to keep the structure light and graceful, the columns are too thin and too tall to bear the weight of the heavy upper section. Consequently, the pavilion looks a little shaky. The Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers and the Pavilion of Uttermost Delights in the eastern part of the Lingering Garden are both flawed in proportion. The former is small but not exquisite, and the roof of the latter seems too heavy despite the variations made to it. Indeed, the pavilions built more recently in the gardens in south Jiangsu by craftsmen from Xiangshan, Suzhou, are all marred by putting thin and tall columns under high roofs. The Ming structures in the Garden of Cultivation, by contrast, appear much steadier under slightly lower roofs.

In a word, single buildings must be designed by keeping in mind the whole picture of the garden in which they are located. As to plane variations, even if in the innermost rooms or chambers, adequate open space must be left in solid areas, and outlets should be built where the bends lead. Small verandahs—one-framed, two-framed or two-and-half-framed—should be set up where they are needed in the milieu. The Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden, for instance, is two-framed, with one frame obviously larger than the other. The Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah in the Lingering Garden, for another example, consists of two and a half frames, but the half-frame section is the most intriguing, a fact which bears out the theory of *The Craft of Gardens* on the aesthetics of offbeat designs.

High and low in accord, left and right in balance, intangibles and tangibles in mutual contrast, none of these aspects in a building are to be ignored. The Wan's Garden on Editorial Service Librarian Wang's Lane is a small affair, but its study stands on its own to form a quiet zone whose furnishing and interior decoration rank among the best in Suzhou together

with the eastern and western parlors in the Ren's House on Iron Vase Lane, the parlors of Gu Wenbin's [49] Estate, the Master-of-Fishnets Garden, the Cheng's Garden on Western Hundred Flower Lane, and the Wu's House on Big Stone Lane. (For details, please refer to my book *Collected Records of Decorative Devices* .) The pity is, however, there is still much left to be desired in this regard in many other gardens in Suzhou. The interior decoration in the Lingering Garden is too trivial and vulgar, and exquisite designs are few and far between. The Humble Administrator's Garden is finely appointed, but there are still cases in which the interior decorations are pedestrian and invariant, as if they were scraped together haphazardly during restorations and repairs done in later periods. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, on its part, has virtually lost all its original furnishing but its land boat survives fortunately to be seen as a paragon of exquisite interior décor for the whole area of the former kingdom of Wu.

As the arteries of a garden, roofed walkways are noteworthy for their importance in garden architecture. Common to today's Suzhou gardens is the double-lane walkway, with a white-washed wall running along its middle line to provide a lane or passageway on either side of the wall, which is usually adorned with latticed windows. (See my book *Latticed Windows* for details.) This kind of walkway is usually built in an open garden, such as the one that runs along the river in the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion. A double-lane walkway may also serve as a partitioning wall to expand space or provide transition between the entrance and the interiors of a garden. The double-lane walkway in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, for example, is a replica of the one in the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, which serves the same purpose but is also designed to ward the Thatched Hut of Wintry Friends [50] and the Verandah in Obedience to Rocks off direct afternoon sunrays and the north

wind, while the shadows the sun tosses through the latticed windows conjure up fascinating patterns.

Roofed walkways are built on land or along a stream. Some are winding, the others straight. Flat and stiff ones are taboo. Those in present-day Suzhou gardens, however, look somewhat unnatural and stilted for their excess emphasis on twists and turns, and the walkway at the foot of the northern wall of the central part of the Lingering Garden is such an example. Its lower section is a balustrade built of bricks, which seems stifling and out of place for the hanging fascia. Worse, its columns, being sandwiched between brickwork, make the entire walkway look exceptionally rigid and bulky. A better effect can be achieved with latticed brickwork, as is exemplified by the walkway in the Ren's House on Iron Vase Lane and by the gazebo on a waterside walkway in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. The sinuous Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway in the Humble Administrator's Garden, for another, employs a wooden balustrade on the waterfront and the King of Wu's Backrest on the other side, an arrangement that stands to reason.

The waterside walkway in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden is extolled as a picturesque structure for its judicious winding course and gradients that measure up to the standard prescribed in *The Craft of Gardens* for a "floating walkway that also serve ferrying purposes." This walkway is particularly commendable for gracing some of its bends with a tiny water gazebo amidst plantains and Lake Tai rockeries to make a difference in an otherwise conventional scenery.

Employed sparingly in the Lion's Grove, the Lingering Garden, and the Humble Administrator's Garden, most of the mountain-climbing walkways run along bordering walls. Due attention must be paid to keeping such a

walkway's sloping gradients in tune with the mountain's height; otherwise, it would be top-heavy and out of balance. If the terrain is uneven in width, it is advisable to alternate single- and double balustrades on the slopes, and a case in point is found in the walkway in the western part of the Lingering Garden. The bends of twisted walkways are oftentimes left open and interspersed at random with a few bamboos, rocks or plantains to yield dainty, tiny attractions. Commenting on walkways, Li Dou (1749-1817) [51] says in the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* ,

> A walkway paved with bricks is called an echoing walkway. One that twists and turns in line with the terrain is a wandering walkway….One that runs into a bamboo grove is a bamboo walkway, and one that is close to water is a waterside walkway. A walkway's ridge ends may occasionally protrude out of a cluster of flowers; and its corners may project over the northern bank of a pond once in a while. Sometimes it clings to a cliff, hence its imposing balustrade. Sometimes it arches over a red plank board with boats sailing underneath, or straddling pavilions, terraces and lofts to facilitate gentle and convenient passage. The walkways are valued for their balustrades—a nice balustrade is often likened to a beauty wearing a short-sleeved or sleeveless dress to accentuate her slender waist. The wooden boards fixed on the walkway are known as "flying benches" or "beauty's backrests." The bulging part of a walkway is regarded as a verandah.

One may learn a great deal from this piece of elaborate advice. Nowadays we have roofed walkways flanked by plantains, which are therefore called plantain walkways; and those running through willows are willow walkways. Both designs are well-intended, offering cooling shades to keep off heat waves in summer, and making people feel toasty in warm sunshine in winter. Some walkways have paintings hanging under their roofs, which have been known as painting walkways since ancient times; some of those built in

recent years have their walls inlaid with stone tablets inscribed with poems in calligraphic handwriting. Both practices put the walkways to best use.

A bridge is to a water surface what a roofed walkway is to an open space in the Chinese garden. Stone beam bridges are commonplace in Suzhou gardens, be they straight ones, zigzagging ones with three, five or nine bends, or curved ones. Some are level with the shores of a stream or lake. Others are kept lower than the banks or look like floating on water, which are legacies handed down from days of yore and can be found in the Garden of Cultivation of Suzhou, the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi, and some other gardens in the nearby county of Changshu. The bridge in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, and the one in ruins in the Yan's Garden in the ancient town of Mudu, Suzhou, share something in common, but they are kept a little higher than the water surface. In my view, these bridges were designed to achieve the following effects. First, walking through a bridge at water level gives one the feeling of treading rippling water while the water surface looks vast and the bridge precipitous; second, the surrounding buildings and hills look more impressive against a low-lying, water-hugging bridge, which also set off congenially the hills, lofts and terraces ashore. The bridge in the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi is such an example, which spanning a secluded valley below the flat ridge of an artificial hill, with the nearby Huishan Mountain offering the best views to be borrowed in the backdrop, employs a typical Mingdynasty landscape gardening design to best advantage.

Today's beam bridges, however, are often deployed carelessly, as if the topography and their own sizes were nonexistent. Not to mention the height and style of such bridges' balustrades, which are often adopted without looking into the bridge and its surroundings as a whole. Sometimes even iron

balustrades are used, which is what happened exactly in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. However, the small bridges in the Garden of Cultivation and the Rainbow-Leaning Bridge in the Humble Administrator's Garden are among the most desirable. The two three-bend and five-bend bridges in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden have railings proportionate enough to their respective bridges and environment, but the pity is that both are a little too tall. The stone bridge that connects the two hillocks on which the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion and the Frost Awaiting Pavilion are perched respectively is fashioned out of a single stone slab with no railings on it—natural and plain, it is born of a stroke of genius.

Another common type of bridges is the small arch bridge. There is one such bridge in the Lion's Grove and another in the Master-ofFishnets Garden. The former compares unfavorably with the latter in that an arched bridge is not supposed to sit on a rivulet's middle section, where it would appear clumsy and overwhelming and block the view, with no spaciousness and airiness to speak of. The latter is found at one end of a river; viewed from the west, it is exquisitely reflected in the expansive water surface, and viewed from the east, the pavilions and terraces are mirrored in the river—the scenes may be different, but the concepts are the same. In what looks like a stopgap, the arch in the stone bridge in the Half Garden on Zhongyouji Lane is modified to fit into a constrained space. As to the treatment of tiny, shallow creeks, *The Craft of Gardens* suggests,

> You may set stepping stones in the water.

I think that for tiny and shallow brooks, stepping stones are more natural and much better than a bridge. It is a shame this clever approach is all but lost today.

The *Leisure Sketches by a Little Window* says of the roads in gardens,

> A trail inside of the gate should be made to twist and turn….A footpath by the side of a house must be made to fork.

The roads we see today in Suzhou gardens more or less follow these principles. The paths in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden are good examples. The designers took into consideration the lay of land and added appropriate changes to the Ming-dynasty rules they were following, thereby achieving clear distinction between primary and secondary paths with graceful twists and turns. The paths at the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode are made to bend and swerve a little bit to hug the villa's cramped space, but such bends are tweaked to a nicety to make sure people can see every sight of interest as they traipse along the road. The trails in the Lion's Grove and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, however, twist and turn in ways that fly in the face of common sense and nature's law, to the bewilderment of those who happen to hit such trails. Indeed, affectation and arbitrariness are not just inartistic, and they defeat the purposes as well.

Paving the ground is another important garden-making aspect that merits serious attention, whether it be a front courtyard, a trail, or a main road. In today's Suzhou gardens, bricks are paved obliquely on a main road, which makes the job easy and simple and allows the freedom to work out the patterns. Gravels are used on main roads, footpaths and in front of halls, and this type of pavements can also be adorned with patterns wrought with pottery shards. Sometimes pottery shards are paved obliquely and mingled with porcelain shards. Pebbles, sometimes interspersed with porcelain shards, can produce more elaborate and elegant patterns than bricks or gravels, as is shown by some roads in the Lingering Garden, but pebble pavements call for regular maintenance—the soil in the gaps between the pebbles is often

washed down by the rain or swept away by garden cleaners, and weeds tend to be another headache.

"Cracked-ice pattern" is not uncommon in paving front courtyards, and it comes in two structures in south Jiangsu gardens. First, laying stone slabs of different shapes flatly on the ground in such a pattern, as is done in front of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden, which looks simple and natural, but the ground may become warped here and there. Second, putting such stone slabs together in a mortise-and-tenon fashion to form rippling patterns—a laborious job indeed, but it produces a durable pavement that is also neat and tidy. Examples of it are found in front of the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa in the Lingering Garden and the Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's Estate at Iron Vase Lane. The stairway in front of a hall sometimes assumes the natural forms of stones, such as those in front of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Five-Peak Celestial Hall in the Lingering Garden.

The walls of Suzhou gardens are built of riprap or finely ground bricks. They are latticed, whitewashed, or both, but most of them are simply whitewashed. The surrounding walls, in most cases, have latticed tile windows opened into their upper half; and the inner walls are inlaid with tile-latticed or brick-framed windows. The whitewashed wall with flower shadows thrown on it is readily talked about by everybody who see it. Finely ground brick walls are used sparingly on buildings inside a garden. Most gateway walls are bedecked with patterns fashioned out of finely ground bricks, as is exemplified by the gateway of the Humble Administrator's Garden. Riprap is actually reserved for a wall's lower section, from the ground up to one third of the wall's height. I remember seeing, in an old house in Shanghai, a state-of-the-art wall that is lined with stones in cracked-

ice patterns and dotted with plum flower patterns, which I surmise is a legacy of the Ming. A wall with latticed windows that divides up a water surface in the middle inside the Western Garden is a school in its own right.

Antithetical couplets and inscribed tablets are as indispensible to Chinese gardens as beard and eyebrows are to a man. In Suzhou, scholars and artists, through the ages are deeply involved in garden-making by vesting man-made garden scenery and structures with poetic passion and picturesque images drawn from nature, places of historical interest, and texts of verse and prose, while eulogizing every mountain, wood, rock, ravine, pavilion or verandah in the gardens with the finest and most proper diction. Thus an affective visitor feasting his eyes on a garden scenery would be mesmerized by the calligraphic couplet or tablet attached to it, because the inscriptions always give the most fitting interpretation of the scenery in question and never fail to strike a deep chord in his heart. The Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance and the Stay-and-Listen Belvedere in the Humble Administrator's Garden are both dedicated to lotus flowers, but their names are derived from different lines—the former, "The farther the aroma drifts, the purer it becomes"; the latter, "May the withered lotus leaves stay to listen to the pattering rain." The Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah of the Lingering Garden and the Vernal Crabapple Yard of the Humble Administrator's Garden are named respectively after the trees planted in them, and those who chance upon such trees and settings have come up with so many fine literary and art works, something which can happen only in a Chinese garden. It is my hope that all such couplets and tablets on garden scenery be preserved for posterity. Every garden in Suzhou is in possession of well-written inscriptions. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, in particular, once had a complete array of couplets drawn from Song lyric poems that describe scenic

sights in meticulous and tactful ways, but, alas, few of them have survived! Eight or nine out of ten inscribed boards or tablets are made of gingko wood, which is more resistant to the high wind in the gardens than other woods. The Chinese characters engraved in such boards are in intaglio and covered with malachite green pigments or sometimes lacquered in cold color tones. Brick boards are also used for this purpose, which look clean and lovely. The inscriptions usually come in seal script, official script, or the running hand for their simplistic and natural forms. Regular script is rarely used. Chinese calligraphy and painting share the same origin, so the boards and tablets bearing calligraphic inscriptions are objets d'art themselves to help enhance the allure of the gardens in which they are placed.

The importance of trees to gardens is self-evident. Because most gardens in the Jiangnan area are small and closed behind tall walls, due attention ought to be paid to a number of factors before trees are planted in them: the sunny or shady side of the site and its elevation; the selected trees' growing speed, cold-resistance and drought-enduring properties, and whether they can grow into ancient-looking, gnarled or exuberant shapes. Based on these observations, further importance ought to be given to the trees' positions and their relationship with rockeries. As microcosms of natural landscape, rockeries and ponds should never be overshadowed by trees. The trees' sizes and shapes, therefore, must be controlled. What merits attention is that a tree stretching its gnarling branches into water and twist its knotted roots around a rock always make the scene look hoary and unsightly. Just as Li Gefei puts it,

> The touch of venerable age pales where human skill steals the limelight.

A good variety of trees are found in Suzhou gardens, such as elms and wingnuts in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and gingko trees in the central part and maples all over the western part of the Lingering Garden.

Being relatively small, the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence features osmanthus trees, pines, and lacebark pines. Lacebark pines are particularly cute despite their simple shapes, but they are such a rarity in small gardens. There are also gardens having an assortment of pines, plums, palms, and boxwoods that are known for their slow growth. A small garden tucked away behind a high wall tends to have more shady areas than sunny ones, so cold-resistant plants are cultivated along the shady side of a wall, such as privets, palms and bamboos. Alpine trees such as pines and firs belong in mountain valleys. For stone crevices in front of steps, shade-tolerant evergreen grass is the best choice. A garden with more evergreens than deciduous plants will remain green all year round and has little chance to go "bald" in late autumn and winter. The elms, scholar trees, wingnuts, hackberries, water elms and maple trees and the like must be pruned annually to keep them in rugged shape, and another plus for such trees is that they sport nice-looking roots. The elms and wingnuts look their best when fully grown, with verdant twigs thriving on their hollow trunks.

In Suzhou gardens trees are generally planted on artificial hills in two ways. Firstly, the top and foot of such a hill are reserved exclusively for large trees so that visitors can take in the beauty of their exposed roots amidst rockwork; examples of this are found in both the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden. Secondly, the trees planted atop a hill or at its foot are made to overlook the bamboos or the shrubs or creepers that cling to rocks to generate a feeling of depth and utmost luxuriance. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion and the Humble Administrator's Garden are excellent examples in this regard. Analyses indicate that such tree-treating methods originate in different styles of legendary painters. The former embodies the placid and facile style of Ni Zan (1301-1374) [52] of the Yuan; the latter

assimilates the somewhat gloomy and dark-toned style of Shen Zhou (1427-1509)[53] of the Ming. It is advisable to choose willows, bamboos, or reeds for water-bound, low-lying places. The shady side of a wall ought to be covered with ivies, slender bamboos, nandinas and begonias with green leaves, cold-colored flowers and bright-colored fruits, but again, they need annual pruning to keep their growth in check.

Growing flowers follows the one and same principle for trees in a garden. Osmanthuses and camellias should be planted in shady areas with a little sunshine. Both are evergreens that bloom when other flowers do not—osmanthuses in autumn and camellias in early spring; both look their serene and plump best when nodding and flickering among quaint rockeries with graceful postures. Pergolas of wisterias present green shades and a profusion of jewellery- or dewdrop-like flowers in time for late spring. Peonies are often shown on terraces skirted by a balustrade of stones with nice veins because they need an abundance of sunshine and a high location to show off their resplendent flowers. Magnolias, crabapple trees, peonies, and osmanthuses are by tradition cultivated in courtyards for their names suggest "riches and honours descending upon a jade hall." This implication may sound hackneyed, but the way our predecessors coordinate different flowers by taking their florescence and color into account is not without their reasons. If planted in groves, peaches and plums are suitable for viewing from afar, but they are feasible for large gardens such as the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou.

There are two rules of thumb for the treatment of trees in Suzhou gardens. One is to plant the same type of trees in a grove, such as the pines at the Wave-Listening Place in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, the maples in the western part and the osmanthuses in front of the Osmanthus Fragrance

Verandah in the Lingering Garden. At the same time, designers should consider the height and density of the trees in relation to their surroundings. The other is to allocate a variety of trees in the same grove, but like the composition of a painting, meticulous attention must be paid to a number of issues, such as if the orientation of the chosen trees and the elevation of the site are suitable for a grove of multiple tree species, the contrast and balance of leave colors, the ratio between evergreen and deciduous trees, their flowering seasons, and the shape of leaves and postures of the trees. The relationship between trees and rocks, too, should not be lost on the designers—the two factors must be combined into an organic whole so that every single stone in a rockery can fascinate the visitors and every inch of rock can rivet the observer's attention. What is more, consistency between plants and buildings must be adjusted to the point where their styles and colors can complement each other.

The number of lotuses growing in a pond must be limited. Otherwise, both the water surface and the silhouettes of buildings in it would be marred badly. Just let one or two slim lotuses sway invitingly in the middle of the pond, and it will become the apple of the spectator's eye without fail. In the Gu's Garden in the city of Kunshan in Jiangsu, lotus roots are reportedly planted under stone slabs that line the bottom of a pond. There are a few holes in every such slab, and the propagation of the lotuses planted is well controlled. My mentor Liu Dunzhen told me, "In the Xu's East Garden of the Ming in Nanjing, a vat is placed at the bottom of a pond, with lotuses buried in it." The slabs in the Gu's Garden of Kunshan differ from the aforementioned vat in Nanjing, but their purposes are the same.

The delicate elegance and serenity of the gardens of south Jiangsu come in striking contrast to the green-and-gold glamour of the royal gardens of

north China. The success of south Jiangsu in this regard is owed to four factors.

First, cold color tones are applied to residential buildings, such as maroon or non-glossy black for the capitals of rafters and beams, and dark green for the hanging fascia. Such cold color tones come into bold relief against the whitewashed walls that are properly toned down by the well-spaced shadows thrown by flowers upon them, thereby providing the needed transition to bring about a quaint scenery.

Second, almost all the Suzhou gardens are attached to dwellings where the places for reading and self-cultivation are provided. The peace and quiet needed for such rooms in southern gardens is predicated on cold color tones, which is a far cry from the pomp and pageantry of the royal gardens up north. Nevertheless, Suzhou scholar-officials did show off their affluence through fine furnishing, meticulous rockwork as well as their collections of antiques and curios, but their quest for serenity and elegance remained the order of the day.

Third, the southern school of Chinese landscape painting characterized by delicate ink and reddish color tones was having a deep impact on the scholar-officials, men of letters and painters in the Jiangnan area. The gardens born under such impact are imbued with a graceful and elegant style, to the exclusion of elaborate color and gilding.

Fourth, vermilion and other warm colors are out of place in the Jiangnan area's hot weather, not to mention the fact that commoners, not allowed the privileges reserved for royalty with regard to buildings, apparels and whatnot, were limited to the use of simple and quiet color tones, which, however, can often achieve what exuberant colors cannot. Unpretentious play of color is in congruity with the garden architecture, greyish skies, thriving vegetation,

exquisite rockeries and flowing water in the Jiangnan area, and contribute to an aura of peace and tranquillity, the very soul of Jiangnan gardens.

Another salient feature of Suzhou gardens in particular and Chinese gardens in general is that they induce maximum comfort and aesthetic well-being and draw throngs of visitors with their perennial charms no matter what the natural conditions. Contributing to such charms are not only these gardens' rockeries and bodies of water, but also their lofts and halls that are lined up in rows and columns, corridors and galleries winding or twisting, their railings and balustrades that encircle and connect the spaces, as well as their trees and flowers that contrast or supplement each other.

Circumstances evoke different feelings in poets and painters. Plantain colonnades in summer, plum shadows and moonlit snow in winter, bright sunny days and luxuriant flowers in spring, red knotweeds and reed-rimmed lakes in autumn—the sceneries may change with the season, but all of them are lovable. As to the wind rustling through pines, the rain spattering on wild rice and cattails, the moonlight shifting on swaying flowers, or the fog enveloping a loft or terrace, it is a typical case of "beauty lies in the eye of the beholder"—the fascinations of these ideal scenes are achieved by fusing the designer's refined literary and artistic attainment with the quintessence of an actual setting, and played up through dramatic means. The piling up of rocks, the erection of a building, the dredging of a stream, the search for spring water, or the planting of flowers or bamboos, every such effort is meant for the same result.

An artist or a writer's appreciation of nature's beauty is not limited to sunny weather on a spring day. Rather, his eye is set on every season as he endeavours to convert it into a realm of beauty. He would like to see flowers' shadows on whitewashed walls, listen to the wind whistling through pines

and the rain spattering on lotus leaves, and enjoy the moonlight on the tips of willows and the radiance of the setting sun on plums and bamboos. All the while he hopes to see all the things he dreams of come true. He imbues every rock or tree with overflowing feelings, so that there is sentiment everywhere and liveliness in every direction, and evocations implied in every twist or turn in the scenery. Herein lies another rich aspect of the traditional Chinese garden.

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So much for the few observations garnered from my daily involvement in the craft of gardens, which I present here for everybody's reference. The Suzhou gardens have written a brilliant page in Chinese garden-making history. Today, they are still accommodating people who flock in to see sights or take a break. For the sake of inheriting and carrying forward the fine cultural Chinese traditions embodied in these gardens, I deem it necessary to put this article on my readers' desks.

苏州园林概述

·一

我国园林，如从历史上溯源的话，当推古代的囿与园，以及《汉制考》上所称的苑。《周礼天官大宰》："九职二曰园圃，毓草林。"《地官囿人》："掌囿游之兽禁，牧百兽。"《地官充人》："以场圃任园地。"《说文》："囿，苑有垣也。一曰禽兽有囿。圃，种菜曰圃。园，所以种果也。苑，所以养禽兽也。"据此则囿、园、苑的含意已明。我们知道稀韦的囿，黄帝的圃，已开囿圃之端。到了三代，苑囿专为狩猎的地方，例如周姬昌（文王）的囿，刍荛雉兔，与民同之。秦汉以后，园林渐渐变为统治者游乐的地方，兴建楼馆，藻饰华丽了。秦嬴政（始皇）筑秦宫，跨渭水南北，覆压三百里。汉刘彻（武帝）营上林苑、甘泉苑，以及建章宫北的太液池，在历史的记载上都是范围很大的。其后刘武（梁孝王）的兔园，开始了叠山的先河。魏曹丕（文帝）更有芳林园。隋杨广（炀帝）造西苑。唐李漼（懿宗）于苑中造山植木，建为园林。北宋赵佶（徽宗）之营艮岳，为中国园林之最著于史籍者。宋室南渡，于临安（杭州）建造玉津、聚景、集芳等园。元忽必烈（世祖）因辽金琼华岛为万岁山太液池。明清以降除踵前遗规外，并营建西苑、南苑，以及西郊畅春、清漪、圆明等诸园，其数目视前代更多了。

私家园林的发展，汉代袁广汉于洛阳北邙山下筑园，东西四里，南北五里，构石为山，复蓄禽兽其间，可见其规模之大了。梁冀多规苑囿，西至弘农，东至荥阳，南入鲁阳，北到河淇，周围千里。又司农张伦造景阳山，其园林布置有若自然。可见当时园林在建筑艺术上已有很高的造诣了。尚有茹皓，吴人，采北邙及南山佳石，复筑楼馆列于上下，并引泉莳花，这些都以人工代天巧。魏晋六朝这个时期，是中国思

想史上大转变的时代，亦是中国历史上战争最频繁的时代，士大夫习于服食，崇尚清谈，再兼以佛学昌盛，于是礼佛养性，遂萌出世之念，虽居城市，辄作山林之想。在文学方面有咏大自然的诗文，绘画方面有山水画的出现，在建筑方面就在宅第之旁筑园了。石崇在洛阳建金谷园，从其《思归引序》来看，其设计主导思想是“避嚣烦”“寄情赏”。再从《梁书·萧统传》、徐勉《戒子嵩书》、庾信《小园赋》等来看，他们的言论亦不外此意。唐代如宋之问的蓝田别墅、李德裕的平泉别墅、王维的辋川别业，皆有竹洲花坞之胜，清流翠筱之趣，人工景物，仿佛天成。而白居易的草堂，尤能利用自然，参合借景的方法。宋代李格非《洛阳名园记》、周密《吴兴园林记》，前者记北宋时所存隋唐以来洛阳名园如富郑公园等，后者记南宋吴兴园林如沈尚书园等。记中所述，几与今日所见园林无甚二致。明清以后，园林数目远迈前代，如北京勺园、漫园，扬州影园、九峰园、个园，海宁安澜园，杭州小有天园，以及明王世贞《游金陵诸园记》所记东园等，其数不胜枚举。今存者如杭州皋园，南浔适园、宜园、小莲庄，上海豫园，常熟燕园，南翔古猗园，无锡寄畅园等，为数尚多，而苏州又为各地之冠。如今我们来看看苏州园林在历史上的发展。

·二

苏州在政治经济文化上，远在春秋时的吴，已经有了基础，其后在两汉、两晋又逐渐发展。春秋时吴之梧桐园，以及晋之顾辟疆园，已开苏州园林的先声。六朝时江南已为全国富庶之区，扬州、南京、苏州等处的经济基础，到后来形成有以商业为主，有以丝织品及手工业为主，有为官僚地主的消费城市。苏州就是手工业重要产地兼官僚地主的消费城市。

我们知道，六朝以还，继以隋代杨广（炀帝）开运河，促使南北物

资交流；唐以来因海外贸易，江南富庶视前更形繁荣。唐末中原诸省战争频繁，受到很大的破坏，可是南唐吴越范围，在政治上、经济上尚是小康局面，因此有余力兴建园林，宋时苏州朱长文因吴越钱氏旧园而筑乐圃，即是一例。北宋江南上承南唐、吴越之旧，地方未受干戈，经济上没有受重大影响，园林兴建不辍。及赵构（高宗）南渡，苏州又为平江府治所在，赵构曾一度“驻跸”于此。王唤营平江府治，其北部凿池构亭，即使官衙亦附以园林。其时土地兼并已甚，豪门巨富之宅，其园林建筑不言可知了。故两宋之时，苏州园林著名者，如苏舜钦就吴越钱氏故园为沧浪亭，梅宣义构五亩园，朱长文筑乐圃，而朱勔为赵佶营艮岳外，复自营同乐园，皆较为著的。元时江浙仍为财富集中之地，故园林亦有所兴建，如狮子林即其一例。迨入明清，土地兼并之风更甚，而苏州自唐宋以来已是丝织品与各种美术工业品的产地，又为地主官僚的集中地，并且由科举登第者最多，以清一代而论，状元之多为全国冠。这些人年老归家，购田宅，设巨肆，除直接从土地上剥削外，再从商业上经营盘剥，以其所得大建园林以娱晚境。而手工业所生产，亦供若辈使用。其经济情况大略如此。它与隋唐洛阳、南宋吴兴、明代南京，是同样情况的。

除了上述情况之外，在自然环境上，苏州水道纵横，湖泊罗布，随处可得泉引水，兼以土地肥沃，花卉树木易于繁滋。当地产石，除尧峰山外，洞庭东西二山所产湖石，取材便利。距苏州稍远的如江阴黄山、宜兴张公洞、镇江圌山、大岘山、句容龙潭、南京青龙山、昆山马鞍山等所产，虽不及苏州为佳，然运材亦便。而苏州诸园之选峰择石，首推湖石，因其姿态入画，具备造园条件。《宋书·戴颙传》“颙出居吴下。吴下士人共为筑室，聚石引水植林开涧，少时繁密，有若自然。”即其一例。其次，苏州为人文荟萃之所，诗文书画人才辈出。士大夫除自出新意外，复利用了很多门客，如《吴风录》载：“朱勔子孙居虎丘之麓，尚以种艺垒山为业，游于王侯之门，俗呼为花园子。”又周密《癸

辛杂识》云：“工人特出于吴兴，谓之山匠，或亦朱勔之遗风。”既有人为之策划，又兼有巧匠，故自宋以来造园家如俞澂、陆叠山、计成、文震亨、张涟、张然、叶洮、李渔、仇好石、戈裕良等，皆江浙人。今日叠石匠师出南京、苏州、金华三地，而以苏州匠师为首，是有历史根源的。但士大夫固然有财力兴建园林，然《吴风录》所载，“虽闾阎下户亦饰小山盆岛为玩”，这可说明当地人民对自然的爱好了。

苏州园林在今日保存者为数最多，且亦最完整，如能全部加以整理，不啻是个花园城市。故言中国园林，当推苏州了。我曾经称誉云：“江南园林甲天下，苏州园林甲江南。”这些园林我经过五年的调查踏勘，复曾参与了修复工作。前夏与今夏又率领同济大学建筑系的同学作教学实习，主要对象是古建筑与园林，逗留时间较久，遂以测绘与摄影所得，利用拙政园、留园两个最大的园作例，略略加以说明一些苏州园林在历史上的发展，与设计方面的手法，供大家研究。其他的一些小园林，有必要述及的，亦一并包括在内。

·三

拙政园：拙政园在娄齐二门间的东北街。明嘉靖时（1522—1566年）王献臣因大宏寺废地营别墅，是此园的开始。“拙政”二字的由来，是用潘岳“拙者之为政”的意思。后其子以赌博负失，归里中徐氏。清初属海宁陈之遴，陈因罪充军塞外，此园一度为驻防将军府，其后又为兵备道馆。吴三桂婿王永宁亦曾就居于此园。后没入公家，康熙初改苏松常道新署，其后玄烨（康熙）南巡，也来游到此。苏松常道缺裁，散为民居。乾隆初归蒋棨，易名复园。嘉庆中再归海宁查世倓，复归平湖吴璥。迨太平天国克复苏州，又为忠王府的一部分。太平天国失败，为清政府所据。同治十年（1871年）改为八旗奉直会馆，仍名拙政园。西部归张履谦所有，易名补园。解放后已合而为一。

拙政园的布局主题是以水为中心。池水面积约占总面积五分之三，主要建筑物十之八九皆临水而筑。文徵明《拙政园记》：“在郡城东北，界娄齐门之间。居多隙地，有积水亘其中，稍加浚治，环以林木。……”据此可以知道是利用原来地形而设计的，与明末计成《园冶》中《相地》一节所说“高方欲就亭台，低凹可开池沼……”的因地制宜方法相符合。故该园以水为主，实有其道理在。在苏州不但此园如此，阔阶头巷的网师园，水占全园面积达五分之四。平门的五亩园亦池沼逶迤，望之弥然，莫不利用原来的地形而加以浚治的。景德路环秀山庄，乾隆间蒋楫凿池得泉，名“飞雪”，亦是解决水源的好办法。

园可分中、西、东三部，中部系该园主要部分，旧时规模所存尚多，西部即张氏“补园”，已大加改建，然布置尚是平妥。东部为明王心一归田园居，久废，正在重建中。

中部远香堂为该园的主要建筑物，单檐歇山面阔三间的四面厅，从厅内通过窗棂四望，南为小池假山，广玉兰数竿，扶疏接叶，云墙下古榆依石，幽竹傍岩，山旁修廊曲折，导游者自园外入内。似此的布置不但在进门处可以如入山林，而坐厅南望亦有山如屏，不觉有显明的入口，它与住宅入口处置内照壁，或置屏风等来作间隔的方法，采用同一的手法。东望绣绮亭，西接倚玉轩，北临荷池，而隔岸雪香云蔚亭与待霜亭突出水面小山之上。游者坐此厅中，则一园之景可先窥其轮廓了。以此厅为中心的南北轴线上，高低起伏，主题突出。而尤以池中岛屿环以流水，掩以丛竹，临水湖石参差，使人望去殊多不尽之意，仿佛置身于天然池沼中。从远香堂缘水东行，跨倚虹桥，桥与阑皆甚低，系明代旧构。越桥达倚虹亭，亭倚墙而作，仅三面临空，故又名东半亭。向北达梧竹幽居，亭四角攒尖，每面辟一圆拱门。此处系中部东尽头，从二道圆拱门望池中景物，如入环中，而隔岸极远处的西半亭隐然在望。是亭内又为一圆拱门，倒映水中，所谓别有洞天以通西部的。亭背则北寺塔耸立云霄中，为极妙的借景。左顾远香堂、倚玉轩及香洲等，右盼两

岛，前者为华丽的建筑群，后者为天然图画。刘师敦桢云："此为园林设计上运用最好的对比方法。"根据实际情况，东西二岸水面距离并不太大，然而看去反觉深远特甚。设计时在水面隔以梁式石桥，逶迤曲折，人们视线从水面上通过石桥才达彼岸。两旁一面是人工华丽的建筑，一面是天然苍翠的小山，二者之间水是修长的，自然使人们感觉更加深远与扩大。对岸老榆傍岸，垂杨临水，其间一洞窈然，楼台画出，又别有天地了。从梧竹幽居经三曲桥，小径分歧，屈曲循道登山，达巅为待霜亭，亭六角，翼然出丛竹间。向东襟带绿漪亭，西则复与长方形的雪香云蔚亭相呼应。此岛平面为三角形，与雪香云蔚亭一岛椭圆形者有别，二者之间一溪相隔，溪上覆以小桥，其旁幽篁丛出，老树斜依，而清流涓涓，宛若与树上流莺相酬答，至此顿忘尘嚣。自雪香云蔚亭而下，便到荷风四面亭。亭亦六角，届三路之交点，前后皆以曲桥相贯，前通倚玉轩而后达见山楼及别有洞天。经曲廊名柳荫路曲者达见山楼，楼为重檐歇山顶，以假山构成云梯，可导至楼层。是楼位居中部西北之角，因此登楼远望，其至四周距离较大，所见景物亦远，如转眼北眺，则城隈景物，又瞬入眼帘了。此种手法，在中国园林中最为常用，如中由吉巷半园用五边形亭，狮子林用扇面亭，皆置于角间略高的山巅。至于此园面积较大，而积水弥漫，建一重楼，但望去不觉高耸凌云，而水间倒影清澈，尤增园林景色。然在设计时，应注意其立面线脚，宜多用横线，与水面取得平行，以求统一。香洲俗呼"旱船"，形似船而不能行水者。入舱置一大镜，故从倚玉轩西望，镜中景物，真幻莫辨。楼上名澂观楼，亦宜眺远。向南为得真亭，内置一镜，命意与前同。是区水面狭长，上跨石桥名小飞虹，将水面划分为二。其南水榭三间，名小沧浪，亦跨水上，又将水面再度划分。二者之下皆空，不但不觉其局促，反觉面积扩大，空灵异常，层次渐多了。人们视线从小沧浪穿小飞虹及一庭秋月啸松风亭，水面极为辽阔，而荷风四面亭倒影、香洲侧影、远山楼角皆先后入眼中，真有从小窥大，顿觉开朗的样子。枇杷园在远香

堂东南，以云墙相隔。通月门，则嘉实亭与玲珑馆分列于前，复自月门回望雪香云蔚亭，如在环中，此为最好的对景。我们坐园中，垣外高槐亭台，移置身前，为极好的借景。园内用鹅子石铺地，雅洁异常，惜沿墙假山修时已变更原形，而云墙上部无收头，转折又略嫌生硬。从玲珑馆旁曲廊至海棠春坞，屋仅面阔二间，阶前古树一木，海棠一树，佳石一二，近屋回以短廊，漏窗外亭阁水石隐约在望，其环境表面上看来是封闭的，而实际是处处通畅，面面玲珑，置身其间，便感到密处有疏，小处现大，可见设计手法运用的巧妙了。

西部与中部原来是不分开的，后来一园划分为二，始用墙间隔，如今又合而为一，因此墙上开了漏窗。当其划分时，西部欲求有整体性，于是不得不在小范围内加工，沿水的墙边就构了水廊。廊复有曲折高低的变化，人行其上，宛若凌波，是苏州诸园中之游廊极则。卅六鸳鸯馆与十八曼陀罗花馆系鸳鸯厅，为西部主要建筑物，外观为歇山顶，面阔三间，内用卷棚四卷，四隅各加暖阁，其形制为国内唯一孤例。此厅体积似乎较大，其因实由于西部划分后，欲成为独立的单位，此厅遂为主要建筑部分，在需要上不能不建造。但碍于地形，于是将前部空间缩小，后部挑出水中，这虽然解决了地位安顿问题，但卒使水面变狭与对岸之山距离太近，陆地缩小，而本身又觉与全园不称，当然是美中不足处。此厅为主人宴会与顾曲之处，因此在房屋结构上，除运用卷棚顶以增加演奏效果外，其四隅之暖阁，既解决进出时风击问题，复可利用为宴会时仆从听候之处，演奏时暂作后台之用，设想上是相当周到。内部的装修精致，与留听阁同为苏州少见的。至于初春十八曼陀罗花馆看宝朱山茶花，夏日卅六鸳鸯馆看鸳鸯于荷蕖间，宜乎南北各置一厅。对岸为浮翠阁，八角二层，登阁可鸟瞰全园，惜太高峻，与环境不称。其下隔溪小山上置二亭，即笠亭与扇面亭。亭皆不大，盖山较低小，不得不使然。扇亭位于临流转角，因地而设，宜于闲眺，故颜其额为“与谁同坐轩”。亭下为修长流水，水廊缘边以达倒影楼。楼为歇山顶，高二

层，与六角攒尖的宜两亭遥遥相对，皆倒影水中，互为对景。鸳鸯厅西部之溪流中，置塔影亭，它与其北的留听阁，同样在狭长的水面二尽头，而外观形式亦相仿佛，不过地位视前二者为低，布局与命意还是相同的。塔影亭南，原为补园入口以通张宅的，今已封闭。

东部久废，刻在重建中，从略。

留园：在阊门外留园路，明中叶为徐泰时“东园”，清嘉庆间（1800年左右）刘恕重建，以园中多白皮松，故名“寒碧山庄”，又称“刘园”。园中旧有十二峰，为太湖石之上选。光绪二年（1876年）间归盛康，易名留园。园占地五十市亩，面积为苏州诸园之冠。

是园可划分为东西中北四部。中部以水为主，环绕山石楼阁，贯以长廊小桥。东部以建筑为主，列大型厅堂，参置轩斋，间列立峰斧劈，在平面上曲折多变。西部以大假山为主，漫山枫林，亭榭一二，南面环以曲水，仿晋人武陵桃源。是区与中部以云墙相隔，红叶出粉墙之上，望之若云霞，为中部最好的借景。北部旧构已毁，今又重辟，平淡无足观，从略。

中部：入园门经二小院至绿荫，自漏窗北望，隐约见山池楼阁片断。向西达涵碧山房三间，硬山造，为中部的主要建筑。前为小院，中置牡丹台，后临荷池。其左明瑟楼倚涵碧山房而筑，高二层，屋顶用单面歇山，外观玲珑，由云梯可导至二层。复从涵碧山房西折上爬山游廊，登“闻木樨香轩”，坐此可周视中部，尤其东部之曲谿楼、清风池馆、汲古得绠处及远翠阁等参差前后、高下相呼的诸楼阁，掩映于古木奇石之间。南面则廊屋花墙，水阁联续，而明瑟楼微突水面，涵碧山房之凉台再突水面，层层布局，略作环抱之势。楼前清水一池，倒影历历在目。自闻木樨香轩向北东折，经游廊，达远翠阁。是阁位置于中部东北角，其用意与拙政园见山楼相同，不过一在水一在陆，又紧依东部，隔花墙为东部最好的借景。小蓬莱宛在水中央，濠濮亭列其旁，皆几与水平。如此对比，容易显山之峻与楼之高。曲谿楼底层西墙皆列砖框、

漏窗，游者至此，感觉处处邻虚，移步换影，眼底如画。而尤其举首西望，秋时枫林如醉，衬托于云墙之后，其下高低起伏若波然，最令人依恋不已。北面为假山，可亭六角出假山之上，其后则为长廊了。

东部主要建筑物有二：其一五峰仙馆（楠木厅），面阔五间，系硬山造。内部装修陈设，精致雅洁，为江南旧式厅堂布置之上选。其前后左右，皆有大小不等的院子。前后二院皆列假山，人坐厅中，仿佛面对岩壑。然此法为明计成所不取，《园冶》云："人皆厅前掇山，环堵中耸起高高三峰，排列于前，殊为可笑。"此厅列五峰于前，似觉太挤，了无生趣。而计成认为，在这种情况下，应该是"以予见：或有嘉树，稍点玲珑石块；不然，墙中嵌埋壁岩，或顶植卉木垂萝，似有深境也"。我觉得这办法是比较妥善多了。后部小山前，有清泉一泓，境界至静，惜源头久没，泉呈时涸时有之态。山后沿墙绕以回廊，可通左右前后。游者至此，偶一不慎，方向莫辨。在此小院中左眺远翠阁，则隔院楼台又炯然在目，使人益觉该园之宽大。其旁汲古得绠处，小屋一间，紧依五峰仙馆，入内则四壁皆虚，中部景物又复现眼前。其与五峰仙馆相联接处的小院，中植梧桐一树，望之亭亭如盖，此小空间的处理是极好的手法。还我读书处与揖峰轩都是两个小院，在五峰仙馆的左邻，是介于与林泉耆硕之馆中间，为二大建筑物中之过渡。小院绕以回廊，间以砖框。院中安排佳木修竹，萱草片石，都是方寸得宜，楚楚有致，使人有静中生趣之感，充分发挥了小院落的设计手法，而游者至此往往相失。由揖峰轩向东为林泉耆硕之馆，俗呼鸳鸯厅，装修陈设极尽富丽。屋面阔五间，单檐歇山造，前后二厅，内部各施卷棚，主要一面向北，大木梁架用"扁作"，有雕刻，南面用"圆作"，无雕刻。厅北对冠云沼，冠云，岫云，朵云三峰以及冠云亭、冠云楼。三峰为明代旧物，苏州最大的湖石。冠云峰后侧为冠云亭、亭六角、倚玉兰花下。向北登云梯上冠云楼，虎丘塔影，阡陌平畴，移置窗前了。伫云庵与冠云台位于沼之东西。从冠云台入月门，乃佳晴喜雨快雪之亭。亭内楠木槅扇六

扇，雕刻甚精。惜是亭面西，难免受阳光风露之损伤。东园一角为新辟，山石平淡无奇，不足与旧构相颉颃了。

西部园林以时代而论，似为明“东园”旧规，山用积土，间列黄石，犹是李渔所云：“小山用石，大山用土”的老办法，因此漫山枫树得以滋根。林中配二亭：一为舒啸亭，系圆攒尖；一为至乐亭，六边形，系仿天平山范祠御碑亭而略变形的，在苏南还是创见。前者隐于枫林间，后者据西北山腰，可以上下眺望。南环清溪，植桃柳成荫，原期使人至此有世外之感，但有意为之，顿成做作。以人工胜天然，在园林中实是不易的事。溪流终点，则为活泼泼地，一阁临水，水自阁下流入，人在阁中，仿佛跨溪之上，不觉有尽头了。唯该区假山，经数度增修，殊失原态。

北部旧构已毁，今新建，无亭台花木之胜。

·四

江南园林占地不广，然千岩万壑，清流碧潭，皆宛然如画，正如钱泳所说：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法。”因此对于山水、亭台、厅堂、楼阁、曲池、方沼、花墙、游廊等之安排划分，必使风花雪月，光景常新，不落窠臼，始为上品。对于总体布局及空间处理，务使有扩大之感，观之不尽，而风景多变，极尽规划的能事。总体布局可分以下几种：

中部以水为主题，贯以小桥，绕以游廊，间列亭台楼阁，大者中列岛屿。此类如网师园以及怡园等之中部。庙堂巷畅园，地颇狭小，一水居中，绕以廊屋，宛如盆景。留园虽以水为主，然刘师敦桢认为该园以整体而论，当以东部建筑群为主，这话亦有其理。

以山石为全园之主题。因是区无水源可得，且无洼地可利用，故不能不以山石为主题使其突出，固设计中一法。西百花巷程氏园无水可

托，不得不如此。环秀山庄范围小，不能凿大池，亦以山石为主，略引水泉，俾山有生机，岩现活态，苔痕鲜润，草木华滋，宛然若真山水了。

基地积水弥漫，而占地尤广，布置遂较自由，不能为定法所囿。如拙政园、五亩园等较大的，更能发挥开朗变化的能事。尤其拙政园中部的一些小山，大有张涟所云“平岗小坡，曲岸回沙”，都是运用人工方法来符合自然的境界。计成《园冶》云：“虽由人作，宛自天开。”刘师敦桢主张：“池水以聚为主，以分为辅，小园聚胜于分，大园虽可分，但须宾主分明。”我说网师园与拙政园是两个佳例，皆苏州园林上品。

前水后山，复构堂于水前，坐堂中穿水遥对山石，而堂则若水榭，横卧波面，文衙弄艺圃布局即如是。北寺塔东芳草园亦仿佛似之。

中列山水，四周环以楼及廊屋，高低错落，迤逦相续，与中部山石相呼应，如小新桥巷耦园东部，在苏州尚不多见。东北街韩氏小园，亦略取是法，不过楼屋仅有两面。中由吉巷半园、修仙巷宋氏园皆有一面用楼。

明代园林，接近自然，犹是计成、张涟辈后来所总结的方法，利用原有地形，略加整理。其所用石，在苏州大体以黄石为主，如拙政园中部二小山及绣绮亭下者。黄石虽无湖石玲珑剔透，然掇石有法，反觉浑成，既无矫揉做作之态，且无累石不固的危险。我们能从这种方法中细细探讨，在今日造园中还有不少优良传统可以吸收学习的。到清代造园，率皆以湖石叠砌，贪多好奇，每以湖石之多少与一峰之优劣，与他园计较短长。试以怡园而论，购洞庭山三处废园之石累积而成，一峰一石，自有上选，即其一例。至于“小山用石”，非全无寸土，不然树木将无所依托了。环秀山庄虽改建于乾隆间，数弓之地，深谿幽壑，势若天成，其竖石运用宋人山水的所谓“斧劈法”，再以镶嵌出之，简洁遒劲，其水则迂回曲折，山石处处滋润，苍岩欣欣欲活了，诚为江南园林的杰构。于此方知设计者若非胸有丘壑、挥洒自如者，焉能至斯？学养之功

可见重要了。

掇山既须以原有地形为据，自然之态又变化多端，无一定成法，可是自然的形成与发展，亦有一定的规律可循，“师古人不如师造化”，实有其理在。我们今日能通乎此理，从自然景物加以分析，证以古人作品，评其妍媸，撷其菁华，构成最美丽的典型。奈何苏州所见晚期园林，什九已成“程式化”，从不在整体考虑，每以亭台池馆，妄加拼凑。尤以掇山选石，皆举一峰片石，视之为古董，对花树的衬托，建筑物的调和等，则有所忽略。这是今日园林设计者要引以为鉴的。如怡园欲集诸园之长，但全局涣散，似未见成功。

园林之水，首在寻源，无源之水必成死水。如拙政园利用原来池沼，环秀山庄掘地得泉，水虽涓涓，亦必清冽可爱。但园林面积既小，欲使有汪洋之概，则在于设计的得法。其法有二：一、池面利用不规则的平面，间列岛屿，上贯以小桥，在空间上使人望去，不觉一览无余。二、留心曲岸水口的设计，故意做成许多湾头，望之仿佛有许多源流，如是则水来去无尽头，有深壑藏函之感。至于曲岸水口之利用芦苇，杂以菰蒲，则更显得隐约迷离，这是在较大的园林应用才妙。留园活泼泼地，水榭临流，溪至榭下已尽，但必流入一部分，则俯视之下，榭若跨溪上，水不觉终止。南显子巷惠荫园水假山，系层叠巧石如洞曲，引水灌之，点以步石，人行其间，如入涧壑，洞上则构屋。此种形式为吴中别具一格者，殆系南宋杭州“赵翼王园”中之遗制。沧浪亭以山为主，但西部的步碕廊突然逐渐加高，高瞰水潭，自然临渊莫测。艺圃的桥与水几平，反之两岸山石愈显高峻了。怡园之桥虽低于山，似嫌与水尚有一些距离。至于小溪作桥，在对比之下，其情况何如，不难想象。古人改用“点其步石”的方法，则更为自然有致。瀑布除环秀山庄檐瀑外，他则罕有。

中国园林除水石池沼外，建筑物如厅、堂、斋、台、亭、榭、轩、卷、廊等，都是构成园林的主要部分。然江南园林以幽静雅淡为主，故

建筑物务求轻巧，方始相称，所以在建筑物的地点、平面，以及外观上不能不注意。《园冶》云：“凡园圃立基，定厅堂为主。先乎取景，妙在朝南，倘有乔木数株，仅就中庭一二。”苏南园林尚守是法，如拙政园远香堂、留园涵碧山房等皆是。至于楼台亭阁的地位，虽无成法，但“按基形式”，“格式随宜”，“随方制象，各有所宜”，“一椽一角，必令出自己裁”，“花间隐榭，水际安亭”，还是要设计人从整体出发，加以灵活应用。古代如《园冶》《长物志》《工段营造录》等，虽有述及，最后亦指出其不能守为成法的。试以拙政园而论，我们自高处俯视，建筑物虽然是随宜安排的，但是它们方向还是直横有序。其外观给人的感觉是轻快为主，平面正方形、长方形、多边形、圆形等皆有，屋顶形式则有歇山、硬山、悬山、攒尖等，而无庑殿式，即歇山、硬山、悬山，亦多数采用卷棚式。其翼角起翘类，多用“水戗发戗”的办法，因此翼角起翘低而外观轻快。檐下玲珑的挂落，柱间微弯的吴王靠，得能取得一致。建筑物在立面的处理，以留园中部而论，我们自闻木樨香轩东望，对景主要建筑物是曲谿楼，用歇山顶，其外观在第一层做成仿佛台基的形状，与水相平行的线脚与上层分界，虽系二层，看去不觉其高耸。尤其曲谿楼、西楼、清风池馆三者的位置各有前后，屋顶立面皆同中寓不同，与下部的立峰水石都很相称。古木一树斜横波上，益增苍古，而墙上的砖框漏窗，上层的窗棂与墙面虚实的对比，疏淡的花影，都是苏州园林特有的手法；倒影水中，其景更美。明瑟楼与涵碧山房相邻，前者为卷棚歇山，后者为卷棚硬山，然两者相联，不能不用变通的办法。明瑟楼歇山山面仅作一面，另一面用垂脊，不但不觉得其难看，反觉生动有变化。他如畅园因基地较狭长，中又系水池，水榭无法安排，卒用单面歇山，实系同出一法。反之东园一角亭，为求轻巧起见，六角攒尖顶，翼角用“水戗发戗”，其上部又太重，柱身瘦而高，在整个比例上顿觉不稳。东部舒啸亭至乐亭，前者小而不见玲珑，后者屋顶虽多变化，亦觉过重，都是比例上的缺陷。苏南筑亭，晚近香山匠师每将屋顶提得

过高，但柱身又细，整个外观未必真美。反视明代遗构艺圃，屋顶略低，较平稳得多。总之单体建筑，必然要考虑到与全园的整个关系才是。至于平面变化，虽洞房曲户，亦必做到曲处有通，实处有疏。小型轩馆，一间，二间，或二间半均可，皆视基地，位置得当。如拙政园海棠春坞，面阔二间，一大一小，宾主分明。留园揖峰轩，面阔二间半，而尤妙于半间，方信《园冶》所云有其独见之处。建筑物的高下得势，左右呼应，虚实对比，在在都须留意。王洗马巷万氏园（原为任氏），园虽小，书房部分自成一区，极为幽静。其装修与铁瓶巷任宅东西花厅、顾宅花厅、网师园、西百花巷程氏园、大石巷吴宅花厅等（详见拙著《装修集录》），都是苏州园林中之上选。至于他园尚多商量处，如留园太繁琐伧俗，佳者甚少；拙政园精者固有，但多数又觉简单无变化，力求一律，皆修理中东拼西凑或因陋就简所造成。怡园旧装修几不存，而旱船为吴中之尤者，所遗装修极精。

园林游廊为园林的脉络，在园林建筑中处极重要地位，故特地说明一下。今日苏州园林廊之常见者为复廊，廊系两面游廊中隔以粉墙，间以漏窗（详见拙编《漏窗》），使墙内外皆可行走。此种廊大都用于不封闭性的园林，如沧浪亭的沿河。或一园中须加以间隔，欲使空间扩大，并使入门有所过渡，如怡园的复廊，便是一例，此廊显然是仿前者。它除此作用外，因岁寒草庐与拜石轩之间不为西向阳光与朔风所直射，用以阻之，而阳光通过漏窗，其图案更觉玲珑剔透。游廊有陆上、水上之分，又有曲廊、直廊之别，但忌平直生硬。今日苏州诸园所见，过分求曲，则反觉生硬勉强，如留园中部北墙下的。至其下施以砖砌阑干，一无空虚之感，与上部挂落不称，柱夹砖中，僵直滞重。铁瓶巷任宅及拙政园西部水廊小榭，易以镂空之砖，似此较胜。拙政园旧时柳荫路曲，临水一面阑干用木制，另一面上安吴王靠，是有道理的。水廊佳者，如拙政园西部的，不但有极佳的曲折，并有适当的坡度，诚如《园冶》所云的“浮廊可渡”，允称佳构。尤其可取的，就是曲处湖石芭蕉，

配以小榭，更觉有变化。爬山游廊，在苏州园林中的狮子林、留园、拙政园，仅点缀一二，大都是用于园林边墙部分。设计此种廊时，应注意到坡度与山的高度问题，运用不当，顿成头重脚轻，上下不协调。在地形狭宽不同的情况下，可运用一面坡，或一面坡与二面坡并用，如留园西部的。曲廊的曲处是留虚的好办法，随便点缀一些竹石、芭蕉，都是极妙的小景。李斗云："板上甃砖谓之响廊，随势曲折谓之游廊……入竹为竹廊，近水为水廊。花间偶出数尖，池北时来一角，或依悬崖，故作危槛，或跨红板，下可通舟，递迢于楼台亭榭之间，而轻好过之。廊贵有阑。廊之有阑，如美人服半臂，腰为之细。其上置板为飞来椅，亦名美人靠，其中广者为轩。"言之尤详，可资参考。今日复有廊外植芭蕉，呼为蕉廊，植柳呼为柳廊，夏日人行其间，更觉翠色侵衣，溽暑全消。冬日则阳光射入，温和可喜，用意至善。而古时以廊悬画称画廊，今日壁间嵌诗条石，都是极好的应用。

园林中水面之有桥，正陆路之有廊，重要可知。苏州园林习见之桥，一种为梁式石桥，可分直桥、九曲桥、五曲桥、三曲桥、弧形桥等，其位置有高于水面与岸相平的，有低于两岸浮于水面的。以时代而论，后者似较旧，今日在艺圃及无锡寄畅园、常熟诸园所见的，都是如此。怡园及已毁木渎严家花园，亦仿佛似之，不过略高于水面一点。旧时为什么如此设计呢？它所表现的效果有二：第一，桥与水平，则游者凌波而过，水益显汪洋，桥更觉其危了。第二，桥低则山石建筑愈形高峻，与丘壑楼台自然成强烈对比。无锡寄畅园假山用平冈，其后以惠山为借景，冈下幽谷间施以是式桥，诚能发挥明代园林设计之高度技术。今日梁式桥往往不照顾地形，不考虑本身大小，随便安置，实属非当。尤其阑干之高度、形式，都从不与全桥及环境作一番研究，甚至于连半封建半殖民地的阑干都加了上去，如拙政园西部是。上选者，如艺圃小桥、拙政园倚虹桥都是。拙政园中部的三曲五曲之桥，阑干比例还好，可惜桥本身略高一些。待霜亭与雪香云蔚亭二小山之间石桥，仅搁一石

板，不施阑干，极尽自然质朴之意，亦佳构。另一种为小型环洞桥，狮子林、网师园都有。以此二桥而论，前者不及后者为佳，因环洞桥不适宜建于水中部，水面既小，用此中阻，遂显庞大质实，略无空灵之感。后者建于东部水尽头，桥本身又小，从西东望，辽阔的水面中倒影玲珑，反之自桥西望，亭台映水，用意相同。中由吉巷半园，因地狭小，将环洞变形，亦系出权宜之计。至于小溪，《园冶》所云“点其步石”的办法，尤能与自然相契合，实远胜架桥其上。可是此法，今日差不多已成绝响了。

园林的路，《小窗幽记》云：“门内有径，径欲曲。”“室旁有路，路欲分。”今日我们在苏州园林所见，还能如此。拙政园中部道路，犹守明时旧规，从原来地形出发，加以变化，主次分明，曲折有度。环秀山庄面积小，不能不略作纡盘，但亦能恰到好处，行者有引人入胜之慨。然狮子林、怡园的，故作曲折，使人莫之所从，既悖自然之理，又多不近人情。因此矫揉做作，与自然相距太远的安排，实在是不艺术的事。

铺地，在园林亦是一件重要的工作，不论庭前、曲径、主路，皆须极慎重考虑。今日苏州园林所见，有仄砖铺于主路，施工简单，并凑图案自由。碎石地，用碎石仄铺，可用于主路小径庭前，上面间有用缸爿点缀一些图案。或缸爿仄铺，间以瓷爿，用法同前。鹅子地或鹅子间加瓷爿并凑成各种图案，称“花街”，视上述的要细致雅洁多，留园自有佳构。但其缺点是石隙间的泥土，每为雨水及人力所冲扫而逐渐减少，又复较易长小草，保养费事，是需要改进的。冰裂地则用于庭前，苏南的结构有二：其一即冰纹石块平置地面，如拙政园远香堂前的，颇饶自然之趣，然亦有不平稳的流弊。其一则冰纹石交接处皆对卯拼成，施工难而坚固，如留园涵碧山房前、铁瓶巷顾宅花厅的，都是极工整。至于庭前踏跺用天然石叠，如拙政园远香堂及留园五峰仙馆前的，皆饶野趣。

园林的墙，有乱石墙、磨砖墙、漏砖墙、白粉墙等数种。苏州今日

所见，以白粉墙为最多，外墙有上开瓦花窗（漏窗开在墙顶部）的，内墙间开漏窗及砖框的，所谓粉墙花影，为人乐道。磨砖墙，园内仅建筑物上酌用之，园门十之八九贴以水磨砖砌成图案，如拙政园大门。乱石墙只见于裙肩处。在上海南市薛家浜路旧宅中，我曾见到冰裂纹上缀以梅花的，极精，似系明代旧物。西园以水花墙区分水面，亦别具一格。

联对、匾额，在中国园林中，正如人之有须眉，为不能少的一件重要点缀品。苏州又为人文荟萃之区，当时园林建造复有文人画家的参与，用人工构成诗情画意，将平时所见真山水、古人名迹、诗文歌诗所表达的美妙意境，撷其精华而总合之，加以突出。因此山林岩壑，一亭一榭，莫不用文学上极典雅美丽而适当的辞句来形容它，使游者入其地，览景而生情文，这些文字亦就是这个环境中最恰当的文字代表。例如拙政园的远香堂与留听阁，同样是一个赏荷花的地方，前者出“香远益清”句，后者出“留得残荷听雨声”句。留园的闻木樨香轩、拙政园的海棠春坞，又都是根据这里所种的树木来命名的。游者至此，不期而然的能够出现许多文学艺术的好作品，这不能不说是中国园林的一个特色了。我希望今后在许多旧园林中，如果无封建意识的文字，仅就描写风景的，应该好好保存下来。苏州诸园皆有好的题辞，而怡园诸联集宋词，更能曲尽其意，可惜皆不存了。至于用材料，因园林风大，故十之八九用银杏木阴刻，填以石绿；或用木阴刻后髹漆敷色者亦有，不过色彩都是冷色。亦有用砖刻的，雅洁可爱。字体以篆隶行书为多，罕用正楷，取其古朴与自然。中国书画同源，本身是个艺术品，当然是会增加美观的。

树木之在园林，其重要不待细述，已所洞悉。江南园林面积小，且都属封闭型，四周绕以高垣，故对于培花植木，必须深究地位之阴阳，土地之高卑，树木发育之迟速，耐寒抗旱之性能，姿态之古拙与华滋，更重要的为布置的地位与树石的安排了。园林之假山与池沼，皆真山水的缩影，因此树木的配置，不能任其自由发展。所栽植者，必须体积不

能过大，而姿态务求入画，虬枝旁水，盘根依阿，景物遂形苍老。在选树之时，尤须留意此端，宜乎李格非所云“人力胜者少苍古”了。今日苏州树木常见的，如拙政园，大树用榆、枫杨等。留园中部多银杏，西部则漫山枫树。怡园面积小，故易以桂、松及白皮松，尤以白皮松树虽小而姿态古拙，在小园中最是珍贵。他则杂以松、梅、棕树、黄杨，在发育上均较迟缓。其次园小垣高，阴地多而阳地少，于是墙阴必植耐寒植物，如女贞、棕树、竹之类。岩壑必植高山植物，如松、柏之类。阶下石隙之中，植长绿阴性草类。全园中长绿者多于落叶者，则四季咸青，不致秋冬髡秃无物了。至于乔木若榆、槐、枫杨、朴、榉、枫等，每年修枝，使其姿态古拙入画。此种树的根部甚美，尤以榆树及枫杨，年龄大后，身空皮留，老干抽条，葱翠如画境。今日苏州园林中之山巅栽树，大别有两种情况：第一类，山巅山麓只植大树，而虚其根部，俾可欣赏其根部与山石之美，如留园的与拙政园的一部分。第二类，山巅山麓树木皆出丛竹或灌木之上，山石并攀以藤萝，使望去有深郁之感，如沧浪亭及拙政园的一部分。然两者设计者的依据有所不同。以我们分析，这些全在设计者所用树木的各异，如前者师元代画家倪瓒（云林）的清逸作风，后者则效明代画家沈周（石田）的沉郁了。至于滨河低卑之地，种柳、栽竹、植芦，而墙阴栽爬山虎、修竹、天竹、秋海棠等，叶翠，花冷，实鲜，高洁耐赏。但此等亦必须每年修剪，不能任其发育。

园林栽花与树木同一原则，背阴且能略受阳光之地，栽植桂花、山茶之类。此二者除终年常青外，开花一在秋，一在春初，都是群花未放之时，而姿态亦佳，掩映于奇石之间，冷隽异常。紫藤则入春后，一架绿荫，满树繁花，望之若珠光宝露。牡丹之作台，衬以文石阑干，实牡丹宜高地向阳，兼以其花华丽，故不得不使然。他若玉兰、海棠、牡丹、桂花等同栽庭前，谐音为“玉堂富贵”，当然命意已不适于今日，但在开花的季节与色彩的安排上，前人未始无理由的。桃李则宜植林，适

于远眺，此在苏州，仅范围大的如留园、拙政园可以酌用之。

树木的布置，在苏州园林有两个原则：第一，用同一种树植之成林，如怡园听涛处植松，留园西部植枫，闻木樨香轩前植桂。但又必须考虑到高低疏密间及与环境的关系。第二，用多种树同植，其配置如作画构图一样，更要注意树的方向及地的高卑是否适宜于多种树性，树叶色彩的调和对比，长绿树与落叶树的多少，开花季节的先后，树叶形态，树的姿势，树与石的关系，必须要做到片山多致，寸石生情，二者间是一个有机的联系才是。更须注意它与建筑物的式样、颜色的衬托，是否已做到“好花须映好楼台”的效果。水中植荷，似不宜多。荷多必减少水的面积，楼台缺少倒影，宜略点缀一二，亭亭玉立，摇曳生姿，隔秋水宛在水中央。据云昆山顾氏园藕植于池中石板底，石板仅凿数洞，俾不使其自由繁殖。刘师敦桢云：“南京明徐氏东园池底置缸，植荷其内。”用意相同。

苏南园林以整体而论，其色彩以雅淡幽静为主，它与北方皇家园林的金碧辉煌，造成对比。以我个人见解：第一，苏南居住建筑所施色彩，在梁枋柱头皆用栗色，挂落用墨绿，有时柱头用黑色退光，都是一些冷色调，与白色墙面起了强烈的对比，而花影扶疏，又适当地冲淡了墙面强白，形成良好的过渡，自多佳境了。且苏州园林皆与住宅相连，为养性读书之所，更应以清静为主，宜乎有此色调。它与北方皇家花园的那样宣扬自己威风与炫耀富贵的，在作风上有所不同。苏州园林，士大夫未始不欲炫耀富贵，然在装修、选石、陈列上用功夫，在色彩上仍然保持以雅淡为主的原则。再以南宗山水而论，水墨浅绛，略施淡彩，秀逸天成，早已印在士大夫及文人画家的脑海中。在这种思想影响下设计出来的园林，当然不会用重彩贴金了。加以江南炎热，朱红等热颜料亦在所非宜，封建社会的民居，尤不能与皇家同一享受，因此色彩只好以雅静为归，用清幽胜浓丽，设计上用以少胜多的办法了。此种色彩，其佳处是与整个园林的轻巧外观，灰白的江南天色，秀茂的花木，玲珑

的山石，柔媚的流水，都能相配合调和，予人的感觉是淡雅幽静。这又是江南园林的特征了。

中国园林还有一个特色，就是设计者考虑到不论风雨明晦，景色咸宜，在各种自然条件下，都能予人们以最大最舒适的美感。除山水外，楼横堂列，廊庑回缭，阑楯周接，木映花承，是起了最大作用的，使人们在各种自然条件下来欣赏园林。诗人画家在各种不同的境界中，产生了各种不同的体会，如夏日的蕉廊，冬日的梅影、雪月，春日的繁花、丽日，秋日的红蓼、芦塘，虽四时之景不同，而景物无不适人。至于松风听涛，菰蒲闻雨，月移花影，雾失楼台，斯景又宜其览者自得之。这种效果的产生，主要在于设计者对文学艺术的高度修养，以及与实际的建筑相结合，使理想中的境界付之于实现，并撷其最佳者而予以渲染扩大。如叠石构屋，凿水穿泉，栽花种竹，都是向这个目标前进的。文学艺术家对自然美的欣赏，不仅在一个春日的艳阳天气，而是要在任何一个季节，都要使它变成美的境地。因此，对花影要考虑到粉墙，听风要考虑到松，听雨要考虑到荷叶，月色要考虑到柳梢，斜阳要考虑到梅竹等，都希望使理想中的幻景能付诸实现，安排一石一木，都寄托了丰富的情感，宜乎处处有情，面面生意，含蓄有曲折，余味不尽。此又为中国园林的特征。

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以上所述，系就个人所见，掇拾一二，提供大家参考。我相信，苏州园林不但在中国造园史上有其重要与光辉的一页，而且至今尚为广大人民游憩之所。为了继承与发挥优良的文化传统，此份资料似有提出的必要。

1956年

英译：仲志兰

MASTER-OF-FISHNETS GARDEN, SUZHOU

Literary and Museum Newsletter , Museum of Nanjing, Issue No. 23, January 1976

I celebrate the Master-of-Fishnets Garden as the ultimate small garden of Suzhou, as one of the best gardens nationwide, and as a garden-making paragon in "prevailing over the many with the few."

The Master-of-Fishnets Garden at 11 Kuojietou Lane sprawls on the former site of the Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes built by Shi Zhengzhi (1119-1179) after he was dismissed as vice-minister of personnel of the Southern Song (1127-1279). During the Qianlong reign (1736-1796) of the Qing, Song Luru (1710-1779) purchased the property on which he built his own garden and named it after *wangshi* , meaning "master of fishing nets," which is analogical to fish and pronounced roughly the same as the lane's former name Wangsi Cove. After the garden fell into disrepair, it came under the possession of Qu Yuancun (1808-1876), who renamed it "Qu's Garden" after piling up rockeries, planting trees, and replacing old pavilions and houses with new ones according to his own plan. In 1795, the sixtieth year of the Qianlong reign, Qian Daxin (1728-1804) wrote an essay on the garden, [1] whose size has remained to this day. When Li Hongyi (1831-1885) took possession of the garden during the Tongzhi reign (1862-1874), he renamed it "Eastern Neighbor of Su Shunqin," [2] which was to be inherited by his son, Shaomei. [3] Da Gui (1860-?) had lived in it for some time. In the Republican years (1912-1949), the warlord Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928) bought the garden and made his mentor Zhang Xiluan (1843-1922) a gift of it. [4] Ye Gongchuo

(1881-1968) [5] , and the two brothers Zhang Ze (1882-1940) and Zhang Yuan (1899-1983) had lived in this dwelling-garden as tenants. [6] Then He Yanong (1880-1946) [7] bought it and refurbished it in a small way. After the garden was taken over by the Municipal Bureau of Parks and Woods of Suzhou in autumn 1958, it was done over completely so that, "The legendary beauty Xishi puts on a new dress," in the words of Ye Gongchuo in his lyrical poem to the tune of "Effusing Aroma Court."

The dwelling part of this garden faces south, with a screen wall in front of it and an outer gate on its eastern and western sides respectively. A corridor behind the frontal gateway conducts to a sedan-chair hall, and an alleyway east of the hall conducts to another hall in the second row. Behind the sedan-chair hall stands the stately main hall, a five-bay structure consisting of a three-bay central room and two one-bay wing rooms, with an exquisitely engraved and thorough-carved brick arch atop its gateway. To the west is a studio whose portal enshrines a stone tablet inscribed with a record of the garden's history. Behind the sedan-chair hall stands the hall in the second row, a storied building of five bays whose wings are each fronted with a small yard of flowers and osmanthus trees which are at their sweet-scented best in autumn. A horizontal board hanging inside of the hall is inscribed with the name "Beauty-Garnering Loft" in the calligraphic handwriting of Yu Yue (1821-1907) [8] . Climbing upstairs and looking out westward, one sees the Tianping Mountain and Lingyan Mountain shimmering darkly before the windows. The back of the building is connected with the Five-Peak Study and the Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber [9] . Going downstairs, one reaches the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos and gets a panoramic view of the garden.

Entering the garden by way of the sedan-chair hall's western end, the

visitor finds himself under a lintel bearing the name, "Master-of-Fishnets' Tiny Court." A roofed walkway winds its way to a hall with glass and lattice windows on four sides, which, as the inscription on its horizontal board indicates, is none other than the Verandah of Osmanthus-Clustered Hillock, whose frontal boundary takes the form of a latticed wall, where the air is heady with the lingering aroma of osmanthus flowers growing in the peace and quiet of a small hill. A footpath to the east of the verandah brings the southern and northern parts of the garden together like a side alleyway. To the west of the verandah is the Lute-Playing Chamber and the Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability, where a roofed walkway turns this way and that dreamily along a wall. As the saying goes, "Tighten the reins before you let go of yourself, and hold your breath before you sing resonantly." This is why the scenery north of the Verandah of Osmanthus-Clustered Hillock is surrounded with a yellow stone wall known as "Cloudy Ridge." If one runs over the slope through the roofed walkway, he comes to the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, where a rock prepared for anglers projects into the air and a zigzagging painted bridge are silhouetted in a mirror-like pond, where tangible and intangible scenery mesh with the drifting clouds high up and the rippling waves down low to turn such a tiny space into a seemingly boundless landscape.

> As spring water trickles through stone stairs, let me dig a pool to bring in the moon, so that lacquered columns can sway busily and pink lotus flowers open themselves upside down inside of the pool.

The beauty of this airy-fairy sight is captured exactly by this pavilion's name.

West of the Cloudy Ridge stands the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere, which overlooks a belt of water at its foot while beckoning on the Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings across the water. In front of the main

hall south of the verandah, a bunch of ancient trees make an ideal prototype for traditional Chinese painting, with coiled branches clinging to rugged trunks and vine-like root tresses curling over moss-clad stones. By the side of the verandah, a corridor makes a specific turn to connect with the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos. The "Ringtossing-at-Ducks Corridor" to the east turns out to be a half-pavilion, which echoes the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming west of the pond, and whose balustrade offers an ideal site for the fun of in-situ viewing. There, as one looks down at the pond, its water seems to be rippling infinitely and its waves huddle together at one moment and drift away at another to no one knows where—a make-belief illusion that is improbable without the ingenious disposition of the pond's inlets together with its bends and boulders jutting out of the water. A zigzagging bridge lies low enough to hug the water, and stepping stones are strewn about the pond in the tradition of Ming-dynasty bridge builders, a tradition that shows no intention to divide up the water surface while the pond looks like branching out into the distance. The stairs built into the embankment and the boulders projecting out of water give the impression as though those who step on them were floating on water, whereas all the pavilions, terraces, corridors and gazebos are made to face the pond so that each seems to have water at its own disposal. A garden need not be big, a pool of spring water need not be broad, but they cannot do without each other. As Du Fu (712-770) puts it,

> A famed garden invariably snuggles up to green water.

The meaning of this line, however, is not limited to a famous garden. From it we can also infer the law governing the treatment of water in landscape gardening, and get the key to the rock-piling success of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode. The rocks around the pond in the Master-of-Fishnet's

Garden are not as ingeniously arranged as those in the said mountain abode, but they are rich and varied enough in postures and affable and fascinating enough to appeal to visitors thanks to the fact that they are patterned after the White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill in the same city.

The Late-Spring Peony Lodge in the western part of the garden used to be a nursery where herbaceous peony was its last crop in spring, hence its name. In this small court of three bays with a small room attached to its western side, bamboos, rocks, plums and plantains are faintly rouged by the sunshine that penetrates the windows, behind which they conceal themselves to evoke a delicate painting. Of all the gardens in Suzhou, the courtyard that contains this lodge is the best conceived. Small as it is, it expands itself almost instantly by opening up to vistas all but in existence—nowhere else is the idea of "thoroughness" in penetration better applied. An artificial mountain in front of the lodge faces a winding roofed walkway to the west. In the southwest corner there is the Emerald Containing Spring, whose placid and refreshing water comes from the large pond in the center of the garden, which echoes the philosophy, "Invaluable is water that has an origin." A pavilion sits on the spring with its nameboard "Cool Spring" hanging in it, and a peak-shaped rock standing south of it offers the opposite view to the lodge. The clearance is paved with pebbles and broken bricks and tiles in smooth and tidy patterns. Within the courtyard, the same principle of arranging a large pond in the center of the garden is applied, which calls for setting water and land in mutual contrast. The difference is that in the center of the garden stones are set in contrast with a vast body of water, while in this court, a small body of water is set in contrast with the rocks. This arrangement, in variance with the garden's general idea of setting constructions against artificial mountains, is reminiscent of a singer's clever

use of a new tune to avoid parroting a hackneyed one.

The natural grace and refined elegance of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is comparable with what is described in literary parlance. As Yan Jidao (1038-1110) [10] of the Song says in his *Xiaoshan's Collection of Lyric Poems* ,

Tasteful is every delicate word,

And refined is every plain word.

The garden has just a few buildings and a limited number of rockeries, yet it can put wind and moon at its beck and call to impact the visitor's mood. Its sublimity would have been impossible without its creator's original craftsmanship. [11] It shows why garden-making should be called "garden-structuring," for it is not just about civil engineering or horticulture. The term "imagined realm," coined by Wang Guowei (1877-1927) [12] in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World* , is the primary goal for landscape gardening. It can be said that the Master-of-Fishnets Garden has by and large attained all that this term entails.

苏州网师园

苏州网师园，我誉为是苏州园林之小园极则，在全国的园林中，亦居上选，是“以少胜多”的典范。

网师园在苏州市阔街头巷，本宋时史氏万卷堂故址。清乾隆间宋鲁儒（宗元，又字悫庭）购其地治别业，以“网师”自号，并颜其园，盖托鱼隐之义，亦取名与原巷名“王思”相谐音。旋园颓圮，复归瞿远村，叠石种木，布置得宜，增建亭宇，易旧为新，更名“瞿园”。乾隆六十年（公元1795年）钱大昕为之作记，【从周案一】 今之规模，即为其旧。同治间属李鸿裔（眉生），更名“苏东邻”，其子少眉继有其园。【从周案二】 达桂（馨山）亦一度寄寓之。入民国，张作霖举以赠其师张锡銮（金坡）【从周案三】 。曾租赁与叶恭绰（遐庵）、张泽（善子）、爰（大千）兄弟，分居宅园。后何亚农购得之，小有修理。1958年秋由苏州园林管理处接管，住宅园林修葺一新。叶遐庵谱《满庭芳》词，所谓“西子换新装”也。

住宅南向，前有照壁及东西辕也。入门屋穿廊为轿厅，厅东有避弄可导之内厅。轿厅之后，大厅崇立，其前砖门楼，雕镂极精，厅面阔五间，三明两暗。西则为书塾，廊间刻园记。内厅（女厅）为楼，殿其后，亦五间，且带厢。厢前障以花样，植桂，小院宜秋。厅悬俞樾（曲园）书“撷秀楼”匾。登楼西望，天平、灵岩诸山黛痕一抹，隐现窗前。其后与五峰书屋、集虚斋相接。下楼至竹外一枝轩，则全园之景了然。

自轿厅西首入园，额曰“网师小筑”，有曲廊接四面厅，额“小山丛桂轩”，轩前界以花墙，山幽桂馥，香藏不散。轩东有便道直贯南北，其与避弄作用相同。蹈和馆琴室位轩西，小院回廊，迂徐曲折。欲扬先抑，未歌先敛，故小山丛桂轩之北以黄石山围之，称“云冈”。随廊越坡，有亭可留，名“月到风来”，明波若镜，渔矶高下，画桥迤逦，俱呈

现于一池之中，而高下虚实，云水变幻，骋怀游目，咫尺千里。“涓涓流水细侵阶，凿个池儿，唤个月儿来，画栋频摇动，红蕖尽倒开。”亭名正写此妙境。云冈以西，小阁临流，名“濯缨”，与看松读画轩隔水招呼。轩南之主厅，其前古木若虬，老根盘结于苔石间，洵画本也。轩旁修廊一曲与竹外一枝轩接连，东廊名射鸭，系一半亭，与池西之月到风来亭相映。凭阑得静观之趣，俯视池水，弥漫无尽，聚而支分，去来无踪，盖得力于溪口、湾头、石矶之巧于安排，以假象逗人。桥与步石环池而筑，犹沿明代布桥之惯例，其命意在不分割水面，增支流之深远。至于驳岸有级，出水留矶，增人“浮水”之感，而亭、台、廊、榭，无不面水，使全园处处有水“可依”。园不在大，泉不在广，杜诗所谓“名园依绿水”，不啻为是园咏也。以此可悟理水之法，并窥环秀山庄叠山之奥秘，思致相通。池周山石，虽未若环秀山庄之曲尽巧思，然平易近人，蕴藉多姿，其蓝本出自虎丘白莲池。

园之西部殿春簃，原为药阑。一春花事，以芍药为殿，故以“殿春”名之。小轩三间，拖一复室，竹、石、梅、蕉，隐于窗后，微阳淡抹，浅画成图。苏州诸园，此园构思最佳，盖园小“邻虚”，顿扩空间，“透”字之妙用，于此得之。轩前面东为假山，与其西曲廊相对。西南隅有水一泓，名“涵碧”，清澈醒人，与中部大池有脉可通，存“水贵有源”之意。泉上构亭，名“冷泉”。南略置峰石为殿春簃对景。余地以“花街”铺地，极平洁，与中部之利用水池，同一原则。以整片出之，成水陆对比，前者以石点水，后者以水点石。其与总体之利用建筑与山石之对比，相互变换者，如歌家之巧运新腔，不袭旧调。

网师园清新有韵味，以文学作品拟之，正北宋晏几道《小山词》之“淡语皆有味，浅语皆有致”，建筑无多，山石有限，其奴役风月，左右游人，若非造园家“匠心”独到，不克臻此【从周案四】。足证园林非“土木”、“绿化”之事，故称“构园”。王国维《人间词话》指出“境界”二字，园以有“境界”为上，网师园差堪似之。

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DARK BLUE WAVES PAVILION, SUZHOU

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The mere mention of Suzhou gardens invariably brings to mind estates locked behind tall walls with few outlets available to the outside world—a garden-making phenomenon apparently born of geo-historical conditions. Nevertheless, the garden craftsmen of ancient times still managed to create one distinctive garden after another in such small spaces by segmenting cityscape from mountains and woods with walls. Were these walls torn down, these gardens would be changed beyond recognition in no time and robbed of their value thoroughly. However, there is such a garden—and a familiar one at that—that does not belong among the secluded gardens in Suzhou. This is none other than the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion. The Fengxi Stream makes quite a few twists and turns around the South Garden before flowing past the Thatched Nunnery—where Suzhou's tallest lacebark pine tree is found—to become an eddying blue belt that forms the garden's northern boundary. The stretch from the Anglers' Platform to the Lotus Root Flower Gazebo, graced with ancient terraces, beautiful gazebos and a winding roofed walkway amid tall trees, is already beckoning on passers-by and giving free rein to imagination before they set foot in the garden.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a water-fronted garden, but its interior is dominated by artificial mountains separated categorically from water. As the saying goes:

Water keeps people at a distance

Rocks impart serenity to people.

Upon entering the garden through the level bridge over the Fengxi Stream, one sees forbidding mountains and awe-inspiring woods whose hushed quietude changes one's mood at the blink of an eye. The garden is encircled entirely with a roofed walkway divided in two lanes with a wall in the middle; what delights the visitors most are this wall's latticed windows, through which they can take in the views outside of the garden. Because of this wall, the garden's internal and external worlds seem to be at once separable and inseparable, and the knolls and ravines within and the river without look both attached and detached. This is exactly what the conception of the garden of the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is focused upon. Without the belt of water in front of the garden, all its rockeries and ravines would be mediocre and not worth seeing. It is this finishing touch added to the scene through the creator's ingenious hand that the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion stands a winning chance against other gardens in the same city. Indeed, the contrast between vistas within and without is exactly captured in the following line,

> Without putting down a single word,
> All charms under heaven are attained.

A garden cannot look venerated without bristling trees and rugged rocks, and the garden of the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a most pertinent case in point. Its halls and verandahs are free from gaudy ornamentation. Its stone-paved footpaths and diagonal walkway thread through bamboo groves and plantain foliage in a stately and immaculate fashion, without the least trace of vulgarity gilded or rouged. Its central structure, the Hall to Understand the Way, opens itself in four directions. To the north, an artificial mountain spreads out like a mammoth screen; rising above an arbour grove is the garden's namesake, the renowned Dark Blue Waves Pavilion *per se* , which

offers a panoramic view of the whole garden. As a roofed walkway meanders up and down the slope of the artificial mountain, it provides balustrades that people can lean upon to look afar or take a rest. A verandah to the hall's west forms a courtyard of its own with a number of windows, whose gateways come in versatile shapes, and the best latticed windows of all Suzhou gardens are found right here.

The Mountain-Watcher's Loft in the southwest corner sits upon a tortuous cave and overlooks the South Garden and country homes on a level field that has given way to new buildings today and brings the shimmering views of the Lankavatara Mountain and the Seven-Peak Mountain in the distance right before its balustrades. The stream running in the front and the scenery borrowed from the mountains in the distance become part and parcel of the garden's own landscape.

The garden abounds in tall trees. There are lots of bamboos as well, whose swaying slim trunks keep throwing droplets of verdure into the air to refresh people's hearts and boost their spirits. With orchid aroma infiltrating visitors' sleeves, and bamboos tossing their shadows onto whitewashed walls, this little garden offers captivating pictures worth all the scrutiny and rambling, and provides natural themes for painting or poetry. Celebrated writers and painters through the ages, ranging from Su Shunqin (1008-1048), Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) [1] and Mei Yaochen (1002-1060) [2] , to Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) [3] , not to mention so many celebrities of modern and contemporary times, have come up with voluminous works in eulogy of this very garden. None of them, however, describe its serenity and elegance better than its earliest owner Su Shunqin in this seven-character truncated quatrain, "Touring the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion Right after Rain":

Night to dawn it rains upon a vernal river,

Sly clouds makes it now overcast, now fine;

Faint behind curtains are sun, bamboo, flower,

Squab doves sing to each other now and then.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is the oldest extant garden in Suzhou. It began as the mansion of Qian Yuanliao (886-942), Prince of Guangling of the Wu-Yue Kingdom of the Five Dynasties (907-960). Another theory, however, attributes it to Sun Chengyou (*fl* . 10th century), a military commissioner and close relative of the royal family. Under the Qingli reign (1041-1048) of the Northern Song, the poet Su Shunqin bought the property, built a pavilion on it, and named it "Dark Blue Waves Pavilion." During the Xining reign (1068-1077) of the Northern Song, it was acquired by Grand Councillor Zhang Dun (1035-1105) [4] . After it was destroyed during the Jianyan reign (1127-1130) of the Southern Song, Han Shizhong (1089-1151) came into possession of it. During the Yuan-Ming period it had assumed different identities—the Wonderful Temple to Hide In, a Buddhist dormitory, and the Memorial Shrine of King of Qi [5] during the Jiajing reign of the Ming. Shi Wenying (*fl* . 16th century) restored the property from its ruins. During the Kangxi reign (1661-1722) of the Qing, the Memorial Shrine of Su Shunqin was built in 1684, and Song Luo (1634-1713), a governor of Jiangsu, had the pavilion rebuilt. When it was rebuilt once again in 1827, the seventh year of the Daoguang reign (1821-1851), the Shrine of Five Hundred Sages [6] was added west of today's Hall to Understand the Way. After being rebuilt again in 1873, or the twelfth year of the Tongzhi reign, the garden has remained to this day. A picture of a full view of the garden under Qing Emperor Guangxu's reign (1875-1908) engraved on a stone tablet in front of the garden provide valuable reference to its history. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion differs from its counterparts in that it has long been treated as a

public facility, where local officials and gentries throw banquets, and men of letters gather for literary functions—all of which is attributed to the garden's one-of-a-kind design and layout.

苏州沧浪亭

人们一提起苏州园林，总感到它被封闭在高墙之内，窈然深锁，开畅不足。当然这是受历史条件所限，产生了一定的局限性。但古代的匠师们，能在这个小天地中创造别具风格的宅园，间隔了城市与山林的空间；如将园墙拆去，则面貌顿异，一无足取了。苏州尚有一座沧浪亭，也是大家所熟悉的名园。这座园子的外貌，非属封闭式。因葑溪之水，自南园潆洄曲折，过“结草庵”（该庵今存白皮松，巨大为苏州之冠），涟漪一碧，与园周匝，从钓鱼台至藕花水榭一带，古台芳榭，高树长廊，未入园而隔水迎人，游者已为之神驰遐想了。

沧浪亭是个面水园林，可是园内则以山为主，山水截然分隔。“水令人远，石令人幽”，游者渡平桥入门，则山严林肃，瞿然岑寂，转眼之间，感觉为之一变。园周以复廊，廊间以花墙，两面可行。园外景色，自漏窗中投入，最逗游人。园内园外，似隔非隔，山崖水际，欲断还连。此沧浪亭构思之着眼处。若无一水萦带，则园中一丘一壑，平淡原无足观，不能与他园争胜。园外一笔，妙手得之.对比之运用，“不着一字，尽得风流”。

园林苍古，在于树老石拙，唯此园最为突出；而堂轩无藻饰，石径斜廊皆出于丛竹、蕉荫之间，高洁无一点金粉气。明道堂闿敞四合，是为主厅。其北峰峦若屏，耸然出乔木中者，即所谓沧浪亭。游者可凭陵全园，山旁曲廊随坡，可凭可憩。其西轩窗三五，自成院落，地穴门洞，造型多样；而漏窗一端，品类为苏州诸园冠。

看山楼居园之西南隅，筑于洞曲之上，近俯南园，平畴村舍（今已皆易建筑），远眺楞伽七子诸峰，隐现槛前。园前环水，园外借山，此园皆得之。

园多乔木修竹，万竿摇空，滴翠匀碧，沁人心脾。小院兰香，时盈

客袖，粉墙竹影，天然画本，宜静观，宜雅游，宜作画，宜题诗。从宋代苏子美、欧阳修、梅圣俞，直到近代名画家吴昌硕，名篇成帙，美不胜收，尤以沧浪亭最早主人苏子美的绝句：“夜雨连明春水生，娇云浓暖弄阴晴；帘虚日薄花竹静，时有乳鸠相对鸣。”最能写出此中静趣。

沧浪亭是现存苏州最古的园林，五代钱氏时为广陵王元璙池馆，或云其近戚吴军节度使孙承佑所作。宋庆历间苏舜钦（子美）买地作亭，名曰“沧浪”，后为章申公家所有。建炎间毁，复归韩世忠。自元迄明为僧居。明嘉靖间筑妙隐庵、韩蕲王祠。释文瑛复子美之业于荒残不治之余。清康熙间增建苏公祠，道光间建五百名贤祠（今明道堂西），又构亭。道光七年（公元1827年）重修，同治十二年（公元1873年）再重建，遂成今状。门首刻有图，为最有价值的图文史料。园在性质上与他园有别，即长时期以来，略似公共性园林，“官绅”谦宴，文人“雅集”，胥皆于此，宜乎其设计处理，别具一格。

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RETREAT AND REFLECTION GARDEN, TONGLI

January 1991

When the vast land of Jiangnan was draped in the feeble sunshine of an early-winter day, I paid a second visit to the Retreat and Reflection Garden in Tongli, a small town in the water-bound county of Wujiang. Past events faded and vanished like mist, but when this garden's scenery met my eyes, memories of the people associated with it kept flashing into mind. It is a long story, but I have got to make it short in this brief note.

Since I labelled the Retreat and Reflection Garden a "water-hugging" one, local authorities have taken the cue and gone out of their way agreeably to repair and renovate it. As I paused at its pond, I remembered coming across this garden's name some forty years ago. At the time I was teaching in St. John's University in Shanghai, and my colleague Ren Chuanxin (1887-1962) [1] happened to be the garden's owner. The venerable Ren was thirty years my senior, but we became bosom friends despite the age gap. A scholar and a celebrity, German educated, and, like his friend Wu Mei (1884-1939) [2] , a polymath in Chinese theater, Ren could compose music and sing Kunqu Opera. He was also a pioneering educator in modern China and the founder of the Lize Girls' School east of the garden.

The Retreat and Reflection Garden is connected with dwellings. In front of it is a yard in which a thousand chrysanthemums are as luxuriant as the Chinese rose planted in the Ethereal Outline Garden by Zeng Pu (1872-1935) [3] in the nearby county of Changshu. I gather someday these chrysanthemums

will become a seasonal attraction at the Retreat and Reflection Garden.

Tongli is the hometown of Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642), an immortal name in Chinese garden-making history. His three-volume *The Craft of Gardens* is a classic that has impacted China and spread to Japan and the West. As the next year will be the 410th anniversary of his birth, I would like to propose that under the auspices of the government of Wujiang county, a memorial meeting be held at Tongli and a pavilion dedicated to him so that garden-makers and tourists from around the world can come to honour his memory.

Wujiang county is a cultural center. The tea houses and wine shops in town have hosted so many famous scholars and theatrical experts who come to appreciate paintings, recite poems, take in a story-telling performance or two, or gather to learn how to sing Kunqu operas correctly. Among those who are my acquaintances are Jin Songcen (1873-1947) [4] , Ling Jingyan (1904-1959) [5] , Jin Lichu (1911-1994), Cai Zhengren (1941-), Ji Zhenhua (1943-), and Xu

Xiaomu (1916-1998) [6] , whose lives approximately encompassed a hundred years. Inspired by the cultural tradition of this water-bound town famous for its garden and Kunqu Opera repertoire, I call Wujiang "Glorious Cultural Edifice of Jiangnan and Waterbound County with a Celebrated Garden." Now that Wujiang's another name is "Songling," I also add "Opera Singers' Songling" to the appellation.

Ren Chuanxin was the last owner of the Retreat and Reflection Garden. As he lived in Shanghai in his evening years, the garden gradually fell into decay, and became dilapidated in early post-1949 years. Out of concern for this esteemed colleague of mine, I put in a word for the garden with the local government, and as a result it has been resurrected at last. Isn't it karma, to cite a Buddhist term, that is at work?

The town of Tongli is named after her abundance of water. Without water there would be no Tongli today. In the past there was a clear stream flowing by the Retreat and Reflection Garden, but it has long been filled in. How I wish it were restored! In terms of seniority, this garden is a latecomer among others, but probably because of this it has a much better layout. It features a main road, a screen wall, a portal gateway, servants' rooms, a sedan-chair hall and a main lobby. The master's suite is located in the east, which is a horse-accommodative loft [7] connected left and right by a storied walkway, with a spacious patio in the center. Guestrooms and a studio are situated further east. Tranquillity is enhanced with rockery and trees in between the buildings. The easternmost part of the property is found in the garden, while the aforementioned girls' school sprawls in the distance. The whole estate extends west and east in a series of self-contained sections. There are other gates opened onto the garden. The well-preserved buildings and the picturesque garden supplement each other in delightful and comfortable ways. The only pity is that the external view borrowed by the garden is marred by a water tank, an embarrassing eyesore that makes me wonder when it shall be removed.

Everybody is talking about economic growth nowadays. At the town of Tongli, it is water that has revived its famous garden. It is water, too, that brings wealth to town. With its water-bound land and garden over and above its Kunqu Opera's water-mill tune, Tongli is China's veritable answer to Italy's Venice. If the stream that used to run across town is restored, Tongli will rise to become the Jiangnan area's another tourist center that entices visitors with its abundant water.

With the tune over, I have passed Songling Road,

Looking back, fourteen bridges in mist I descried.

Through these two beautiful lines, the poetic sentiment and picturesque charm imbued in the views of Tongli are brought to vivid life.

同里退思园

初冬的微阳，浅照在江南的原野，我又重游了水乡吴江同里的退思园。往事如烟，触景怀人，说来也话长了。

退思园自从我誉为贴水园后，地方上能欣然会意，花了很大的力量，修理得体。我小立池边，想起我初知退思园之名，还是四十多年前的事了。我当时在圣约翰大学教书，同事任味知（传薪）先生就是该园的主人。任老长我三十岁，与我为忘年交，学者兼名士，他能度曲，是曲学泰斗吴瞿安（梅）的好友。留学过德国，又在园东创办了一所女子中学，开风气之先。园与宅相连，前有菊圃，植菊千本，与常熟曾孟朴先生的虚廓园中栽月季一样豪华，我相信将来退思园的艺菊也可能添一时景吧。

历史上，同里有位计成，在中国造园史上享有不朽的盛名。计成生于明万历十年（公元1582年），他著有《园冶》一书，是造园学的经典著作，不但影响我国，而且传播到日本及现在的西方。明年是他诞生四百十岁周年，我建议我们造园界在吴江县政府的倡导下，在同里开个纪念会，并在那里造一个“计亭”，让世界的园林界与旅游者前来凭吊。

吴江这地方，真是个文化之地，过去茶坊酒肆中品画闲吟，听书拍曲，仅以我认识的学者名流曲家来谈，除任老外，还有金松岑、凌敬言、金立初、蔡正仁、计镇华、徐孝穆诸先生，人物前后跨越约一百年。这个以园名曲名的江南水乡，触发了我的情思，因此叫出了“江南华厦，水乡名园”两句话，还加了一句“度曲松陵”（吴江又称松陵）。

任味知先生是退思园的最后主人了，晚年住上海，园渐衰落，一直到解放后已是残毁不堪了。因为任老的关系，我关心了一下，终于救了出来，这也是佛家所谓“缘”吧？

同里以水名，无水无同里，过去退思园边就有清流，现在填掉了。

我多么希望能恢复原状。退思园论时代是较晚近一些，布局进步了，正路照壁门屋下房轿厅大厅，东边上房是主人居住之处，一个大走马楼，左右楼廊联之，天井大，很是开朗；再东为客房、书房，在楼屋中，点缀山石乔木，极清静；再东为花园，园外远处为女校，其平面发展自西向东，各自成区，园又有别门可出入。华厦完整，园林如画，相配得很是可人、宜人，可惜园外有一座水塔，借景变成增丑，不知何日可以迁走呢？

目前大家在谈经济开发，同里以园带水，以水带财，水乡、水园、水磨腔（昆曲名水磨腔）——中国的威尼斯。如能恢复已填的市河，可形成以水游为主的水乡风味特色的江南景点。“曲终过尽松陵路，回首烟波十四桥。”太富有诗情画意了。

1991年1月

YANGZHOU GARDENS AND DWELLINGS

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An old city with a hallowed tradition, Yangzhou of Jiangsu province was the richest place in its early years thanks to a succession of economic booms taking place on its land. The abundant economic and material resources thus accrued furnished favorable conditions for development in culture and art, and as a result, the city's gardens and dwellings acquired an inimitable style through a unique course of development.

The history of Yangzhou can be traced back to 486 BC, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of the King of Jing of Eastern Zhou (770-221 BC), when Fu Chai (?-473 BC), the last king of the state of Wu of the Spring and Autumn period (770-467 BC), built the city of Hancheng in what is present-day Yangzhou, and dug a rice-shipping canal that ran northeast to Lake Sheyang and northwest to the Huai River at Mokou. Hence the name of the canal, "Han Ditch." As Yangzhou occupied an area of strategic importance between the Yangtze and the Huai, it became a major political and military centre in southeast China toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period. Economically speaking, local fishery, salt-making, handicrafts and agriculture went a long way as Yangzhou gradually grew into a national distribution hub for grain, salt and iron. After the Sui-Tang period, it evolved into a trade and cultural centre for exchanges with the outside world. All this set the stage for the prosperity of Yangzhou.

By the Sui-Tang period Yangzhou had become a rich city of utmost

importance to the nation. The reunification of south and north China after Yang Jian (541-604), or Emperor Wen (in reign 581-604) founded the Sui (581-618), offered good opportunities to tap the wealth of the Yangtze-Huai basin, and Yangzhou, centrally located in this area, was quick to hit the riches. When the second monarch of the Sui, Yang Guang (569-618) or Emperor Yang (in reign 569-618), came to town, he went on a binge of dissipation and debauchery while building imperial palaces and resorts in a big way. Yangzhou's prosperity peaked as a result, even though her wealth failed to grow substantially for one reason or another. The Grand Canal dug under Emperor Yang's reign turned the city into a pivotal link on this waterway that spanned south and north China and provided favorable conditions for economic development.

Advances achieved in architectural technology through exchanges between builders dispatched from north China by the imperial court and those from the Jiangnan area boosted the building industry in a big way in Yangzhou. Just as the Tang-dynasty poet Du Mu (803-852) [1] writes in his poem "To the Chan Wisdom Temple of Yangzhou,"

> Who knows when all's quiet on West Bamboo Road,
> Yangzhou comes alive with notes of flute and ballad.

This line gives a glimpse at the glamour and prosperity of Yangzhou.

As early as the Southern and Northern dynasties, Xu Zhanzhi (410-453) [2] of the Song (420-479) built the Wind-Bathing Pavilion, Moon-Watching Platform, Flute-Playing Terrace, and Lute-Playing Chamber at the foot of the Mountain-Level Hall. By the Zhenguan reign (627-649) of the Tang, Pei Chen's Cherry Garden was completed, offering fabulous sights with "multiple layers of lofts and pavilions with a refreshing and graceful flower culture," but it was outshined by the Hao's Garden before long. These gardens, alas,

failed to survive war and turmoil during the last years of the Tang. New gardens emerged during the Song, including those attached to the prefect's *yamen* , the Aromatic Beauty Garden, Spring-in-Kettle Garden and Garden of Ten Thousand Flowers, whose views were based on waters and trees. When the Jurchen troops invaded south China, [3] Yangzhou sustained considerable destruction. As Jiang Kui (1154-1221) [4] says in his "Lyrical Poem to Yangzhou in Slow Tempo,"

> After barbarian cavalrymen coveting the land in the south abandoned Yangzhou and crossed the Yangtze, the city wall and moat were reduced to shambles along with all the tall trees, and the local people abhorred the war more than anything else. When dusk fell, the dreary sound of bugles rose, reverberating around the deserted city.

The Grand Canal was silted up and no longer navigable during the Southern Song-Jin period (1127-1234), and waterway transportation gave way to offshore marine shipping by the early Yuan. The economy of Yangzhou went downhill as a result, which is why in Yuan history books only two or three gardens are recorded, including the Flat Wilderness Verandah and Cui Boheng's Garden. It was not until the early Ming that the Grand Canal was dredged and restored to become the major waterway between north and south China, and Yangzhou re-established itself as the salt distribution center for areas on both sides of the Huai. During the mid-Ming, Yangzhou came back into its own thanks to the emergence of capitalist economy in embryo, with the salt industry growing apace along with commerce and handicraft. The boom of Yangzhou reached its pinnacle during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While the feudal ruling class indulged in extravagance and dissipation, the industrious and intelligent labouring people of Yangzhou created a unique school in garden-making and left a rich cultural heritage to

posterity.

From the mid-Ming onward, merchants from Anhui flocked to Yangzhou alongside those from Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, and Guangdong provinces. They joined local people in running businesses, but the whopping profit they had made was not invested in reproduction. Instead, the lion's share of it was used partly to pay for a luxury lifestyle and partly for large-scale construction of gardens and mansions. Architects and constructors from Huizhou arrived on the heels of Anhui merchants, and blended their technical know-how into the Yangzhou style of architecture and garden-making. Local construction of buildings and gardens was augmented by artisans from nearby Xiangshan of Suzhou with construction materials brought in from various parts of the country through the area's convenient waterway shipping network. This gave rise to a host of landmark gardens, including the Plum Flower Ridge built by Prefect Wu Xiu during the Wanli reign (1573-1619) of the Ming, in which pavilions and terraces were built around rockeries.

The gardens owned by the four brothers surnamed Zheng [5] during the Ming-Qing transition—Yuansi's Five-"Mu" Garden, Yuanxun's Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, Yuanhua's Propitious Trees Garden, and Xiaru's Leisure Garden—were extolled for their big sizes and distinct craftsmanship. The Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, for one, was created by the renowned garden crafter Ji Cheng from Wujiang with the support of its owner, Zheng Yuanxun, who knew a smattering of the craft of gardens under the influence of local garden-makers. The literati-officials in those years vested their sentiments in mountains and rivers, and the artisans they employed stacked up rocks and dug ponds to conjure up limitless spectacles in limited spaces on the level ground of Yangzhou. Every fabulous garden thus made looked as if they were wrought through the divine hand of

Mother Nature. Although these gardens were badly destroyed after Yangzhou was sacked by Manchu conquerors in 1645 and after, and only a fragmental impression of their architectural achievements can be gained from the few *Phoebe nanmu* halls that had survived the conquest, their legacies still furnished technical groundwork for large-scale construction of landscape gardens during the Qianlong reign (1736-1796) of the Qing.

In the early years of the Qing, local aristocrats came up with what was known as "Eight Famous Yangzhou Gardens": the Garden of Librarian Wang (in the Editorial Service of the Heir Apparent), the Bian's Garden, the Yuan's Garden, the He's Garden, the Spring Outing Garden, the Couth Garden, the Garden of Censor Zheng, and the Slim Bamboo Garden. During the Qianlong reign, the rulers went on a construction binge in which large numbers of pavilions, terraces, lofts and gardens were built in Yangzhou to satisfy the emperor's indulgence in comfort and pleasure on his repeated inspection tours of the south. [6] To curry favor with the imperial family, local gentries and merchants joined in the garden-making rush and built a lot of gardens. As a result, the area from the Slender West Lake to the Mountain-Level Hall [7] was clustered with the world-famous "Twenty-Four Sights" where

> On both dykes flowers and willow cling to water surface;
> Stretching all the way to hills are many a hall and terrace.

This scenery prompts Li Dou (1749-1817) to quote Liu Daguan (1753-1834) [8] as saying in his *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Six),

> Hangzhou puts its name on the map with its lakes and mountains, and Suzhou does so with its markets and shops, whereas Yangzhou excels with its gardens. The three cities face each other like the legs of a tripod—there is no telling which city is the best.

This statement, indeed, hits the nail on the head. Availing themselves of the Qing emperors' repeated inspection tours of the south, the rich and powerful in Yangzhou lined their pockets with the wealth the populace had created with blood and sweat under the pretence of collecting "tributes" to the emperors. Local merchants stepped up ripping off their customers by hiking salt prices and drawing commissions from the so-called "wear and tear" cost. The emperors profited from manipulating the interest rate on loans granted to these merchants and from deducting commissions from salt sales in the name of the state treasury. As salt prices skyrocketed, local people found it increasingly hard to afford table salt as a daily necessity. Feudal bureaucratic merchants wilfully squandered the money they had embezzled and scrambled to build large gardens and sumptuous mansions for themselves. The ulterior motives and high-handed actions, with which the feudal rulers and local tyrants, evil gentry and rich merchants dealt with the gardens created by the labouring people, were natural reasons why these gardens could not be made to last. Xie Rongsheng (?-1790) [9] says of the upsurge in garden construction during this period in his preface to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* ,

To build ranges, more rockeries are added,
So each family is in an emerald city dwelled;
To build canals, stagnant water is dredged,
All lofts and belvederes are in fog enveloped.

Garden-making became the order of the day wherever construction went apace. Apart from the gardens on the Slender West Lake, the other parts of Yangzhou were also studded with famous gardens. These included the Imperial Garden in the emperor's temporary palace near the Heavenly Peace Temple, the eastern and western gardens of the Dharma Purity Temple, the

Literati's Embosoming Studio of the Salt Distribution Commission, the Kerria Garden of the Hunan Fellow Provincials' Guild, as well as the Nine Peaks Garden, the Qiao's East Garden, the Qin's Imagined Garden and the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode, not to mention so many ancestral shrines, academies, assembly halls, restaurants, brothels, and bathhouses. In these gardens, rockeries were built, water was channelled in, and flowers and bamboos were planted. Spotty ornamentation of this kind in courtyards seemed to have become an indispensible part of garden construction. As the Qing empire began to go downhill after the Qianlong reign, feudalism was falling apart after ruling the nation for two thousand years, and the succeeding emperors dared not go on inspection tours down south any more. Large-scale confrontations were fermenting as class and ethnic conflicts sharpened, Western powers increased their pressure on the empire, and the feudal society was shaken to the core. By Emperor Jiaqing's reign (1796-1821), monopoly salt sales in Yangzhou had been dwindling with each passing day. The signing of the Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 in the aftermath of the Opium War (1840-1842) and the Treaty of the Bogue on July 3, 1843 that forced China to open Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Guangzhou as new trade ports, plus the completion of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway in 1908 and the booming marine shipping—all these factors added up to strip Yangzhou of its importance to national economy and transportation.

In his "Postscript to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* " in 1834, or the fourteenth year of the Daoguang reign, and in his "Second Postscript" to the same book five years later, the writer and thinker Ruan Yuan (1764-1849) [10] concludes after recounting every sign he sees of an empire on its last legs,

No guest can bear a loft or terrace deserted;

No wilting or fallen tree can stand faggoting.

These words, written nineteen years before Yangzhou was sacked in the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising in 1853, give the lie to the many records that unanimously blame the uprising army as the culprit for the destruction of the gardens around the Slender West Lake. After the emperors Xianfeng (in reign 1851-1862) and Tongzhi (in reign 1862-1874), Yangzhou enjoyed a short spurt of prosperity "staged" by local aristocrats and rich merchants who rose to power by quelling the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising in an attempt to prop up the delaying Qing empire, and then the city collapsed and local gardens were caught in the throes of massive devastation. By the Republican years (1912-1949), the national economy had been on the ropes after going through the rules of warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and Japanese occupation and their puppet regime, and even more gardens and mansions in Yangzhou were reduced to shambles. Local salt merchants, having lost their profiteering opportunities with the abolition of monopoly salt coupons and eaten up their resources, were forced to tear down their homes and artificial mountains and sell the building materials and rocks thus acquired. Gardens and big mansions in the city fell into desolation. [11]

Sandwiched between south and north China, Yangzhou has fostered an original style in architecture, so much so that no study of traditional Chinese architecture would be complete without it. The architecture of Yangzhou is something of a compromise between the royal buildings in the north and what is native to the Jiangnan area, a compromise that had a lot to do with the south China inspection tours of the Qing emperors, the intermingling of merchants from across the country, and the convenient local road and waterway transportation, but the key lies in technical exchanges between

artisans from various quarters. Qian Yong says in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve),

> It is certain that Yangzhou leads the country in the craft of house construction. There, like compositions written in different styles, no two buildings look alike. Even a building with a few rooms must have high and wide doors and windows, and the interiors must be sensibly convoluted.… Every hall or main room should be tidy and exude an aura that rivals a ranking official's mansion. The study and the backroom should be kept apart the way the pavilions in a garden are spaced, but neither one can do without the other. Only thus can a building be deemed a masterpiece.

Interior decoration in Yangzhou's buildings is no less ornate. According to the same book quoted above,

> The Zhou's Principles [for interior decoration] are peculiarly Yangzhou's own. They were laid down by a man surnamed Zhou toward the end of the Ming. Hence the term.

The Zhou's Principles were also followed in the interior décor of major buildings in the Garden of Perfect Splendor in Beijing. [12] Among the famous specialists in palace interior decoration were Gu Licheng and Cheng Lie, while Yao Weichi, Shi Songqiao, Wen Qi, Xu Lü'an, Huang Sheng, and Huang Lüxian's brothers Lühao and Lü'ang were also well accomplished in architecture and furnishing. According to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two),

> Yangzhou makes a name for herself with famed gardens; her gardens put their names on the map with stacked rockwork.

There was no lack of well-known artificial mountain builders active in Yangzhou as well. During the Ming-Qing period there were Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), who built the artificial mountain for the Mountain-Water-Willow

Shadows' Garden; Shitao (1642-*c* . 1707) [13] , who crafted the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks and the Small-Rock Mountain Abode; Zhang Lian (1587-1673), who constructed the mountain for the White Sand, Emerald Bamboos and Riverside Village; Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795), who built the Xuan Stone Mountain at the Hall of Mental Serenity; Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795) [14] who piled up the Nine-Lion Mountain; Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), who built the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully; as well as Wang Tianyu [15] and Zhang Guotai. Among the latecomers was Yu Jizhi (1903-1961) [16] , who built artificial mountains for the Emerald Garden, the Mind Cheering Hut, the Gourd Hut, Li Weiru's Garden [17] and the Spring Outing Garden. Some of them were natives, and some came from other parts of the country. These rockery virtuosos often huddled together to compare notes for the ways and means to improve the craft of artificial mountains. With wisdom and diligence they have bequeathed a wealth of artistic mountains on posterity.

Apart from general histories and prefecture or county gazetteers, records on Yangzhou gardens and buildings are also found in such books as *Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours* , *Scenic Sites of the Jiangnan Area* , *Illustrated Interpretations of Temporary Royal Palaces* , and *An Illustrated Manual on Scenic Gardens and Pavilions* , Cheng Mengxing's *Records of the Celebrated Gardens of Yangzhou* and *A Compact Record of the Mountain-Level Hall* , Wang Yinggeng's *Records of the Mountain-Level Hall* , Zhao Zhibi's *An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall* , and Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou,* all of which were written during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. This list is followed by such later works as Ruan Heng's *An Illustrated Record of Scenic Spots in Guangling* , and Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* , and Luo Zaitian's *A Painting of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou* during the Daoguang reign.

More recent works include Wang Zhenshi's *Records of Scenic Fascinations of Yangzhou* and Dong Yushu's *Nostalgic Memories of a City Deserted* . Of all these works, *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* offers the most elaborate and truthful records, whose seventeenth volume, "Construction Specifications," draws on the *Construction Regulations of the Ministry of Works of the Great Qing* and the *Engineering Specifications of the Garden of Perfect Splendor* , and many of its accounts on construction work are backed up with extensive collations and allusions, something books produced prior to it failed to do.

Yangzhou sits opposite Zhenjiang from the northern bank of the Yangtze, with the Shugang Hillock to the north, the Dirt-Sweeping Mountain (known originally as Dogs-in-Heat Mountain) to the west, and the Grand Canal to the east. Its terrain is rather flat, with its northwest slightly higher than its southeast. Its soil falls in two categories: calcium-rich clay in the hilly area in the northwest, and sandy soil in the alluvial plain in the southeast, with a considerable part of its land lying under a layer of rubble. As to the climate, the city is in a north temperate belt in gradual transition to a subtropical zone, with temperatures averaging 30 degrees Celsius in summer and 1-2 degrees Celsius in winter. The wind from the sea in close proximity keeps the city cool in summer and a little cold in winter. Soil frozen depth stands at 10-15 centimeters, and annual precipitation above 1000 millimeters. As Yangzhou is situated in a seasonal monsoon region, its wind is mostly easterly in summer and northeasterly in winter, but the northeasterly is the dominant wind, and it is affected to a certain degree by typhoons.

With flat terrain, mild climate, ample rainfalls and fine soil quality, Yangzhou's natural environment is friendly to labour, production and everyday life. Its central location in a transportation network, well-developed

commerce, and long years of prosperity combine to boost the local building industry. However, given its natural conditions, Yangzhou lacks such building materials as timber and stone and relies heavily on imports. Imported precious building materials are found in the former residences and gardens of aristocrats and rich merchants, including *Phoebe nanmu* , red sandalwood, mahogany, rosewood, gingko, marble, and exotic stones shipped in from Gaozi and Lake Tai in Jiangsu province, and from Lingbi and Xuancheng counties in Anhui province.

Yangzhou's gardens and former mansions were concentrated in city proper, whereas its largest buildings were mostly in the New City. In the past, the residents of the Old City were literati-officials and ordinary citizens, whereas those living in the New City were mostly salt merchants. Prior to the mid-Qing, most salt merchants lived in gardens in the area around Eastern Pass Street, including the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode, the Garden of Longevity Fungus or the predecessor of the Geyuan's Garden, the Belvedere of Hundred-Feet Phoenix Tree, the Garden Scraped Together and the Garden of Matchless Talent built at a later time. Adjacent to them were later buildings such as the Wang's Small Garden on Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane and the Cangzhou Estate on Easterly Violet Rays Lane. And the cluster spread on, until it reached Garden Lane and Down the South River Street, such as the Sound-of-Autumn Mansion, the Loft for Reading with the Moon, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Kerria Garden, the Small Meandering Valley, and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode [18] . These gardens and mansions were surrounded with tall walls, and looked similar to those in the other cities of the Jiangnan area. The buildings in the Old City, whose simplicity is typical of the architecture style of northern Jiangsu, were mostly small and low, but its lanes and alleys were aligned in good order, a fact that

is inseparable from the economic conditions of the local dwellers. Better residential quarters in the city are always found where road and waterway conditions are convenient or close to the Salt Shipping Administration and the shopping center.

In urban Yangzhou, thirty classical gardens of varying sizes remain relatively intact today, as exemplified by the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Geyuan's Garden, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, the Garden of Matchless Talent, the My Half-"Mu" Garden, the Mind Cheering Hut and Li Weiru's Garden. These gardens are outnumbered by well-preserved mansions in different architectural styles, including those once in the possession of Lu Shaoxu (1843-1905) [19] , Wang Boping (*fl* . 19th century), Zhao Haishan (*fl* . 19th century) and Wei Cigeng (*fl* . 19th century) [20] .

In most cases, Yangzhou mansions are so judiciously put together with gardens that they look at once detached and attached, yet neither one can stand on its own without the other.

·Gardens

The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found in the former mansion of He Weijian (1835-1908) [21] . Known also as "Twin Pagoda Trees Garden," it was Wu Jialong's villa before Wu Huimo [22] took over. The artificial mountain that remains of it was said to be wrought by Shitao, and, therefore, is celebrated as the only extant rockwork he bequeathed on humanity. The mountain faces south, and, judging from its plane, it is a wall-leaning rock formation with its width exceeding its height. Judging from its dynamic appearance, its main peak should have stood at its western end, its steep and verdant form rising

up in the wind, nodding its fantastic head at the visitor while looking down upon a pond at its foot. As the visitor mounts the stone stairway by way of a bridge fashioned out of a single stone slab, he sees a wintersweet with well-spaced boughs and lush leaves while a narrow path threads its way up the cliff and terminates at the top.

Below the mountain there are two square rooms built of bricks, which is why the entire rockwork is called "Small-Rock Mountain Abode." As the mountain winds its way eastward, it leads to a deep and quiet cave, with all the component rocks integrated into a whole as if by heaven's divine hand. Unfortunately, the part of the mountain west of the cave has crumbled; gone, too, are the buildings atop it, making it impossible to see the original rock formation in its entirety. Judging from its layout, it follows by and large the Ming-dynasty tradition of artificial mountains. Its main peak and stone cave are accentuated so that what is primary is visibly told apart from what is secondary. Small though the space is, the layout appears natural, with density and spacing sensitively handled, and the rugged shapes of the component rocks give apt expression to the name of the work, "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

The Yangzhou style of rockwork is marked for its clever use of small rocks. As Shitao had built an artificial mountain in the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks, I surmise he must have done it by piecing and imbedding that many small stones with masterful expertise. Before he set about building the mountain in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, he must have carefully picked the stones he wanted, with due attention to size as well as their horizontal and vertical veins and wrinkles. Only then did he put his raw materials together to come up with a lifelike mountain by applying the theory he had summarized in his book, *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting* ,

> Only when texturing brushwork tallies with a peak being portrayed in a painting can the veins and wrinkles look like born of the peak.

Only in this way can one create a work in which, according to Shitao's colophon on "A Small Landscape Painting by Monk Balsam Pear,"

> A single peak overlooks a sweeping stretch of ridges replete with ruptured chasms, with the vista shifting at every wink of the eye and appearing at once connected and disconnected.

For this reason, this rock formation with lofty peak and deep cave shows no trace of axing and chiselling. Instead, it is characterized by consistent texturing, compact layout and design, and methodical contrast between intangibles and tangibles. As *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty) puts it,

> At Garden Lane in the New City of Yangzhou there is the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. At the back of its two halls water converges in a square pool on which a mountain built of Lake Tai stones stand fifty to sixty feet tall and looks very imposing and steep. Legend has it that it was Monk Shitao's work. The property is the former residence of a man surnamed Wu, which later came into the possession of a female matchmaker, who converted it into a noodle eatery that doubled as an opera house. For this purpose she remodelled the large sitting room and converted it into a theater at the Qianmen neighborhood of the capital city, but it looks unbearably vulgar.

The address mentioned in this quotation tallies with what is recorded in local gazetteers, but today, only a three-framed *Phoebe nanmu* hall remains of the aforementioned double halls. It should have been built during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. A "through house" with corridors on its four sides, large and tall enough for horses to trot through, still stands by the artificial mountain. The pool has long been levelled, but by tracing its Lake Tai stone-

lined embankment, we can figure out what the water surface looked like in old days.

The Lake Tai stones selected to pile up the artificial mountain accord with what is described in historical accounts, and so does the height of the mountain peak that rises over the surrounding wall, even though its peak has collapsed. As to the cleverness with which the mountain was built, with a singular peak leaning against the clouds while casting its reflections down low in the transparent pond at its foot, it really deserves its reputation of being "fantastically steep," but most distinctive of all are its stone wall, stone stairway, and stone cave. Shitao's rockery construction expertise has a tremendous influence on posterity, and Ge Yuliang, a rockery master active during the reigns of Jiaqing and Daoguang after Qianlong, was counted among the finest successors to Shitao's craft. *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve) has this to say:

> ….If rocks large and small are hooked and connected in the same way as a chain bridge is built, [the rockery] can last for a thousand years. Only when the rockery is as sturdy and looks as natural as a real mountain or cave can the craftsman be deemed capable.

The artificial mountains in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou, the Homecoming Swallow Garden of Changshu, and the Lesser Winding Gully in the Qin's Imagined Garden of Yangzhou were among the masterpieces of Ge Yuliang. The stone-hooked rock formations remain intact in the first two gardens.

Built by Huang Yingtai (1770-1838) [23] , chief administrator of salt commerce of Huainan and Huaibei during the Jiaqing and Daoguang reigns, the Geyuan's Garden with ten thousand bamboos planted in it at Eastern Pass Street derives its name from the owner's style name. According to Liu

Fenggao's (1760-1830) "Notes on the Geyuan's Garden," the garden is built on the former site of the Garden of Longevity Fungus, whose original rockwork is said to have been built by Shitao, but there is no evidence to back it up. It is attributed to Shitao probably because the artificial mountain built of yellow stones in the garden resembles Mount Huangshan in Anhui, whose scenery Shitao was fond of portraying in his paintings. The original Geyuan's Garden was a bit larger than it is now. After the estate was renovated, only the central and eastern columns of residences on the premises are in existence, and both the front gate and the portico were destroyed. Only the brick carvings on the screen wall have kept its original exquisite looks. Each column of the residence consists of three rows of houses in interconnected courtyards. The two piedroits in the outer room of the hall on the central column were torn down so that the hall can double as an opera chamber. The hall in every row features a wing room and a tiny yard that contains parterres in different shapes to enhance the serenity of bamboos' shades and the aroma of flowers. The garden sits behind the residence, and entrance to it is by a fire lane beside the dwellings. The thick foliage of an old wisteria in it tosses rich shadows onto the ground, which the visitor finds mind-soothing and eye-pleasing upon stepping into the garden.

Take a left turn down the road, and one reaches a roofed two-storied walkway, with a parterre on either side planted with slender bamboos interspaced by stalagmites of different heights known in Chinese as "stone bamboo shoots," so that real bamboo couple with sham bamboo shoots to symbolize mountain wood in vernal sunshine. A moon gate opens into the wall behind the bamboos with the name "Geyuan's Garden" inscribed above it. Behind the gate stands the Osmanthus Hall, with osmanthus trees straggling in front of it and a pond behind it. In the north a seven-room loft,

rising along a wall which connects artificial mountains with the walkway, is reposed in the peace and quiet of trees and flowers. The loft's top floor commands a panoramic view of the garden. To the west of the pond there used to be two painted land boats nicknamed "A Couple of Loving Birds," and standing opposite them is a hexagonal pavilion whose form is reflected in clear water to evoke a picture-perfect scene.

An artificial mountain built of Lake Tai stones sits to the west of the loft. Known as "Autumn Cloud," it is nestled in the shades of shapely trees, including a pine tree whose thick leaves take the form of an overhead canopy. At the mountain's foot, a stream empties itself into a cave down low. On the other end of a zigzagging bridge stands an unfathomably spacious and intricately dynamic cave built of Lake Tai stones of unpredictable shapes and featuring an outstretching ceiling; the greyish green color of the stones, coupled with the water flowing into its depth, makes the cave feel a lot cooler in summer. It is said that in the former days there were twelve caves on the spot.

The artificial mountain faces the sun squarely, and its component Lake Tai stones are studded with varied surfaces. The unpredictable shadows cast by sun, wind and rain onto these surfaces make the mountain look exceptionally bewitching in summer. Hence the name, "Summer Mountain." The space south of it is empty and wild today, but in its former days, it was a sea of bamboos whose rippling green waves were echoed by a susurrating stream that surrounds it. A stairway in the Lake Tai mountain leads to its top, where the visitor turns east to reach a giant yellow stone mountain before he goes past the seven-room loft and the sutra library through the roofed walkway.

The artificial mountain faces west. When its yellow stones are swathed

in rosy sunset glow, its perpendicular cliffs shine forth in striking hues. The mountain rises up to a height of several dozen feet. High and steep in an image evocative of an autumn mountain painting, it makes an ideal place for mountain climbers in that season. Its designer makes this autumn mountain stand out distinctively the way he does the vernal and summer mountains by giving full scope to the component rocks' varying positions, directions and forms. The stoic contours of some ancient cypresses growing out of stone chasms serve to modulate the mountain's momentum, and their green leaves and gnarled boughs are set in contrast with the ochre rocks. Such deployment of cypresses as foils to enhance the depth of an autumn scenery, just like using bamboos to accentuate the spring view and pines to spruce up the summer sight, must have been intently hammered out.

The other arrangements, including building a stone stairway inside the cave, letting yellow stones hang down from its roof in the manner of an overhanging stalactite, and allowing skylight to penetrate holes in the rocks, are designed to catch the observer by surprise with the heightened effects of piled-up yellow stones and a three-dimensional trail system. The ingenuity of the designer is also manifest in inventions unseen in other gardens, such as building tiny yards, stone bridges and stone chambers into the artificial mountain. The pavilion standing atop the mountain not only puts all the other mountains at the foot of the spectator, but also incorporates into this garden a section of the city wall lined with green willows, the Slender West Lake, the Mountain-Level Hall, and the Avalokitesvara Mountain in the north—the clever garden-making craft known as view borrowing is obviously at work.

A loft on the southern slope provides access for those who want to climb up and down the mountain. Next to the loft is a hall that features a traditional roof with sloping eaves on both sides and gables sitting astride two opposite

walls; a horizontal board hanging inside of the hall is inscribed with its name, "Wind Infiltratable and Moonlight Permeable" in the calligraphic handwriting of Yao Zhengyong (1811-?) [24] . In front of the hall stands an artificial mountain of white quartz sandstones from Xuancheng, Anhui province; this is where dwellers sat around a fire in winter to enjoy fallen snow. The mountain is found at the foot of the southern wall to resemble snow yet to thaw—an arrangement which would have been impossible if the mountain were built to face south, for in this way the sandstone would glisten against the sun. This problem ought to be avoided when piling up white stones into artificial mountains. The vernal scenery on the other side of the wall can be borrowed into the courtyard through holes in the eastern wall to allude to the return of springtime to the world. A two-storied walkway atop the mountain that conducted and into the garden is nowhere to be seen today.

The Geyuan's Garden is famous for its exquisite craft of artificial mountains. The builder outwitted all his Yangzhou counterparts by applying different kinds of stones to make his mountains look different from each other. His brainchild, known as Four-Season Mountains, thus became one of a kind among all Chinese gardens. The same conception was applied to the Garden of Eight Stanzas at Greater Prestige Lane, but the artificial mountains thus built did not have obvious peaks. The Four-Season Mountains of the Geyuan's Garden seem to have summarized a renowned painter's conception that, in Guo Xi's (*c* . 1000-*c* . 1080) [25] words in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams,*

> The spring mountain should be faintly rouged and smile demurely; the summer mountain should be so drenched in emerald as to drip with it; the autumn mountain should be bright and clean like a lady dressed up; the winter mountain should stay so pale and lethargic as to seem asleep.

The Four-Season Mountains stand out among all the gardens in Yangzhou because it also follows the principle that, as Dai Xi (1801-1860) [26] puts it in his *Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice* ,

> Spring mountains can be toured, summer mountains enjoyed, autumn mountains climbed, and winter mountains dwelled.

The Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode at Garden Lane is known as the "Ho Family Garden." Built in 1883 by He Weijian, a circuit intendant under the Guangxu reign, and believed to be Yangzhou's last sizeable garden dating back to the Qing, it can be entered from the family's residence. Another door is opened for guests in the back of the garden at Diaos' Lane. The dwellings sport a Western style save for a hall built of *Phoebe nanmu* . Surrounded with a canopied two-floor walkway, the multi-storied buildings are laid out in horizontal rows while the halls are lined up in vertical columns—the plane is, as a whole, traditional Chinese despite the buildings' Western style. The brick-framed latticed windows in the wall of the last row of the residence offer a glimpse at a corner of the garden. To the north of the large pond in the center of the garden sits a sevenspan hall whose three central spans stick out slightly and two wings extend sideways with upturned eaves. As the entire building looks like a butterfly on the wing, locals call it "Butterfly Hall." Both ends of the hall are attached to the double-floor walkway that meanders its way around the garden, making those walking in it feel like being spirited away for a flight to the blue sky.

The same walkway also serves to keep the garden's central and eastern parts apart, so that the garden looks more spacious and airy and people can look through its latticed windows to see vistas on both sides. Here the Chinese landscaping technique of space segmentation designed to extend the view is at work in a spontaneous, yet very effective manner. A square

pavilion surrounded by water stands in the east of the pond. As this is where people sit to cool themselves and compare notes on the vocal music of Kunqu Opera, the echoes from the water come handy to enhance acoustic effects. The encircling walkway is used to accommodate the audience. In the past, females could only sit behind a translucent curtain in the section of the double-floored walkway closer to the residence to watch what was performed in the pavilion through assorted hollowed windows in the wall. This technique of building a waterside deck to improve acoustics is still feasible today, but the practice of watching performances through a curtain behind windows should absolutely be abandoned. However, latticed windows remain an effective means to let in or out the views and increase the depth and variety of vista inside a garden, so that, as the saying goes,

> Scenes and sights can hardly be locked up in the presence of a small open window.

The southwest corner of the pond is occupied by an artificial mountain, behind which is hidden the West Verandah, with a peony terrace to the south. The whole terrain undulates naturally in tune with the contours of the artificial mountain. Such an arrangement ought to be promoted in new gardens, for it is easily done, endearing to people, and free from pretentious artifice. A Lake Tai stone stairway conducts to a mystic-looking cave and a perpendicular mountain; though built of different kinds of stones, the stairway and the mountain can still twist and turn in delightful ways and be mixed and interwoven into an integral whole. There is something profound about the water-curtained cave at the eastern foot of the mountain, but the way the cave's other end connects with a pillar leaves something to be desired, and I would choose to regard it as an oversight on the part of its designer. The three-span loft south of the artificial mountain fronted with a

craggy peak can be mounted by a trail that joins the double-floored walkway in the east to the residential part of the estate.

The double-floored walkway is a multiple construction whose roofs go up and down in line with the building's changing height, and some sections of it are segmented into double lanes. The estate is divided into central and eastern parts as a result. The large latticed windows in the walls are constructed by fitting finely ground bricks snugly together to form patterns at once succinct and tasteful. East of the walkway and opposite the three-span verandah, a hall with windows on four sides sits in a court where a green parasol tree leans against a rockery and blocks the sun with its thick leaves. The ground at the foot of the hall's stairway is paved with a mixture of cobbles and broken bricks and tiles in patterns that are becoming to the brick railings and benches in front of the hall, an unmatched combination that, like the aforementioned hollowed-out windows, is an unrivalled objet d'art exuding rustic native charms.

Behind the hall an artificial mountain leans upon a whitewashed wall without the least trace of bluntness in both its surface and its stone stairway. Small though it is, this rock formation is self-contained in good taste, with a tiny pavilion sitting at its crest and snuggling up to the wall under trees' green boughs. When the setting sun bathes the scene in its twilight, the entire stone stairway is covered with broken shadows, conjuring up a picture that teeters between real and surreal, an effect that belongs only to a scenery set against a white-washed wall in a traditional Chinese garden. The space is small, but the view seems ever changing—an arrangement that is indeed workable. The stone stairway northwest of the artificial mountain leads to a half-deck on the double-floored walkway. This half-deck, like the old one at this walkway's western end, is where the rise and fall of the moon are marvelled at. As to the

disposition of vegetation, sweet-scented osmanthus trees are planted in the mountain in front of the hall, arboreous and herbaceous peonies in parterres, lacebark pines at the mountain's foot, parasol trees in front of the stairway, plantains at the corners, and all of them are arranged in groves that flourish in utmost beauty and color in spring, cast thick cooling shades in summer, hit the nostrils with heady fragrance in autumn, and remain green in winter. All these arrangements have rules to go by, and can be adapted to the nature of the plants and local conditions.

The garden in question is known for its extensive openness and masculine robustness. Waters and rocks are employed to complement buildings and set rockeries' color and water's light in fabulous contrast with majestic lofts, high belvederes, and the double-floored walkway. Buildings, however, are always kept in the limelight, which are now linked, now segmented by the canopied double-floored walkway and the artificial mountains—the arteries and veins are always there to bring about a threedimensional communication network and a garden enjoyable at multiple layers. The scenery is spread out around a pond of water. Walls with latticed windows present a constant stream of views, with lofts, terraces, flowers and trees shimmering within their frameworks. As this garden was built relatively more recently, its interior decoration abounds in new materials and patterns, with an additional gate erected to greet guests. Its layout is more spacious and smooth than those built in the past, which enables visitors to shift gradually from in-situ viewing to in-motion viewing. Its paths are labyrinthine at one place and straightforward at another, its sceneries now widely open, now sequestered in mystic solitude, and all these arrangements are imbued with the salient features of the Chinese garden as well as innovations in the craft of landscape gardening.

The Small Meandering Valley at Big Tree Lane. Zhou Fu (1837-1921) [27] , who was appointed viceroy of present-day Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi provinces in 1904, the thirtieth year of the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, and became viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1906, rebuilt the garden on an estate he bought from Xu Naiguang (1859-1922) [28] in 1897. Refurbished in the early Republican years (1912-1949), the garden, situated in the eastern part of the estate, has its name "Small Meandering Valley" engraved above a moon gate by the side of its main hall. Judging from its brushwork style, the inscription seems to be in the handwriting of Chen Hongshou (1768-1822) [29] , one of the eight founding fathers of the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake, Hangzhou. Its three-bay parlor facing an artificial mountain sports a façade in the shape of a carpenter's square. When the visitor finds his way to the back of this parlor, a pond brimming with clear water flashes into his eyes, and his vista brightens and opens up all of a sudden. A belvedere sitting astride the stream beside the parlor is attached to a meandering walkway, a combination that is in striking contrast with the rockeries and the ambiguous form of a partitioning tracery-topped wall on the other side of the pond. Such contrast between buildings and scenery is common to the Chinese gardens. In front of the walkway sits a zigzagging bridge that conducts to a mystic cave on the opposite bank of the pond. The cave is so spacious that a chess table is put in it, with natural light penetrating the apertures in the cave's ceiling.

A door is created in front of the water, where one can take a flight of stone stairs to reach the pond. Stepping stones planted in the pond to the left of the cave in lieu of a bridge combine with a mountain trail to provide access to the parlor in the rear. A stone stairway is available in front of this parlor for those who want to climb up the artificial mountain. This is where a nice

entrance is provided to the valley, as an inscription in the rock says, "The water flows therefrom to where the clouds are." The mountain cave is wide open, yet it has no lack of twists and turns—a fine example of cave construction indeed. Leaving the cave through an exit to the right, one enters a tiny yard where a meandering corridor runs directly to the Wind-Bathing Pavilion atop the mountain, which provides a vintage point to gaze at the views of the eastern and western parts of the garden. The eastern part is in ruins, but is now under restoration. Entrance to it is by a peach-shaped door whose lintel is inscribed with two Chinese characters that stand for "Clustered Verdure." The hall in the shape of a carpenter's square to the north of the pond has been rebuilt with an amended plan. The lofty but rugged shape of the artificial mountain there earns itself the name "Mountain of Nine-Lion Picture." Over nine meters in height, it was damaged slightly during a refurbishment in the early Republican years, but can still be countered among the best in Yangzhou. Rockwork, the pond and buildings are handled in a lump, and striking contrasts are achieved on an otherwise cramped piece of land between buildings and rockeries, between rocks and white-washed walls, between rockwork and the pond, between frontal courtyards and posterior garden, between mystic depth and extrovert openness, and between high-rising and low-lying sceneries, turning the whole garden into a veritable fairyland.

Thanks to flexible segmentation by way of tracery walls, the foothill, the wall-leaning mountain, stepping stones and the ravine's inlet are aptly positioned, so that the steep cliff appears like a body of three-dimensional verdure, its rugged peak overlooks the stream, with water and rock in perpetual harmony, and all of them are combined to become an integral whole—a garden-making feat accomplished through the artistic approach of

"using the few to triumph over the many." Though there are no tall buildings and double-floored walkway on the premises, the rooms are not elaborately appointed and all the timber appears in natural colors, this does not prevent the property from becoming a serene and circuitous garden of many splendors. With its artificial-mountain construction technique comparative with that of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou—the Small Meandering Valley is, without a doubt, a certain master drafter's masterpiece. *The Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County* (Volume Twelve) compiled under the Guangxu reign of the Qing, says of the SmallRock Mountain Abode,

> This garden excels in its Lake Tai rockery in the images of nine lions, images that are matchless examples of exquisite craftsmanship and dynamic portrayal. [30]

Judging from an analysis of the composition of the artificial mountain in the Small Meandering Valley, it seems to have been copied from the Small-Rock Mountain Abode while assimilating other fine works. *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two) says,

> The Nine-Lion Mountain piled up by Taoist Priest Dong from Huai'an is the talk of town.

The same book adds in its sixth volume,

> Behind the Sutra-Chanting at City Wall sits the Rolling Stone Cavern…. From an old water-bound artificial mountain of Lake Tai stones, [the Taoist master] sought out those stones riddled with cavities, drilled new holes into them, and arranged them in the images of nine lions. Then he shifted the whole thing into the pond, crowned them with a pavilion-capped bridge, and gave the product of his labour its present name, "Rolling Stone Cavern."

A colophon by Zang Gu (1834-1910) [31] on the hanging scroll "Nine-Lion Mountain" in the Yangzhou Museum collection points out that the painting is

a likeness of the Nine-Lion Mountain at the Rolling Stone Cavern, but he does not specify that the mountain was wrought by Taoist Priest Dong.

According to the former owner Zhou Xian (1891-1984) [32] and his nephew Zhou Xuliang (1905-1984) [33] , the artificial mountain of the Small Meandering Valley had been known as "Mountain of the Nine-Lion Picture" for a long time, and they surmise there must be some evidence behind it. Therefore I believe there might be more than one nine-lion mountain in Yangzhou, but the one at the Rolling Stone Cavern is the best known. Taoist Priest Dong was renowned for his construction of this type of artificial mountains, which gradually emerged as a school in its own right. Evidence shows that this mountain's peak, cave, mountain trail, mountain-leaning wall, stepping stones and ravine inlet all belong to his time, that is, under the Qianlong reign. The horizontal board inscribed by Chen Hongshou was not too distant from that age. Therefore I assume that even if this mountain were not originated in the Taoist priest, it must be an imitation of his work.

The Lesser Winding Gully in the Qin's Imagined Garden, situated at Bathhouse Lane near the Old City's south gate, was a miniature yellow-stone mountain built after Qianlong's reign by the renowned garden crafter Ge Yuliang from Changzhou, but it is in nonexistence today. *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve) writes,

> A Changzhou native by the name of Ge Yuliang has come to the fore lately, whose rock-piling skill exceeds many others.

This indicates that Ge came to the fore later than Priest Dong. Judging from its ruins, the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully exuded feminine elegance under a plain and simple surface, whereas the Small Meandering Valley in question stands tall and steep in majesty and masculine vigour. Both crafters were in Yangzhou at the same time, and it was precisely with their respective

masterpieces that they stood neck and neck between them as garden-makers.

To the west of the Geyuan's Garden at Eastern Pass Street there is an estate built by Li Songling (1871-1937) [34] . Upon entering its front gate, one comes upon an octagonal gate [35] , with the name, Garden of Matchless Talent, engraved in the lintel. Turning left, one sees the property's residential section. The octagonal gate opens into a slender and straight corridor. An artificial mountain twists and turns circumspectly against the eastern wall, forbidden-looking and in striking contrast with the tile latticed windows on the top part of the wall. Beside the mountain there is a bed of peony flowers which, when in full bloom, seem to be embroidered on a piece of brocade. At the northern end of the mountain, a half pentagonal pavilion clings to a wall with a mirror-like crystal clear pool at its foot. There, facing south, stands a three-span parlor exquisitely decorated and elaborately appointed, and the ceiling of its corridor is carved all over with patterns in bas relief.

Behind the parlor there is a three-span verandah with an eastern wing and a western corridor, and flowers, trees and exotic rocks are placed in the front. Its back is attached to a small yard which, at the first glance, is often mistaken for a mere wooden wall because its door is always shut. A stone stairway provides access to a double-floored loggia that takes a turn at the back of a loft before disappearing into a neighboring garden. The garden is linked to the dwellings behind it by the roofed walkway and rockeries. In the northwest corner, facing west against a rockery, there is a three-bay loft with its spiral staircase winding from top floor down to ground floor. By the side of the loft a trellis of wisteria with entangled weather-beaten branches adds to the fascination of the scene by showering greenness all over the stairway. This garden is akin to the Twisted Garden of Suzhou in that it is laid out by filling every space of a small lot in the shape of the carpenter's square with

tiny scenery, but it does so more cleverly with its vistas "woven" up and down in intricate ways. Using a method to "deliver a vista unexpectedly from an impasse," the garden's designer knows how to transit the sight in a tiny yard into the neighboring garden to ensure continuity of the entire scenic view. Such a practice is by no means a rarity; on the contrary, it is a defining feature of Yangzhou gardens.

The Mind Cheering Hut at Ji Family Cove, as a component part of the parlor in the mansion of a money-shop owner by the name of Huang Yizhi, is the work of Yu Jizhi, a rockwork specialist who is also well-versed in floral art and particularly good at gracing small gardens with fantastic rockeries. The parlor in the Mind Cheering Hut consists of two rows of buildings. The front and back of the first row are linked respectively with a tiny yard. The eastern and southern side of the courtyard are lined with a corridor, and a white stone rockery tucked away in an osmanthus grove at the western side. The back of the first row has two wings, and the parterres in its tiny yard are planted with stalagmites and bamboos whose swaying twigs and quivering leaves seem to be dripping wet with greenness. To the west of the parlor stands a latticed wall, whose moon gate opens on to the internal court of a suite of chambers, an arrangement that makes people wonder, "How deep would this deep courtyard really be?" Thanks to views borrowed from an external court, the otherwise small internal court looks bigger. At work here is also a space-expanding method in Chinese architecture, that is, to make a residential courtyard look bigger through segmentation or spatial grouping. The back row of the parlor with all its three bays facing rockeries features another suite of chambers in its own yard. The Mind Cheering Hut is small, and judging from its plane, there is nothing surprising about it. Nevertheless, its buildings and yards are proportionate to each other and its interior décor is

accentuated as a rule with horizontal lines so as to yield just enough room to have rockeries erected and flowers planted. Large and small yards are so impeccably grouped and mixed that the scenes and sights are always well spaced even in places seemingly crowded, and that in the peace and quiet of the entire estate there are plenty of delightful surprises. All this speaks volumes for the importance of greenery and spatial grouping to small architectural projects.

On Guangling Road there is My Half-"Mu" Garden, originally known as "Back Garden of Longxi." It was built by a salt merchant surnamed Liu on an old garden on this spot during the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, hence its other name, "Liu's Manor." Because this was the venue of the Yida Money Shop, the local people generally call it "Yida Garden." Located behind its residential area, the garden is divided in two yards. The frontal yard contains a south-facing hall with some houses attached to its western side, as well as a parterre built of Lake Tai stones and two lacebark pine trees at the foot of a wall. In the backyard, slender bamboos are planted at its western end, and a yellow-stone artificial mountain by the side of the wall features a flight of stone stairs leading to the upper floor of a building. In the eastern yard, a loft facing north overlooks a pond with a rock formation on it, whose Lake Tai stone mountain against the wall is the pick of the entire garden.

The Li Weiru's Garden, 6 Billows Lane Cove, whose entrance is by a door at its southeast corner. In the center of the garden stands an artificial mountain among rattans and cypress trees that, though age-old, still exude emerald, leafy luxuriance. This mountain looks tiny against the wall, but it still offers a cave to be explored and a peak to be marvelled at, and it looks awe-inspiring when observed from inside the hall in the north. There are

canopied walkways at the eastern and western sides, and a water gazebo sits in the southwestern corner with a dainty and refreshing fish pond at its foot. Sparse though the scenery is, this small garden is still decorated in good taste.

By the side of the Li Weiru's Garden is the Yang's Tiny Nook, a small garden that takes up just a corner originally belonging to a studio that opened onto a two-bay parlor. The small yard in its front is strewn with a smattering of rocks, bamboos and trees, and segmented by a latticed wall. A diagonal corridor reaches up to a small belvedere. A pool lying between rocks in front of the belvedere is just large enough for a fish bowl to be placed in it to collect water, yet the whole assemblage looks rather becoming. The garden's owner was deft at cultivating orchids, and this is why potted orchids are the stars of this tiny nook. Beautiful flowers and trees are avoided, lest the dominance of orchids and their heady aroma be undermined. Though the Yang's Tiny Nook is too small to be called a garden, yet it has all the makings of a legitimate one. Thanks to a well-conceived segmentation scheme, no visitor would feel cramped upon arriving at this tiny place; instead, they would look left and right and be immensely delighted with its sceneries so resourcefully created.

The garden-owners in Yangzhou were mostly rich merchants. Apart from the material wealth they had obtained through business dealings, they often donated in return for a nominal official title as a status symbol. Insofar as designs are concerned, their gardens are somewhat different from those in the possession of bureaucratic landlords, and the most striking difference lies in their unquenchable quest for luxury and extravagance to advertise their richness and pretentious "elegance" and "refinement." During the Kangxi (1662-1723) and Qianlong (1736-1796) reigns of the Qing, some of them went so far as to copy certain aspects of royal gardens with the hope to hit the

windfall, that is, the emperor's award of position and wealth. For this purpose, they would run after what was the best and most sumptuous, be it a garden's configuration, building size, or the variety of building materials. Halls and lofts should have as many as seven bays; buildings should have multiple floors and double-floored walkways; an artificial mountain should be big and built of famous rocks, and the Geyuan's Garden and the Garden of Eight Stanzas have peaks fashioned out of different kinds of stones to represent the four seasons. Soil and rocks were piled up to build gamecock arenas, one of which is found in the Kettle Garden. As the majority of rich merchants in Yangzhou were natives of Anhui, gardens were often built to represent the landscape of south Anhui.

As to building materials, *Phoebe nanmu* was the choicest, square bricks were reserved for flooring purposes, and marble was mixed with pebbles and porcelain shards to pave floral-patterned grounds in the courtyard. With regard to the sumptuous interior decoration and furnishing in Yangzhou gardens, other than meeting the same designing purposes as in Suzhou gardens, that is, to serve garden owners' need to enjoy the poetic and picturesque connotations of landscaping sights and to show off their corrupt lifestyle, they were also adopted to satisfy these owners' obsession to turn their gardens into socializing venues that could accommodate as many guests as possible. Such an obsession is manifest in such big Yangzhou gardens as the Geyuan's Garden and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode. The Yangzhou school of verse and prose, and the Eight Eccentrics' styles of painting are more untrammelled and profound than those of Suzhou; this has influenced and enhanced the Yangzhou craft of gardens. No study of the Yangzhou gardens can be complete without clarifying the material resources and spiritual needs of their former masters, because such resources and needs

had predetermined the requirements and principles for garden designers and impacted the conceptions and styles of these gardens.

Natural environment and building materials can affect garden styles to varying degrees. With a level terrain, mild soil humidity, climate and precipitations, and with the best south and north China conditions converging in the city, Yangzhou's natural environment is salubrious for flowers and trees, with arboreous and herbaceous peonies growing particularly well—a fact that furnishes indispensable condition for the construction of posh gardens. Yangzhou's huge fleets of salt-shipping boats enabled local gentries and merchants to ship in more varieties of stones for artificial mountains than Suzhou from as near as Zhenjiang, Gaozi, Jurong, Suzhou, Yixing, Wuxing and Wukang and as far as Xuancheng, Lingbi and Hekou of Anhui and Jiangxi, over and above rocks of exotic shapes and images or unusual qualities from southwestern China.

The Chinese garden is always built in light of local conditions, which is particularly the case in water-bound and hilly areas. Different from what is available in Suzhou and Hangzhou, the topographical and scenic conditions characterized by the Yangtze-Huai basin's low water level and wide open land are, simply put, uniquely Yangzhou's own. That is why most large gardens in Yangzhou feature a pond in the center while halls are architectural centerpieces—the relationship between ponds and halls must be well coordinated. The scenery in large gardens, as exemplified by the Geyuan's Garden and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, is segmented with walls, rockwork and trees to conjure up multilayered and variegated views, while exotic rocks are erected by the pond, pavilions and belvederes are scattered but ultimately connected by a circuitous walkway. Medium-sized and small gardens in Yangzhou, such as the Small-Rock Mountain Abode

and the Small Meandering Valley, are compactly structured, in which an artificial mountain clings to a wall with a pond rippling at its foot, while a winding corridor or water-front gazebo puts the finishing touch to the entire scene.

In Yangzhou's courtyards, a few peak-shaped rockeries are deployed and a small fish pond sits by a gazebo, but they can also sport an arboreous peony terrace or a herbaceous peony garden. The possession of a minimal number of scenic elements often makes a courtyard look bright, clean and cozy, and the Li Weiru's Garden and the Yang's Tiny Nook are good examples in this regard, but the Garden of Matchless Talent is another outstanding case in that its narrow space in the shape of a carpenter's square is properly fitted to a layout to pull off a rich variety of pleasant surprises.

Generally speaking, Yangzhou's gardens feature level and tidy layouts, and offer views for both in-situ and in-motion viewing. Their success, however, is attributed to their three-dimensional road structures and multi-layered sightseeing routes. That is to say, their roofed double-floor walkways, lofts, belvederes as well as artificial mountains replete with cavities, caves, abodes or stone chambers are interconnected up and down and brought within reach, resulting in plenty of scenic changes. However, these gardens have still left something to be desired. For instance, the roles of water surfaces, rockwork and buildings are yet to be better coordinated; most water surfaces' shorelines look too straight for lack of bends and twists and turns; and rocks projecting over a pond or foamy rapids tumbling over stones are almost nowhere to be seen. But all these are, if anything, blemishes in an otherwise perfect scene.

The Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, and the foothills of the Garden of Matchless Talent and the Autumn Cloud

Mountain in the Geyuan's Garden are studded with laudable delights. There are also instances in which a water-less garden is made to look like water-bound. In the Yuan's Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight, built during the Daoguang reign of the Qing on Guangling Road, the ground lies low while the hall with windows on four sides sits upon a raised yellow-stone foundation to look as if it were perched on an isle—thus water presents itself in imagination in a garden with little water. The same conception seems to be at work in the back of the Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden in Jiading, Shanghai, but the effect is not as striking. The approach to "giving wings to imagination where brush strokes cannot reach" belongs in the Chinese art, and it is admirable for our clever artisans to apply it with such success under relatively unfavorable natural conditions. The bridges built over water surfaces in Yangzhou gardens come in two types. First, beam bridges, most of which are zigzagging ones, and the flying stone beam bridge of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode is among the best of its kind for its unaffected simplistic and classic looks and its affinity to the mountain abode's wooded mountain views; second, stepping stones, those adopted in the Small Meandering Valley are the most congruously arranged. If the bends in a zigzagging bridge over a low-level water surface look too stiff, it would rob people of the feeling as if they were treading waves, a problem that should be avoided at the designing and construction stage. The designer of the bridge at the Small-Rock Mountain Abode seemed to have blazed a new trail in addressing this problem with the adoption of a flying stone beam.

The Yangzhou school of gardens has all along been extolled for its rockery building techniques. Most of the city's extant artificial mountains are built entirely of rocks except for the one in the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully, which is a combination of earth and stones but it is in ruins. As Yangzhou is

located in a place where no stone is produced, the rocks needed for rockeries are shipped in from elsewhere and, for transportation purposes, they come in small sizes. Artificial mountain peaks are mostly built by putting together small rocks in light of shapes, colors, veins, textures and quality on frames propped up with stone slabs, and reinforced with iron fastenings and braces—bricks are also used, as is shown in the Ming-dynasty artificial mountain in the Qiao's Garden in Taizhou—a method which also applies to rock embankment around ponds. All this costs a great deal of manpower, and with the passing of time the component rocks tend to break loose and fall, and the peaks crumble as a result. This is why even the finest rock formations cannot last forever. Such problems, however, cannot tarnish Yangzhou's achievements in the craft of artificial mountains, and the ones in the Geyuan's Garden are deemed grand and majestic to the utmost: its yellow stone mountain stands about nine meters tall, and its lake stone mountain about six meters. As huge constructions, they are not without their oversights on the part of their designers, but on the whole they can still be reckoned as fine works of art of a high order. The artificial mountain of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode stands out for its rugged rocks and steep cliff, the one in the Small Meandering Valley twists and turns in unadorned grace, and the one in the Garden of Matchless Talent brims with feminine beauty, and all of them are excellent structures. The stalactite hanging down from the roofs of the Kerria Garden's winding cave is unseen elsewhere in Yangzhou, and the stone stairway for the artificial mountain in the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode are good examples as well. However, what the artificial mountains in Yangzhou gardens excel the most are those leaning against walls; with thrift use of materials and judicious employment of space made possible through first-rate wrapping and inlaying techniques, they look natural and lifelike,

and better than their counterparts in Suzhou. Such walls are found in many Yangzhou gardens, including the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, the Garden of Matchless Talent, and the My Half-"Mu" Garden, a fact which makes me wonder if the wrapping and inlaying techniques were invented and first used in Yangzhou as early as the late-Ming.

During the Qianlong reign, Taoist Priest Dong and Ge Yuliang made even bigger strides in the craft of artificial mountains by carrying forward the legacies of Ji Cheng and Shitao. All the artificial mountains cited in the foregoing embody the notion that different shapes of mountains should be built with different kinds of stones and give expression to Shitao's rule of painting that "when the interior texturing brushwork tallies with the peak, the texture shall look like born of the peak." With their lofty and awe-inspiring images, the Yangzhou artificial mountains stand parallel with their Suzhou counterparts marked for lucid grace and far-reaching vistas. As to the use of different kinds of stones on different peaks or of mixtures of stones on a single peak, these are measures of expediency to make up for the short supply of a particular variety of stones. The rock-piling techniques employed in Yangzhou and south Jiangsu are more or less the same. The best artificial mountains are always produced with flexible application of the same principle, that is, "Let water encircle a mountain, so that the mountain comes to life on account of the water." The glue used to hold the stones together in a rockwork during the Ming was made by lacing lime with fine sand and glutinous rice juice; as this glue turns pinkish when coagulated, it is often applied to artificial mountains built of yellow stones. During the Qing, the glue was whitened by adding grass ashes to it, so that it could also be used for Lake Tai stone mountains like the one in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode.

The crevices between the stones are filled in a way to make the concomitant wrinkles visible while the mortar filled in between the stones is concealed. This method, when applied to yellow stones, produces lines that look like natural cracks and accentuate the ruggedness of surfaces; when applied to Lake Tai stones, brings out the integral wholeness of an artificial mountain. However, it is easier said than done. Perfect examples are few and far between nationwide.

Concerning the treatment of walls, as the traditional gardens of Yangzhou are mostly part of a residence in urban areas, they are enclosed behind high walls built of finely ground bricks and graced with gate towers built of engraved bricks, so that they appear rather tidy and straight. The external walls of Yangzhou gardens are as a rule exquisitely crafted and decorated with tile-latticed windows, and, different from the simplistic and rustic surrounding walls of the Suzhou gardens which like all the gardens in the Jiangnan area were in the possession of landed bureaucrat owners, were instrumental in showing off their owners' wealth. Both the external and internal walls of Yangzhou gardens are white-washed in sections where the effectiveness of reflections or of flowers' shadows under moonlight need be enhanced. The tall surrounding walls make it impossible to see the outside views. With the exception of the Geyuan's Garden, whose yellow-stone mountain rises higher enough than its walls to borrow vistas from the northern part of the city, all the gardens in Yangzhou have to employ opposite views to make their sceneries appear more changeable behind such walls. The sceneries framed by the latticed windows of the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode are indeed picturesque and sublime in facilitating mutual view borrowing between the garden and its dwelling area. The views seen through the moon gate in front of the Osmanthus Hall of the Geyuan's

Garden are mesmerizing as well. Moreover, the views framed in the windows seem to be changing all the time when one shifts his footsteps. In terms of view contrasting techniques, they are basically identical to those employed in south Jiangsu gardens, as most of the gardens in Yangzhou set their buildings in contrast with wall-surfaces and rockeries in a variety of ways, such as contrasts between extravert and introvert views, between visibility and invisibility, high and low, proximity and distance, deep and shallow, large and small, and between spatiality and density—the Small Meandering Valley is exemplary in this regard. The Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, on its part, succeeds in giving the visitor a complete and distinct sightseeing experience by keeping the general goal in view as far as the arrangement of walls is concerned.

In the field of architecture, the Yangzhou gardens distinguish themselves by making the most of multistoried structures. This is a matter of course for large gardens, but small ones also employ it to advantage. The Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight, for example, goes so far as to erect a seven-bay building in its precinct. As the parlor is rather big in most cases, and the double-floored walkway extends without a letup, so the small gazebos and waterside verandahs along the walkway are set off agreeably with the tall building. Such an arrangement, as compared with the subdued gracefulness of Suzhou gardens, is evocative of the heroic verve generated by chanting Su Shi's [36] ''The Great Yangtze Flows East' to the musical accompaniment of copper *pipa* and iron clappers. Visitors can make a circuit of the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode following its two-storied walkway, and the same is true with the Geyuan's Garden when in its prime. In such a garden, the visitor may lose his way while reaching a pavilion by way of a mountain stairway or arriving at a cave through an archway in the artificial mountain.

These three-dimensional sightseeing gimmicks, though different from Suzhou gardens' one-dimensional trail that conducts surreptitiously through maze-like dense willows to bright flowers, lead to the same result. Thus Yangzhou and Suzhou gardens are neck and neck once again in this field.

With regard to structures and details, the buildings in Yangzhou gardens are hybrids of south and north China styles. An independent building's base above ground is built of blue stones in early periods and white stones in later periods, with the staircase made randomly of natural rocks. Plinths may take the form of an "ancient mirror" in the northern tradition or a "stone drum" in the southern tradition; pillars are thick and tall, with the proportion between diameter and height being a compromise between southern and northern traditions. In most cases windows are detachable ones, and balustrades are thick and sturdy. Ridge ends always assume a half-moon shape with an up-turning minor hip-rafter at the front, but in angles lower than those in south Jiangsu.

Roof ridges are graced with latticed brickwork all along, and thicker and heavier than in south Jiangsu. Latticed windows and gates in walls are elaborately crafted, and come in a variety of patterns and integral structures, which are different from the soft and delicate style of south Jiangsu. Lintels are generally made of marble or stones quarried from Gaozi in Zhenjiang across the Yangtze, and engraved bricks are seldom used, which is apparently different from the Suzhou tradition. Architectural details are terse and tidy, with a few twists and turns at skintles and corners, all of which looks straightforward, with gentleness contained in tasteful sturdiness. All the timber retains original colors, and exterior walls are not white-washed, which has something to do with the arid weather, but is also intended to display craftsmanship on raw materials. Timber constructions are all formed with

methodically prepared round and straight beams, though rectangular beams are occasionally used. The round ridges over the façade of a building are as sumptuous as possible because of their conspicuous positions. The interiors are floored with square bricks and partitioned with latticed screens and latticed doors fashioned out of red sandalwood, mahogany, *Phoebe nanmu* , gingko, and little-leaf box, or lacquer carvings either inlaid with precious stones and mother of pearl or panelled with gauze. Furniture and screens and couplets are also elaborately built; those made of mahogany, different from their Suzhou and Guangzhou counterparts, are in an elegant and vivacious style peculiarly Yangzhou's own. (For further details, see the following section on dwellings.)

The buildings in Yangzhou gardens come in a limited variety, including halls, multi-storied buildings, belvederes, pavilions, gazebos, painted land boats, double-floored walkways and corridors, and are more regularly grouped than those in south Jiangsu. The multistoried building is often positioned conspicuously at the end of a garden. The hall is often the centerpiece, but has to be built at the end of a garden if it takes the form of a loft. Land boats and gazebos are water-bound, with verandahs and belvederes nestled against mountains; pavilions may be placed beside a pool or atop a mountain. A half loft, half belvedere or half pavilion can be built on sites too cramped for space; examples like these are few, but they are adapted to the circumstances as a rule, or adopted to break monotony or uniformity in a layout. These methods also apply to roofed walkways, which may be made to wind or run up and down a terrain, or contain double floors or lanes, but most of them follow a circulating route, and some of them are built to serve viewsegmentation purposes.

Halls fall into miscellaneous types, and are handled in original ways, as

is shown in *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* . Among the common types today are those with floor-length windows on all four sides, those sporting a hip and gable roof, and those consisting of multiple floors. Their purlin trusses are mostly of the turtle-shell type, whose ridges are not round. A lot of halls are built of *Phoebe nanmu* , the most precious of all species of timber, and those built of cypress are rarely seen today. The ground in gardens are mostly paved in patterns with pebbles and porcelain shards, and stones are occasionally used when one of the cracked-ice pavement patterns is chosen. What merits attention in architectural treatment is that the interiors of a Yangzhou garden are always made to twist and turn unpredictably, whereby suites, lofts, covered walkways, small courts, artificial mountains and stone chambers are grouped in a variety of ways to create a bewildering maze—a salient feature of the Yangzhou style of garden architecture that can still be seen in the Garden of Matchless Talent.

Horticulture is yet another major aspect of garden-making. Indigenous traits of flowers and trees bring about varied styles to gardens in which they are planted. Owing to climatic and geographical differences, the same species of flower or tree growing in Yangzhou would look different in color and shape than if it were planted in north or south China, but the trees and flowers indigenous to Yangzhou generally look sturdy and elegant. Trees that are commonplace in Yangzhou gardens include pine, cypress, juniper, elm, maple, pagoda, gingko, broad-leaf privet, parasol, and little-leaf box. Weeping willows are all but extinct in south Jiangsu gardens built in later periods, but they are often found thriving in Yangzhou gardens with distinct local characteristics: tall and sturdy on trunks whose lower part is never oversized, their twigs so slender and well-scattered as to exude picturesque flavor—all of them are totally domesticated in Yangzhou.

Yangzhou's parasol trees are marked for their speedy growth rate. Whether they are planted in a garden or a courtyard, they never fail to shield people from the high-noon sun with their green trunks and coolness-gathering foliage, and they join weeping willows to steal the limelight of the city's scenic beauty in summer and spring. Yangzhou's flowering trees include osmanthus, crabapple, *yulan* magnolia, camellia, pomegranate, wisteria, plum, wintersweet, flowering peach, banksia rose, rose bush, China rose, and azalea. Osmanthus, crabapple, *yulan* magnolia and crape myrtle are often planted in front of a hall or verandah. Maples and elms are laid out where they are needed, mostly by the side of a pavilion or gazebo. Arbours and flowering trees are most becoming to buildings; in Yangzhou, the former provide cooling shades and the latter become the feast of the eyes, but arbours become the choicest primarily for their impressive contours and flowering trees for their color and aroma. An artificial mountain's rugged and weathered looks are best accentuated amidst a cluster of pines and cypresses, while a few weeping willows can work wonders on the scenery when planted on a pond or brook's shore.

Plantain, bamboo and nandina add a picture-perfect touch to the scene wherever they are—inside a small court or a clearance in a big garden, in the corner of a wall or walkway, under the eaves, or in combinations with wintersweet or chrysanthemum. The "book-binder grass," or the dwarf lilyturf, if planted beside a rockery, tree, stairway, or road, keeps the ground green in all four seasons, and looks like white balls when cocooned in snow in winter; like the begonia thriving in stone crevices, it also offers a needed sprinkle of decoration wherever it strikes root, and it can also improve an artificial mountain's appearance by covering up its drawbacks the way dots of moss do to a landscape painting. The peony, whether herbaceous or

arboureous, are household favorites. According to Kong Wuzhong's [37] *Compendium of Herbaceous Peony* cited in the *Random Notes of "That Can Also Be Changed" Studio* ,

> The herbaceous peony of Yangzhou is renowned under heaven. I praise it not simply for its abundance. Yes, it is plump and big, but at the same time, it is daintily beautiful and cleverly clustered—with all these traits it outshines those in other cities.

In "Seeing Meng Haoran off to Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower," Li Bai writes of the herbaceous peony,

> West to Yellow Crane Tower I bid my pal goodbye;
> Oars to Yangzhou in flowery March mist he will ply.

From these lines you can imagine the pomp and pageantry of the peony's flowering scene. For this reason peony beds and nurseries are ubiquitous in Chinese gardens. Such a parterre or herbal nursery either assumes the natural appearance of a piled-up rockery, or is built of bricks and white stones; no matter what the pattern or shape, they are products of ingenious garden designers. When springtime sets in, these beds and nurseries would be carpeted with peony flowers, whose brocade-like exuberance stands comparison with the peony gardens in Luoyang, native home to arboreous peonies in the country.

As complements to garden scenery, trees are planted individually or in clumps. The trees growing in the same grove may come of singular or mixed species, which is determined by the garden size and landscaping design. Small gardens are suitable for trees individually planted, but their postures and contours should be carefully chosen. Large gardens may have a lot of tree clumps, which should be deployed by bringing into consideration the images of rock formations and the elevation and size of the terrain, so that the

groves can be separated or linked, scattered or congregated. If an artificial mountain is not tall enough, trees cannot be planted on its top. To set off the mountain's primitive and steep looks, trees must be planted on low-lying spots at the mountain's shady side, so as to keep the mountaintop higher than all the treetops—only thus can the garden resemble a wooded mountain. This principle for tree planting pertains to the building of pavilions as well. In the relationship between pavilion, tree and artificial mountain, it is essential to decide which one should stand taller than the others and what distances should be kept between them. There are cases in which a pine tree is set to lie prone over a water surface at the foot of an artificial mountain, which is after all a nice approach to bring about a congenial vista. Wisteria may be arranged to hang down a rockery, and a water surface may be dotted with lotus flowers, but the quantity of such vines and flowers should be limited to the point where the pictured vision is brought about and the desired scenery created. Because every garden has its own sunny and shady sides, the environmental adaptability of the trees to be adopted should also be brought into account. For example, camellia, osmanthus, pines and cypresses are suitable for shady places, whereas bamboo can bring a scene to life wherever it finds itself.

Yangzhou's artistic potted plants and miniature landscapes differ from those of Suzhou and Hangzhou in that they are exceptionally sturdy, dynamic and resistant to wind and frost. Using deft cutting and binding skills, local horticulturists can train dwarf trees into "knots," "cloud sheets," or "bends" to bring about distinctly varied shapes, but it takes time to train a tree or plant into a potted scenic masterpiece. Pine, cypress, little-leaf box, chrysanthemum, camellia, azalea, plum, bitter orange flower, jasmine, kumquat, orchid, and *hui* orchid [38] are ideal themes for miniature landscapes,

which are potted in earth or water, a treatment, indeed, uniquely Yangzhou's own. Yangzhou's sweet flags, which are verdant all year round growing purely in water contained in bowls fashioned out of palm sheaths, are unseen elsewhere, and the potted asters developed by local floriculturists are a fabulous local specialty as well. These potted dwarf trees and miniature landscapes provide ideal finishing touches to a garden's scenery. As artificial mountains in a garden are often set under the foliage of arbours, flowers can hardly survive in them; this is exactly where potted plants and landscapes come handy to spruce up the scenery. Such an arrangement, in use as early as the Song, can also be applied to a pond; in fact, most lotuses growing in Yangzhou's ponds are potted. Garden horticulture in this country as a whole cannot do without potted plants and miniature landscapes.

The themes for the Yangzhou school of traditional Chinese painting are dominated by flowers, and those commonly seen in Yangzhou's gardens naturally become the prototypes. As local painters wielder their brushes with facility and abandon, flowers leap into many a painting to become celebrated masterpieces, from which one gains some idea about the impact of flowers on Yangzhou gardens. On the other hand, the way local painters graft red upon white, prune and reshape the plants in the pictures composed by them has inspired local horticulturists to improve their skills to some extent. Goldfish in which Yangzhou also abounds, birds that make Yangzhou home, and caged birds bred by locals—these have also contributed immensely to the fascinations of Yangzhou gardens.

To sum up, there are set rules but no hard-and-fast formulae for garden-making. Only through a myriad changes can new conceptions come about one after another. Gardens win with scenery; scenery differs from one garden to another. The secret to their success boils down to high adaptability to

circumstances and mutual borrowing of views. Only by judicious view accommodating and borrowing can a garden stand out in distinction. The reason why Yangzhou gardens can become a school in their own right, and why they can entail dainty gracefulness in magnificent bodies—or, in literary jargon, write subtle heartthrobs with a robust brush—is because local crafters through the ages know how to avail themselves of the strengths of southern and northern gardens. Peerless are the gardens of Yangzhou, what with their upright and spacious buildings, solid classical artificial mountains, thoroughly perforated and intricate latticed walls, as well as fairy flowers and grass endowed by nature and bred by local gardeners. Not to mention the artificial mountains, piled up with a broad variety of stones, pieced together and imbedded with numerous smaller stones, with peaks distinguished with different kinds of stones, and the water-less gardens made to look water-rich. These Yangzhou inventions, achieved by putting materials to best use and humouring the circumstances, are still of immense value for garden crafters of today. Their only drawback lies in the lack of changes among their ponds, so much so that they have failed to bring the role of water in permeating the environment and in interplaying with rockeries and buildings to bring a garden's attractions to sublimity.

Greeneries play a due role in keeping Yangzhou beautiful. Flowers and bamboos are not uncommon even in the city's ordinary courtyards, where tall trees provide much needed shades, and flowering trees, wisteria trellises, potted dwarf trees, miniature landscapes, and a few rocks are brought together to pull off dainty views. All these have long been part of the aboriginal Yangzhou tradition, which helps not only augment local residents' cultural life but also extend the city's greenery acreage.

·Dwellings

The Lu's Mansion, 22 Kangshan Street. Built during the Guangxu reign of the Qing for a whopping sum of seventy thousand taels of silver by Lu Shaoxu, a rich salt merchant from Jiangxi province, the Lu's Mansion is the largest extant classic mansion in Yangzhou. Its gateway is built of finely ground bricks with carvings and graced with a giant screen wall. Facing north behind the front gate is a converse room that sits opposite the main suite in the south. The second gate leading to the main court provides access to two rows of buildings each having a seven-bay hall divided by latticed wooden screens and floor-length lattice windows into three rooms—a three-bay central room and a pair of double-bay wing rooms that serve reception and reading purposes. Large latticed windows are built into walls to screen the central part of the courtyard from two side yards in which a flower bed built of Lake Tai stones is supplemented with trees to create quiet spaces in contrast with the airy and spacious central hall. Further north are two rows of seven-bay lofts which serve as the owner's residence. Behind the halls there are two more rows of five-bay rooms, where guests are lodged. The kitchen in the east is no more. Behind the residence there is the Imagination Garden. By the side of a pond in the northeast of the garden, two rows of buildings, including a study and a library, form an independent zone. A land boat sitting on the eastern shore of the pond is now in ruins. A pavilion with a helmet-shaped rooftop is seen leaning against the garden's southern wall, where a corridor winds its way up to the northern part of the garden. Arbours, most of which are sweet-scented osmanthus trees, occupy the clearances on the premises. Wooden structures in this mansion are all fashioned out of unadorned choice fir shipped in from the Hu-Guang region [39] , and all the

interior decoration and furnishing are made of delicately carved *Phoebe nanmu* . Tall and spacious, and magnificent in scale, the Lu's Mansion is representative of the luxury mansions built by rich salt merchants in the final stage of Chinese feudalism.

Wang's Small Garden, 14 Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane, a mansion of the salt merchant Wang Taijie (1889-1935) [40] . Expanded during the Republican years (1912-1949), it is the most complete of all large mansions in the city. Its buildings are laid out in three columns each containing three rows. The eastern and western parlors are furnished differently. Entrance to the eastern parlor is by a gate made of unadorned and simplistic woven bamboo strips. The parlor is built of cypress, whose interior is furnished with and divided into frontal and posterior parts by latticed screens and a floor-length screen embedded with six pieces of delicate marbles. All the screens are fastidiously carved. South of the parlor is a three-bay building that faces north, with rainwater streaking from an eave to fall on a Lake Tai stone artificial mountain in its court, where wintersweets and macrocephalums are planted. An eastern gate opens the yard onto a tiny clearance which serves the mere purpose to expand the space. A moon gate separates the western parlor from the yard in which there is an artificial mountain and a winding roofed walkway at the end of a boat-shaped verandah overlooking a tiny pool to the east, where a potted miniature landscape placed on a brick platform is reflected in the water. Looking out of the moon gate into the yard from inside the parlor, one sees a picture-perfect scene of well-spaced flowers and trees and rugged rockeries. A latticed wall with a moon gate in it divided the backyard north of the mansion into eastern and western sections; and a latticed screen cuts a six-bay northern parlor in the western section in two parts, with the western part being a three-bay study

graced with stained glass windows. Between the study and the corridor in front of it, two crape myrtles arise to form an overhead canopy as if to shield the entire place from sunlight and to make the vistas on both sides look unfathomable. A peony parterre south of the parlor is built of rocks, but the flower deck in the west looks somewhat dull. When people look through the latticed windows and the moon gate built into the partition wall to see the other section, they will be impressed by the mystic, yet spirited quietness of the scene conjured up by way of view borrowing. Residential buildings dominate the mansion's precinct, with the garden itself playing a supplementary role at best. On account of its small size, it is extolled as "A Small Garden Where Spring Is Deep."

Zhao's Mansion at the Palace of Assisting Transforming Powers [41] , 33 Absolute Devotion Lane. The residence of cloth merchant Zhao Haishan consists of three rows of halls and chambers facing south, with the portal and kitchen kept outside of the enclosing wall. Its garden is separated from the dwellings by a tall wall, but can be entered directly from the portal to avoid mutual interference between garden and dwelling. The plane of this building is clearly segmented. There is a three-bay study in the garden's eastward front, which is separated from the back of the mansion with a winding walkway. The spacious size of the two-row parlor in the back of the garden is commensurate with the scale of the residence.

Wei's Mansion on Invincible Street. The former residence of the salt merchant Wei Cigeng is a medium-sized structure with its front gate facing west. Built on an irregular plane, it is cut sharply in two, with dwellings in the rectangular eastern part, and a garden taking up the irregular western part. The dwellings, including the southern rooms facing north, fall into four five-bay rows. The three-bay hall in the center is flanked on either side by a small

yard with a suite of rooms inside of it. Such dwelling suites are connected with the living rooms but appear to be independent and free from disturbance. The small yards, in particular, play an efficient role in facilitating daylight and ventilation and in expanding indoor and outdoor spaces. The garden is narrow in its front and wide in its back. Close by the gate in the front part is a room for sundries. Its back is divided into two zones. In the front zone, sitting amidst rockeries, *yulan* magnolias, green parasol trees and a tiny belvedere facing the southeast corner, is the Flute-Playing Terrace, which is actually a hall with windows on all four sides, with its lintel inscribed with the line in Zheng Xie's (1693-1765) [42] handwriting, "Ancient Yangzhou Sung to the Accompaniment of Songs and Flutes." The back zone, serving as foil for the frontal zone, consists of two parts as well, in whose east part a land boat sits by a small belvedere, and a yellow-stone artificial mountain protrudes from a cluster of nandinas and little-leaf boxes at the foot of a latticed wall through which exterior views are subtly visible. Small as this garden is, it seems to have enough room to spare even with two big structures inside of it thanks to its latticed wall, which brings depth to the space while cutting the garden into sections that borrow each other's views—a method that is often used to handle empty space beside a house.

Liu's Residence, a small affair at 23 Abundant Benevolence Lane. Inside its front gate facing east, a row of rooms facing west sits in line with its portal, with a tall wall in front of it, and a narrow courtyard atrium helps ward the house off the scorching sun in summer and the frigid high wind in winter. With its wide open doors and windows, the residence receives plenty of cool breeze in summer despite its narrow space and tall wall. Behind the wall there is a south-facing hall three rows deep, with a secret room contained in the suite of rooms in the last row. Through a moon gate in the latticed wall

beside the hall, one sees a parlor inside a small yard where rockeries and flowers and trees are arranged. This residence's architecture design is a good example in making flexible use of a piece of land oriented eastward.

Jia's Residence at Greater Armed City Lane, which was in the possession of Jia Yuan [43] , a salt merchant during the Guangxu reign of the Qing. Its gate opens to the east, while its two columns of halls face south. The halls in its eastern part are ingeniously designed, each having a courtyard garden in which the parterres are planted with flowers and bamboos, and a pond and rocks are put together to form a tiny scenery encircled by a covered walkway whose walls sport sparsely latticed windows. Tidy and refreshing is the whole scene. There was a garden to the west of the residence, but it is in ruins today.

Toiler's Garden at Abundant Benevolence Lane was the mansion of Zhou Yifu. Entering the estate from its east gateway, one sees a row of rooms that face west, a common arrangement in handling a lot that faces east in Yangzhou. These rooms are part of a quadrangle that features a south-facing hall, eastern and western corridors, and a north-facing converse room. West of the hall is a parlor with a half-pavilion at its entrance and a study opposite it. The space south of the hall is divided up with a latticed wall, with a clearance about a foot wide left empty to form an imaginative scenery. An old flowering osmanthus drapes its boughs over the latticed wall, so that when autumn sets in, the courtyard is drenched in its fragrance, making one feel as if he were roving a realm heady with airy-fairy aroma. (The flowering osmanthus must be encircled with walls to retain its fragrance.) The back of the hall is opened in the west to a moon gate whose lintel is inscribed with the name of the property, "Toiler's Garden" centered upon a fish pond with a zigzagging bridge over it and a tiny pavilion by the side. With interior décor

fashioned out of unadorned gingko wood, the parlor looks clean and elegant, and the ground in the front is paved smooth and level with mosaic white stones. Dwellings take up only a small portion of this property, and, as a result of repeated expansions, more space is devoted to greenery that brings manifold changes to the environment.

Hanhou's Hut, 7 Ornamental Stone Archway, used to be the residence of Wu Tingyang (1799-1870) [44] during the Daoguang reign of the Qing. Its northern front gate opens into a courtyard, and its southern quadrangle is reached by way of a fire lane in the western end of the courtyard. In what is a typical Yangzhou way of handling north-facing houses, the main house is made to face side houses in the oblong courtyard paved all over with stone slabs.

Gourd Hut, 211 Sweet Spring Road, built by the capitalist Lu Dianhu (1876-1936) [45] in early Republican years. By way of a west gate one enters its south-facing main hall whose southern end serves as the parlor. A yellow-stone parterre lies north of the main hall, and a Lake Tai stone rockery stands amidst luxuriant verdure south of it. A verandah to the right of the mountain is reflected clearly in the serene water of a pond whilst plantains' swaying shadows caress the windows. Beyond the western gate at the northern end stands a yellow-stone rockery, where a road threads through a door and conducts to the back of the main hall. In the eastern part of the residence, a winding walkway and a latticed wall run across a ground the shape of a carpenter's square. The southeast corner of the small pond is occupied by a square pavilion. A three-bay verandah on the other side of the pond is reachable by the walkway; though small, it looks compact in a subdued way. This residence is a good example of a south-facing main hall with a west-facing gate and an irregular-shaped lot for the design of a residence.

A compound at Ding Family Cove in which two residences—one in the east and the other in the west—share the same gateway. The eastern residence is a three-sided courtyard where a latticed wall divides its atrium in two, and all the rooms on the premises cover two bays. The western residence contains two three-sided courtyards each having two rows of differently aligned three-bay rooms. This type of residence makes it easy to adapt the plane to the lie of the land and provides plenty of leeway for space segmentation purposes.

Facing south at 2 Buffalo-Ridge Well is one of the smallest old residences in Yangzhou. Behind its front gate is a three-bay hall that forms a quadrangle together with two wing rooms and a north-oriented converse room on the southern side. The kitchen is found outside of the residence in what is a fundamental layout for residences in the Yangzhou tradition.

Present-day urban Yangzhou is encircled by the Grand Canal, while the Lesser Qinhuai River flows through the North City Gate to cut the municipality in two parallel sections: New City and Old City, whereas the Wenhe River runs parallel to the Lesser Qinhuai through Old City from south to north. Because these waterways run along straight courses, urban Yangzhou's roads and buildings are distributed in a fairly regular pattern. The Cross Avenue, which consists of an east-west road and a south-north road, provides thoroughfares to all four directions that are joined vertically by lanes and alleyways, a road pattern which is even more pronounced in Old City. Similar to the *hutongs* in Beijing, lanes in Yangzhou are numerically serialized. The layout of New City is somewhat in disorder due partly to the presence of a host of rich merchants and powerful bureaucrats' mansions and partly to a boom of modern commercial buildings, a disorder in which the impact of the cities in the Jiangnan area is keenly felt. Bay Street in New

City, for example, becomes a shortcut because it functions like one of the slanting streets of Beijing. Quite a few streets are entangled with narrow alleyways, resulting in some "dead ends." However, despite its seemingly complicated structure, urban Yangzhou's road system is by and large orderly as it follows its own arteries and veins. In bygone years entrance to the city's large lanes was by archways that are a salient feature of urban neighborhoods in both north and south China.

Yangzhou's classical dwellings are adapted with a fair degree of flexibility to the direction of the street or lane in which they are located, and their interiors are labyrinthine and replete with changes. They usually face south, or at least have their north gates face south, because most of them are located in lanes and alleyways that run east and west. There are also houses that run south and north whose owners' favor for the southern orientation has given rise to houses whose main rooms face south and whose gates face east or west. The general gateway is a good invention with which a cluster of medium-sized or small houses with different floor plans can be enclosed to form an integral whole that allows for changes in its interiors. Such a gated community, concealing small units in large ones and bringing odds and ends of space into order, not only gives families a sense of security but also helps maintain a clanbased lifestyle, not to mention its contribution to keeping the city clean and tidy.

Many large and medium-sized mansions are still there in urban Yangzhou today. They are supplemented with gardens and courtyards of different sizes, which provide ample greenery to neighborhoods and brings about a cosy living environment.

The layout of such a dwelling generally takes the shape of a courtyard, and its centerpiece is a three-bay hall, but five-bay ones are not uncommon.

As *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* puts it,

> If a hall has five bays, a floor-length window or an overhanging latticed screen ought to be set up to demarcate its wing rooms, so that despite having five bays, it looks like a three-bay structure. Hence the term, a "house that looks like three-bayed but actually contains five bays."

There are also halls having four or two bays, depending on the floor space of their foundations. There are also seven-bay halls, but they are actually a combination of a three-bay parlor and two two-bay wing rooms, like the one in the Lu's Mansion on Kangshan Street. A side lane, known as "fire lane," is built by the side of a large or medium-sized residence for female family members and servants entering or exiting the estate, but if a large residence has more than two "fire lanes," they become its main roads. The "fire lane" in a Yangzhou dwelling is more airy and straight than a Suzhou home's "avoidance lane." Known commonly as "auxiliary lane," according to Wen Zhenheng's *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One) such a lane serves to make the dwellers believe they are taking a tidy and clean road. Of all such lanes, the one in the Gong's Cangzhou Estate at Easterly Violet Rays Lane is the widest, so wide that it allows people to enter or leave the property in sedan chairs.

The halls fall into five types: firstly, those which are singlerow deep and have no wing rooms, nicknamed "Oldie's Head"; secondly, those attached on either side to a wing room to assume a carpenter's-square plan; thirdly, three-bay halls with wing rooms on both ends to form a three-sided courtyard; fourthly, those having wing rooms on both sides and a converse room to form a quadrangle; and fifthly, those without wing rooms but having an opposite hall. However, those three-bay halls with wing rooms attached on both sides, and those quadrangles, with corridors in four directions, high and spacious

enough for horses to trot through, are called "Lofts Strung Together." Generally speaking, such a structure consists of a big hall in the front and an internal hall in the rear that contains the master's three-bay suite (two bedrooms with a sitting room), according to *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* . A wing suite or secret room is often attached to the master's suite, such as the one in the Liu's Residence at Abundant Benevolence Lane.

The hall usually has a side door with a triangular top, an octagonal gate, or a moon gate that allows access to the parlor or study. Auxiliary buildings like the kitchen, the sundries room and the servants' dormitories are kept outside the wall to free the master's dwelling area from disturbance—an arrangement that reflects the class gap in feudal society. The numbers of suites and secret rooms are determined by the layout's degree of complexity. More twists and turns mean more such suites and rooms. *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* has this to say,

> Most halls consist of three bays, and those with five bays invariably contain eastern and western wing rooms. Known as "flatlet," such a wing room belongs in such categories as secret room, double room, attached room, or boudoir.…

A tiny yard with a parterre in it is often found in the front of such a suite to provide comfort in everyday life by allowing in refreshing cool air in summer and warding off frigid wind in winter. In old days such arrangements were agreeable to the secluded dwellings of Yangzhou. The study can be as small as one or two bays, or has three bays so that it is large enough to double as a parlor, and in front of it there invariably are rockery, pond, flowers and trees and bamboos, or at least a parterre or herbaceous peony nursery to bring about a quiet and clean ambience. A dwelling with south-facing main rooms and an eastern or western gate has secondary rooms for book-keepers, private

school or sundries by the side of its portal. The narrow courtyard atrium in front of such rooms is used only to block sunlight and facilitate ventilation. Entrance to a residence with a north-facing front gate is by a "fire lane" that connects with the south-facing main house in the front.

A screen wall stands opposite the front gate of a medium-sized or large residence in Yangzhou in compliance with its owner's official or royal rank. A high-ranking screen wall features a splayed plane in the shape of the Chinese character "八"; a lower-rank one takes the plane of the Chinese character "一"; and a screen wall of the lowest rank is "built" by drawing the likeness of a square screen wall on the back wall of the opposite house belonging to another family. A luxurious screen wall, like the one in front of the Geyuan's Garden, is surfaced with finely ground bricks and engraved with bas-relief patterns, and the Chinese character "福" is embedded in the center. The exterior wall of such a residence is built of shale bricks, but finely ground bricks are put together seam to seam on elaborate ones. The gate towers are also built of bricks and ornamented with bas-relief brick carvings, while sumptuous portals assume the shape of the Chinese character "八," and feature corbel brackets and a caisson ceiling, like the front gate of the Kettle Garden at Eastern Loop Gate. Even ordinary gate towers can look compact and sprightly when surfaced with finely ground bricks. By the way, brick engraving is one of the eight engraving crafts for which Yangzhou are famous along with engravings on ivory, wood, stone, bamboo, lacquerware, jade, and porcelain.

Front gates, lacquered black and flanked by a red inscribed couplet, hinge on richly engraved stone gate piers whose sizes are determined by the rank of the dwellers. Rooftops consist of two slopes topped with a striking ridge built of tiles in latticed patterns, which, therefore, set off the gable walls

with traceries running up and down their tops. Sometimes a row of latticed windows are opened in the upper part of the enclosing wall so that treetops and rattans and vines can be espied behind it and views in the neighborhood brought to life, which adds vivacity to the lane's vista.

The front gate opens onto a screen wall, brick-engraved with the likeness of a village god's shrine that looks so lifelike and in such accord with the gateway that it naturally becomes the most eye-catching part of the inner screen wall. The ground inside the courtyard is paved with bricks or stones. The second gate is similar to the front gate in both shape and specification. The main hall, tall and roomy, is propped up on a framework built of unadorned fir of the choicest type, but *Phoebe nanmu* , cypress, or spinulose tree fern described in the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* , are used on the halls of large mansions. The timber for such purposes is sometimes polished to look smoother and more well-rounded. Such giant wooden frames, deliberately kept simple to shun ostentation, are in accord with the style of the walls built of shale bricks.

The portal of a hall is decorated with flying eaves. Floor-length latticed windows are used on the central room, and detachable windows on side or wing rooms. But the windows in such rooms built in a later period are replaced with lattice ones on a short wall between two columns. The central part of an inner hall or parlor has only a pair of floor-length windows flanked by detachable windows. If the wall under the lattice windows of a storied hall is replaced with a balustrade, wooden plates are furnished to be removed in summer to improve ventilation. An internal yard is often divided with a latticed wall, and a gate is opened in the wall to facilitate traffic.

The ratio between a courtyard's length and the height of buildings in it is 1:1 to insure enough sunlight indoors in Yangzhou dwellings. In summer

days, an overhead mat-awning is erected in the courtyard to provide cooling shade while the front and back gates and windows are kept open to let in the refreshing wind, but the breeze drifting through the gate in the wall feels a lot cooler. In winter, the gate is shut up so that when the stairway is bathed in sunshine, the dwellers will be warded off the subfreezing winter. Latticed walls and multiple layers of doors also add to the spaciousness and depth of the courtyard, so that small residences do not appear cramped for space and large ones do not appear deserted and empty. Thus aesthetic effects are achieved under the premise that all the needed functions are amply provided. The courtyard containing the central hall is invariably sidelong and sometimes features two wings or corridors designed to accentuate the position of the central hall. The internal halls in the second row have wing rooms and are situated in a square court. Their depths are usually shallower than those in south Jiangsu; some of them have no windows on their northern walls to keep the interior cool and cosy in summer and to prolong the warmth of the sunlight let in from southern windows in winter.

Indoor spaces should be kept at once apart and combined, twisted and turned moderately, and deployed flexibly to make those staying indoors feel that there is always a lot of room to spare. Thus the parlor must be segmented with overhanging latticed screens or floor-length windows to yield spaces that are at once attached and detached, that can be scaled up and down, and that are packed with changes while the main ones are clearly told apart from the minor ones. Examples like these are found in the Toiler's Garden at Abundant Benevolence Lane and the Wang's Small Garden at Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane. The central hall in a large and deep residence may feature two flying frontal eaves, like the one in the Lu's Mansion on Kangshan Street. An inner room is both joined and disjoined with side rooms,

and is separated from wing rooms with overhanging latticed screens or floor-length windows. The overhanging screen in most cases forms a round hollow in the middle and is exquisitely crafted, and sometimes covered with patterned gauze.

The interior of a study can also be segmented flexibly. All the halls go without ceilings or rough-frame superstructures (double roofs), but ceilings may be fixed in residential rooms. Round ridge may also be built inside a parlor. All the ground indoors are covered with square bricks whose four corners are propped up on as many overturned bowls so that the floors are elevated by one inch or so[see *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One)], and the hollow between floor and ground is filled in with yellow sand. Finely ground bricks are erected edgewise to keep the floor flat and off subterranean dampness. If such a brick floor is built in a bedroom, it is covered with a mobile wooden floor on legs in winter to keep warm and reduce the net height of the interior. In a posh loft, a raised brick floor is paved on rooms upstairs, with a removable wooden floor added to it to soften the noise of footsteps—a method that tallies with the saying in *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One) that walking in such a loft is "no different than [walking] in a single-story house." Such floors, of course, appear only in high-grade classical residences; those built in later periods are all covered with ordinary floors.

The interior and exterior walls are all built solidly of bricks. Baked shale bricks are ideal for posh residences, while tightly budgeted houses can also put on a tidy appearance by putting together bricks of miscellaneous sizes with mortar. The corners of exterior walls are cut off up to man's average height for traffic convenience. A corridor's walls are partly white-washed, while wooden wainscots are used to cover its internal walls, with bricks'

original color preserved on other parts. A courtyard atrium is usually floored with square or rectangular bricks made to lie flatly or stand edgewise, but it can also be paved with stone plates in cracked-ice patterns, large square marble slabs or stone plates from Gaozi in Zhenjiang. Column plinths come as thin as an ancient mirror, but block stones are also used in buildings dating back to the Ming and early Qing periods. In large residences, "stone drums" are used, some of which are fixed on a stone base in the shape of an overturned basin; such "drums" and "bases" are made of Gaozi stone or marble as well.

All the columns in Yangzhou's mansions are straight ones. The capitals of extant pillars in Ming mansions are rounded off in entasis to look thick and sturdy, with a 1:9 ratio between diameter and height, like the one in the central hall of the Mao's Residence at Greater East Gate, but it ranges between 1:10 and 1:16 for most of those available today. The alignment of columns is identical to the saying in *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* that the central column does not exist in halls but can be seen in dwellings. A full-length horizontal tablet or architrave is used in the central room of a hall, with two central bay columns removed in order that the view of the audience watching a performance onstage is not blocked.

The timber for building beam frames comes in three styles: firstly, oblong timber popular in south Jiangsu; secondly, straight and round timber popular in Yangzhou; thirdly, something between the crescent beam and the straight beam, made by rounding off the lower part of both ends of a straight beam in entasis, a structure that seems to come about under the influence of the Anhui tradition of architecture. Of these three styles, the second is representative of the Yangzhou style. The only example of it is found in the Wu's House at Down North River Street, which is wrought by an artisan from

Ningbo, Zhejiang province, by using a sturdy log as the beam, with the mortise and tenon at the joints axed and chiselled with perfect precision. The beam frame in an ordinary hall consists of a five-purlin beam between the front and back columns, with short columns placed on it, and then a three-purlin beam and a small pillar are installed. However, square beams and underboarding are not used under the purlins, which should be a northern Jiangsu invention because it does not tally with the instruction in *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* , and therefore is somewhat flawed in structure. Some parlors have six sets of round ridges with stairway-shaped gable walls round in the upper part. Some luxury halls are fixed with square pillars and beams, which belong to the "square hall" type illustrated in the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* . Round ridges over the façade of the building generally have rafters curving into the shape of crabapple flowers, water caltrops, or a crane's neck, but most of such rafters are in the shape of a boat awning. Rough-frame superstructure is only used occasionally.

The balustrades of the Yangzhou tradition are relatively tall, and their lattices are of the shaped reel pattern surrounded with convex moldings. The concise hanging fascias under the eaves are set in tune with the elevation of the entire building. Rooftop tiles are paved on top of sheathing tiles, and the tile ends for ornamental and drainage purposes become thick and sturdy. Ends of arched tiles are longer in the lower part and those of plate tiles are raised in the upper part.

Insofar as water supply is concerned, there is at least one well in every urban dwelling in Yangzhou except for those homes that draw water from the Lesser Qinghuai River and the Wenhe River. Such wells are found in courtyards, in front of kitchens, inside gardens, or in "fire lanes," There are

also "hidden" wells indoors, which refers to wells without brandriths. Public wells are available in almost every neighborhood. Brick arches are built into the lower part of the walls beside wells (those in Hangzhou and Shaoxing are lined with vertical stone plates) to prevent the wall from sinking or caving in, which is something seldom seen elsewhere. In addition to washing and drinking, well water is also reserved for fire prevention purposes, and rainwater is also preserved in vats placed under the eaves to meet the same needs. Underground shafts are built in courtyards to connect with sewages outside the front doors. Fish bowls are placed in ponds for wintering golden fish.

Neat, tidy and thriving dwelling buildings have impacted the cityscape of Yangzhou to a certain degree. Few old cities in China can match Yangzhou's sheer number of methodically laid out residential quarters. Such dwellings are bright, clean and quiet, with large ones containing small ones that are integrated or separated with facility. In handling spaces, due attention is paid to segmenting courtyards and grouping wide and narrow spaces, and sunlight and ventilation problems are addressed efficiently. Buildings large and small come in proper proportions and allocated proportionately, and floor spaces are economically deployed for the comfort of dwellers and to the delight of visitors. The plan of every dwelling is adapted to the environment and arranged cleverly. Every building is made to face south no matter in what direction a particular terrain is facing; every dwelling has its spaces well grouped to meet various functional needs no matter how large or small its lot is. Their architectural precepts are a hybrid of southern and northern styles, with emphasis on polish and order. So much for the characteristics of traditional dwellings in the Yangzhou tradition.

The gardens and residences of Yangzhou are of uttermost values to the

history of Chinese architecture. I believe that garden crafters of today could learn a lot from the achievements of the local labouring people in garden construction in ancient times. [46]

扬州园林与住宅

扬州是一个历史悠久的古城，很早以来就多次出现繁华景象，成为我国经济最为富裕的地方；物质基础的丰厚，为扬州文化艺术的发展创造了有利的条件。表现在园林与住宅方面，也有其独特的成就和风格。

试从历史的发展来看，公元前486年周敬王三十四年，吴王夫差在扬州筑邗城，并开凿河道，东北通射阳湖，西北至末口入淮，用以运粮。这是扬州建城的开始和“邗沟”得名的由来。扬州由于地处江淮要冲，自春秋末便成为我国东南地区的政治军事重地之一。从经济条件来说，鱼、盐、工农业等各种生产事业都很发达，同时又是全国粮食、盐、铁等的主要集散地之一；隋唐以后更是我国对外文化联络和对外贸易的主要港埠。这些都奠定了扬州趋向繁荣的物质基础。

隋唐时代的扬州，是极其重要而富庶的地方。从隋文帝（杨坚）统一南北以后，江淮的富源得到了繁荣的机会，扬州位于江淮的中心，自然也就很快地兴盛起来。其后隋炀帝（杨广）恣意寻欢作乐来到扬州，又大兴土木，建造离宫别馆。虽然这时的扬州开始呈现了空前的繁荣，却不能使扬州的富庶得到真正的发展。但是隋炀帝时所开凿的运河，则又使扬州成为掌握南北水路交通的枢纽，为以后的经济繁荣提供了有利的条件。在建筑技术上，由于统治阶级派遣来的北方匠师，与江南原有的匠师在技术上得到了交流与融合，更大大地推进了日后扬州建筑的发展。唐朝的诗人杜牧曾用“谁知竹西路，歌吹是扬州”的诗句来歌咏扬州的繁荣。

早在南北朝时期（公元420—589年），宋人徐湛之在平山堂下建有风亭、月观、吹台、琴室等。到唐朝贞观年间（公元627—649年），有裴谌的樱桃园，已具有“楼台重复、花木鲜秀”的境界，而郝氏园还要超过它。但唐末都受到了破坏。宋时有郡圃、丽芳园、壶春园、万花园

等，多水木之胜。金军南下，扬州受到较大的破坏。正如南宋姜夔于淳熙三年（公元1176年）《扬州慢》词上所诵：“自胡马窥江去后，废池乔木，犹厌言兵。渐黄昏，清角吹寒，都在空城。”同时宋金时期，运河已经阻塞，至元初漕运不得不改换海道，扬州的经济就不如过去繁荣了。元代仅有平野轩、崔伯亨园等二三例记载。明代初叶运河经过整修，又成为南北交通的动脉，扬州也重新成了两淮区域盐的集散地。明中叶后由于资本主义经济的萌芽，城市更趋繁荣，除盐业以外，其他的商业与手工业也都获得了发展。到十七八世纪的清代，扬州的经济，在表面上可说是到了最繁荣的时期。这种繁荣实际上是封建统治阶级穷奢极侈、腐化堕落、消极颓唐、享乐寻欢的具体表现，而扬州的劳动人民，却以他们的勤劳与智慧，创造了独特的园林建筑艺术，为我国古代文化遗产作出了一定的贡献。

明代中叶以后，扬州的商人，以徽商居多，其后赣（江西）商、湖广（湖南、湖北）商、粤（广东）商等亦接踵而来。他们与本地商人共同经营了商业，所获得的大量资金，并没有积累起来从事再生产。除了花费在奢侈的生活之外，又大规模地建筑园林和住宅。由于水路交通的便利，随着徽商的到来，又来了徽州的建筑匠师，使徽州的建筑手法融合在扬州建筑艺术之中。各地的建筑材料，及附近香山（苏州香山）匠师，更由于舟运畅通源源到达扬州，使扬州建筑艺术更为增色。在园林方面，如明万历年间（公元1573—1619年）太守吴秀所筑的梅花岭，叠石为山，周以亭台。明末清初郑氏兄弟（元嗣、元勋、元化、侠如）的四处大园林——影园（元勋）、休园（侠如）、嘉树园（元化）、五亩之园（元嗣），不论在园的面积上及造园艺术上都很突出。影园是著名造园家吴江计成的作品，园主郑元勋因受匠师的熏陶，亦粗解造园之术。这时的士大夫就是那样“寄情”于山水，而匠师们却在平原的扬州叠石凿池，以有限的空间构成无限的景色，建造了那“宛自天开”的园林。这些给后来清乾隆时期（公元1736—1795年）的大规模兴建园林，在技

术上奠定了基础。清兵南下，这些建筑受到了极大的破坏，只有从现存的几处楠木大厅，尚能看到当时建筑手法的片断。

清初，统治阶级在扬州建有王洗马园、卞园、员园、贺园、冶春园、南园、郑御史园、篠园等，号称八大名园。乾隆时因高宗（弘历）屡次“南巡”，为了满足尽情享乐的欲望，便大事建筑亭、台、阁、园【从周案五】。扬州的绅商们想争宠于皇室，达到升官发财的目的，也大事修建园林。自瘦西湖至平山堂一带，更是“两堤花柳全依水，一路楼台直到山”。有二十四景之称，并著名于世。所以李斗《扬州画舫录》卷六中引刘大观言：“杭州以湖山胜，苏州以市肆胜，扬州以园林胜，三者鼎峙，不可轩轾”，洵至论也。清朝的统治阶级正利用这种“南巡”的机会进行搜刮，美其名为“报效”。商人也在盐中“加价”，继而又“加耗”。皇帝还从中取利，在盐中提成，名“提引”。皇帝又发官款借给商人，生息取利，称为“帑利”。日久以后，“官盐”价格日高，商人对盐民的剥削日益加重，而广大人民的吃盐也更加困难。封建的官商，凭着搜刮剥削得来的资金，不惜任意挥霍，争建大型园林与住宅，做了控制它命运的主人。封建社会的统治阶级与豪绅富贾，以这种动机和企图来对待劳动人民所造成的园林作品，自然使这些园林蕴藏着难以久长的因素。这时期的园林兴造之风，正如《扬州画舫录》谢溶生序文中说：“增假山而作陇，家家住青翠城闉；开止水以为渠，处处是烟波楼阁。”流风所及，形成了一种普遍造园的风气。因此除瘦西湖上的园林外，如天宁寺的行宫御花园、法净寺的东西园、盐运署的题襟馆、湖南会馆的棣园，以及九峰园、乔氏东园、秦氏意园、小玲珑山馆等，都很著名。其他如祠堂、书院、会馆，下至餐馆、妓院、浴室等，也都模拟叠石引水，栽花种竹了。这种庭院内略加点缀的风气，似乎已成为建筑中不可缺少的部分。

从整个社会来看，乾隆以后，清朝的统治开始动摇，同时中国两千年的长期封建社会，也走向下坡，清帝就不再敢“南巡”了。国内的阶级

矛盾与民族矛盾，正酝酿着大规模的斗争，西方资本主义的浪潮日益紧逼，从而动摇了封建社会的基础。到嘉庆时，扬州盐商日渐衰落。鸦片战争后，继以《江宁条约》五口通商，津浦铁路筑成，同时海上交通又日趋发达，扬州在经济、交通上便失去了其原有的地位。早在道光十四年（公元1834年），阮元作《扬州画舫录跋》，道光十九年（公元1839年）又作《后跋》，历述他所看见的衰败现象，已到了“楼台荒废难留客，林木飘零不禁樵”的地步，比太平天国军于1853年攻克扬州还早十九年。由此可见，过去的许多记载，把瘦西湖一带园林毁坏的责任，硬加于农民革命军身上，显然是错误的。咸丰、同治以后，扬州已呈时兴时衰的“回光返照”状态，所谓“繁荣”只是靠镇压太平天国革命起家的官僚富商，在苟延残喘的清朝统治政权的末期，粉饰太平而已。民国以后，由于“盐票”的取消，盐商无利可图，坐吃山空，因而都以拆屋售料、拆山售石为生。园林与大型住宅渐趋破坏【从周案六】。

扬州位于我国南北之间，在建筑上有其独特的成就与风格，是研究我国传统建筑的一个重要地区。很明显，扬州的建筑是北方“官式”建筑与江南民间建筑两者之间的一种介体。这与清帝“南巡”、四商杂处、交通畅达等有关，但主要的还是匠师技术的交流。清道光间钱泳的《履园丛话》卷十二载：“造屋之工，当以扬州为第一。如作文之有变换，无雷同，虽数间小筑，必使门窗轩豁，曲折得宜……盖厅堂要整齐如台阁气象，书斋密室要参差如园亭布置，兼而有之，方称妙手。”在装修方面，也同样考究，据同书卷十二载：“周制之法，唯扬州有之。明末有周姓者始创此法，故名周制。”北京圆明园的重要装修，就是采用“周制”之法，由扬州“贡”去的【从周案七】。其他名匠谷丽成、成烈等，都精于宫室装修。姚蔚池、史松乔、文起、徐履安、黄晟、黄履暹兄弟（履昊、履昂）等，对于建筑及布置方面都有不同造诣。又据《扬州画舫录》卷二记载：“扬州以名园胜，名园以垒石胜。”在叠石方面，名手辈出，明清两代有叠影园山的计成，叠万石园、片石山房的石涛，叠白沙

翠竹江村石壁的张涟，叠怡性堂宣石山的仇好石，叠九狮山的董道士，叠秦氏小盘谷的戈裕良，以及王天于【从周案八】 、张国泰等。晚近有叠萃园、怡庐、匏庐、蔚圃和冶春等的余继之。他们有的是当地人，有的是客居扬州的。在叠山技术方面，他们互相交流，互相推敲，都各具有独特的造诣，在扬州留下了不少的艺术作品，使我国叠山艺术得到了进一步的提高。

关于扬州园林及建筑的记述，除通志、府志、县志记载外，尚有清乾隆间的《南巡盛典》《江南胜迹》《行宫图说》《名胜园亭图说》，程梦星《扬州名园记》《平山堂小志》，汪应庚《平山揽胜志》，赵之璧《平山堂图志》，李斗《扬州画舫录》，以及稍后的阮亨《广陵名胜图记》，钱泳《履园丛话》，道光间骆在田《扬州名胜图》，和晚近王振世《扬州览胜录》，董玉书《芜城怀旧录》等，而尤以《扬州画舫录》记载最为详实，其中《工段营造录》一卷，取材于《大清工部工程做法则例》与《圆明园则例》，旁征博引，有历来谈营造所不及之处。

扬州位于长江下游北岸，与镇江隔江对峙，南濒大江，北负蜀冈，西有扫垢山，东沿运河，就地势而论，较为平坦，西北略高而东南稍低。土壤大体可分两类：西北山丘地区属含钙的黏土；东南为冲积平原，地属砂积土；地面上则多瓦砾层。扬州气候属北温带，为亚热带的渐变地区。夏季最高平均温度在30℃左右，冬季最低平均温度在1—2℃。因为离海很近，夏季有海洋风，所以较为凉爽，冬季则略寒冷。土壤冻结深度一般为10—15厘米，年降雨量一般都在1000毫米以上。属季候风区域，夏季多东风，冬季多东北风。常年的主导风向为东北风。在台风季节，还受到一定的台风影响。

扬州的自然环境，既具有平坦的地势、温和的气候、充沛的雨量以及较好的土质，有利于劳动生产与生活；又地处交通的中心，商业发达，因此历来便成为繁荣的所在，促进了建筑的发展。不过在这样的自然条件下，以建筑材料而论，扬州仍然是缺乏木材与石料的，因此大都

仰给于外地。在官僚富商的住宅与园林中，更出现了珍贵的建筑材料，如楠木、紫檀、红木、花梨、银杏、大理石、高资石、太湖石、灵璧石、宣石等。

当时扬州园林与住宅的分布，比较集中在城区，而最大的建筑又多在新城部分。按其发展情况，过去旧城居住者为士大夫与一般市民，而新城则多盐商。清中叶前，盐商多萃集在东关街一带，如小玲珑山馆、寿芝园（个园前身）、百尺梧桐阁、约园与后来的逸圃等。较晚的有地官第的汪氏小苑、紫气东来巷的沧州别墅等，亦与此相邻。同时又渐渐扩展到花园巷南河下一带，如秋声馆、随月读书楼、片石山房、棣园、小盘谷、寄啸山庄等。这些园林与住宅的四周都筑有高墙，外观多半与江南的城市面貌相似。旧城部分建筑，一般较低小，但坊巷排列却很整齐，还保留了苏北地区朴素的地方风格。这是与居住者的经济基础分不开的。较好的居住区，总是水陆交通便利，接近盐运署和商业地区。

目前扬州城区还保存得比较完整的园林，大小尚有三十处。具有典型性的，要推片石山房、个园、寄啸山庄、小盘谷、逸圃、余园、怡庐和蔚圃等。住宅为数尚多，如卢宅、汪宅、赵宅、魏宅等，皆为不同类型的代表。

·园林

片石山房一名“双槐园”，在新城花园巷何芷舠宅内，初系吴家龙的别业，后属吴辉谟【从周案九】。今尚存假山一丘，相传为石涛手笔，誉为石涛叠山的“人间孤本”。假山南向，从平面看来是一座横长形的倚墙山。西首以今存气势来看，应为主峰，迎风耸翠，奇峭迎人，俯临着水池。人们从飞梁（用一块石造成的桥）经过石磴，有腊梅一株，枝叶扶苏，曲折地沿着石壁可登临峰顶。峰下筑正方形的石室（用砖砌）两间，所谓片石山房就是指此石室说的。向东山石蜿蜒，下面筑有石洞，

很是幽深，运石浑成，仿佛天然形成。可惜洞西的假山已倾倒，山上的建筑物也不存在，无法看到它的原来全貌了。这种布局的手法，大体上还继承了明代叠山的惯例，不过重点突出，使主峰与山洞都更为显著罢了。全局的主次分明，虽然地形不大，布置却很自然，疏密适当，片石峥嵘，很符合片石山房的这个名字的含义。扬州叠山以运用小料见长。石涛曾经叠过万石园，想来便是运用高度的技巧，将小石拼镶而成。在堆叠片石山房之前，石涛对石材同样进行了周密的选择，以石块的大小，石纹的横直，分别组合摹拟成真山形状；还运采了他画论上的“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”（见石涛《苦瓜和尚画语录》）的道理，叠成“一峰突起，连冈断堑，变幻顷刻，似续不续”（见石涛《苦瓜小景》题辞）的章法。因此虽高峰深洞，却一点没有人工斧凿痕迹，显出皴法的统一，全局紧凑，虚实对比有方。按《履园丛话》卷二十：“扬州新城花园巷，又有片石山房者。二厅之后，湫以方池，池上有太湖石山子一座，高五六丈，甚奇峭，相传为石涛和尚手笔。其地系吴氏旧宅，后为一媒婆所得，以开面馆，兼为卖戏之所，改造大厅房，仿佛京师前门外戏园式样，俗不可耐。”据以上的记载与志书所记，地址是相符合的，两厅今尚存一座，面阔三间的楠木厅，它的建筑年代当在乾隆年间。山旁还存有走马楼（川楼），池虽被填没，可是根据湖石驳岸的范围考寻，尚能想象到旧时水面的情况。假山所用湖石，与记载亦能一致。山峰高出园墙，它的高度和书上记载的相若，顶部今已有颓倾。至于叠山之妙，独峰依云，秀映清池，确当得起“奇峭”二字。石壁、磴道、山洞，三者最是奇绝。石涛叠山的方法，给后世影响很大，而以嘉道年间的戈裕良最为杰出。戈氏的叠山法，据《履园丛话》卷十二：“……只将大小石钩带联络，如造环桥法，可以千年不坏。要如真山洞壑一般，然后方称能事。”苏州的环秀山庄、常熟的燕园，与已毁的扬州秦氏意园小盘谷是他叠的，前两处今都保存了这种钩带联络的做法。

个园在东关街，是清嘉庆、道光间盐商两淮商总黄应泰（至筠）所

筑。应泰别号个园，园内又植竹万竿，所以题名个园。据刘凤诰所撰《个园记》，园系就寿芝园旧址重筑。寿芝园原来叠石，相传为石涛所叠，但没有可靠的根据，或许因园中的黄石假山，气势有似安徽的黄山；石涛喜画黄山景，就附会是他的作品了。个园原来范围较现存要大些。现今住宅部分经维修后，仅存留中路与东路，大门及门屋已毁，照壁上的砖刻很精工。住宅各三进。正路大厅明间（当中的一间），减去两根“平柱”，这样它的开间就敞大了，应该说是当时为了兼作观戏之用才这样处理的。每进厅旁，都有套房小院，各院中置不同形式的花坛，竹影花香，十分幽静。园林在住宅的背面，从“火巷”（屋边小弄）中进入；有一株老干紫藤，浓荫深郁，人们到此便能得到一种清心悦目的感觉。往前左转达复道廊（两层的游廊），迎面左右有两个花坛，满植修竹，竹间放置了参差的石笋，用一真一假的处理手法，象征着春日山林。竹后花墙正中开一月洞门，上面题额是“个园”。门内为桂花厅，前面栽植丛桂，后面凿池，北面沿墙建楼七间，山连廊接，木映花承，登楼可鸟瞰全园。池的西面原有二舫，名“鸳鸯”。与此隔水相对耸立着六角亭。亭倒映池中，清澈如画。楼西叠湖石假山，名“秋云”（黄石秋山对景，故云），秀木繁阴，有松如盖。山下池水流入洞谷，渡过曲桥，有洞如屋，曲折幽邃，苍健夭矫，能发挥湖石形态多变的特征。因为洞屋较宽畅，洞口上部山石外挑，而水复流入洞中，兼以石色青灰，在夏日更觉凉爽。此处原有“十二洞”之称。假山正面向阳，湖石石面变化又多，尤其在夏日的阳光与风雨中所起的阴影变化，更是好看，予人有夏山多态的感觉。因此称它为“夏山”。山南今很空旷，过去当为植竹的地方，想来万竿摇碧，流水湾环，又另生一番境界。从湖石山的磴道引登山巅，转至七间楼，经楼、廊与复道，可到东首的黄石大假山。山的主面向西，每当夕阳西下，一抹红霞，映照在黄石山上，不但山势显露，并且色彩倍觉醒目。而山的本身又拔地数丈，峻峭凌云，宛如一幅秋山图，是秋日登高的理想所在。它的设计手法，与春景夏山同样利用不同

的地位、朝向、材料与山的形态，达到各具特色的目的。山间有古柏出石隙中，使坚挺的形态与山势取得调和，苍绿的枝叶又与褐黄的山石造成对比。它与春景用竹、夏山用松一样，在植物配置上，能从善于陪衬加深景色出发，是经过一番选择与推敲的。磴道置于洞中，洞顶钟乳垂垂（以黄石倒悬代替钟乳石），天光隐隐从石窦中透入，人们在洞中上下盘旋，造奇致胜，构成了立体交通，发挥了黄石叠山的效果。山中还有小院、石桥、石室等与前者的综合运用，这又是别具一格的设计方法，在他处园林中尚是未见。山顶有亭，人在亭中见群峰皆置脚下，北眺绿杨城郭、瘦西湖、平山堂及观音山诸景，一一招入园内，是造园家极巧妙的手法，称为“借景”。山南有一楼，上下皆可通山。楼旁有一厅，厅的结构是用硬山式（建筑物只前后两坡用屋顶，两侧用山墙），悬姚正镛题“透风漏月”匾额。厅前堆白色雪石（宣石）假山，为冬日赏雪围炉的地方。因为要象征有雪意，将假山置于南面向北的墙下，看去有如积雪未消的样子。反之如将雪石置于面阳的地方，则石中所含石英闪闪作光，就与雪意相违，这是叠雪石山时不能不注意的事。墙东列洞，引隔墙春景入院，借用“大地回春”的意思。上山可通入园的复道廊，但此复道廊已不存。

个园以假山堆叠的精巧而出名。在建造时就有超出扬州其他园林之上的意图，故以石斗奇，采取分峰用石的手法，号称四季假山，为国内唯一孤例。虽然大流芳巷八咏园也有同样的处理，不过没有起峰。这种假山似乎概括了画家所谓“春山淡冶而如笑，夏山苍翠而如滴，秋山明净而如妆，冬山惨淡而如睡”（见郭熙《林泉高致》），与“春山宜游，夏山宜看，秋山宜登，冬山宜居”（见戴熙《习苦斋题画》）的画理，实为扬州园林中最具地方特色的一景。

寄啸山庄在花园巷，今名何园。清光绪间官僚做道台的何芷舠所筑，为清代扬州大型园林的最后作品。由住宅可达园内。园后刁家巷另设一门，当时是为招待外客的出入口。住宅建筑除楠木厅外，都是洋

房，楼横堂列，廊庑回缭，在平面布局上，尚具中国传统。从宅中最后进墙上的什锦空窗（砖框）中隐约地能见到园的一角。园中为大池，池北楼宽七楹，因主楼三间稍突，两侧楼平舒展伸，屋角又都起翘，有些像蝴蝶的形态，当地人叫作“蝴蝶厅”。楼旁连复道廊可绕全园，高低曲折，人行其间有随势凌空的感觉。而中部与东部又用此复道廊作为分隔。人们的视线通过上下壁间的漏窗，可互见两面景色，显得空灵深远。这是中国园林利用分隔扩大空间面积的手法之一。此园运用这一手法，较为自如而特出。池东筑水亭，四角卧波，为纳凉拍曲的地方。此戏亭利用水面的回音，增加音响效果，又利用回廊作为观剧的看台。不过在封建社会，女宾只能坐在宅内贴园的复道廊中，通过疏帘，从墙上的什锦空窗中观看。这种临水筑台增强音响效果的手法，今天还可以酌予采取，而复道廊隔帘观剧的看台是要扬弃的。如用空窗作为引景泄景，以加深园林层次与变化，当然还是一种有效的手法。所谓“景物锁难小牖通”，便是形容这种境界。池西南角为假山，山后隐西轩，轩南的牡丹台，随着山势层叠起伏，看去十分自然。这种做法并不费事，而又平易近人，无矫揉造作之态，新建园林中似可推广。越山穿洞，洞幽山危，黄石山壁与湖石磴道，尚宛转多姿，虽用不同的石类，却能浑成一体。山东麓有一水洞，略具深意，唯一头与柱相交接，稍嫌考虑不周。山南崇楼三间，楼前峰峦嶙峋，经山道可以登楼，向东则转入住宅复道了。复道廊为叠落形（屋顶顺次作阶段高低），有游廊与复廊（一条廊中用墙分隔为二）两种形式，墙上开漏窗，巧妙地分隔成中东两部。漏窗以水磨砖对缝构成，面积很大，图案简洁，手法挺秀工整。廊东有四面厅，与三间轩相对置，院中碧梧倚峰，阴翳蔽日，阶下花街铺地（用鹅石子与碎砖瓦等拼花铺成的地面），与厅前砖砌阑凳极为相称，形成一种成功的作品。它和漏窗一样，亦为别处所不及，是具有地方风格的一种艺术品。厅后的假山贴墙而筑，壁岩与磴道无率直之弊，假山体形不大，尚能含蓄寻味。尤其是小亭踞峰，旁倚粉墙之下，加之

古木掩映，每当夕阳晚照，碎影满阶，发挥了中国园林就白粉墙为底所产生的虚实景色。虽然面积不大，但景物的变化万千，在小空间的院落中，还是一种可取的手法。山西北有磴道，拾级可达楼层复道廊中的半月台，它与西部复道廊尽端楼层的旧有半月台，都是分别用来观看升月与落月的。在植物配置方面，厅前山间栽桂，花坛种牡丹芍药，山麓植白皮松，阶前植梧桐，转角补芭蕉，均以群植为主，因此葱翠宜人，春时绚烂，夏日浓荫，秋季馥郁，冬令苍青。这都有规律可循，就不同植物特性因地制宜地安排的。此园以开畅雄健见长，水石用来衬托建筑物，使山色水光与崇楼杰阁、复道修廊相映成趣，虚实互见。又以厅堂为主，以复道廊与假山贯串分隔，上下脉络自存，形成立体交通、多层欣赏的园林。它的风景面则环水展开，而花墙构成了深深不尽的景色，楼台花木，隐现其间。此园建造时期较晚，装修已多新材料与新纹样，又另辟园门可招待外客等。其格局更是较之过去的为宏畅，使游者由静观的欣赏，渐趋动观的游览，而逶迤衡直，闿爽深密，曲具中国园林的特征，在造园手法上有一定程度的出新。

小盘谷在大树巷。清光绪二十年后，官僚两江两广总督周馥购自徐姓重修而成。至民国初年复经一度修整。园在宅的东部，自大厅旁入月门。额名“小盘谷”，从笔意看来，似出陈鸿寿（字曼生，杭州人，西泠八家印人之一，生于清乾隆三十三年［公元1768年］，殁于道光二年［公元1822年］）之手。花厅三间面山作曲尺形，游者绕到厅后，忽见一池汪洋，豁然开朗。厅侧有水阁枕流，以游廊相接，它与隔岸山石、隐约花墙，形成一种中国园林中惯用的以建筑物与自然景物相对比的手法。廊前有曲桥达对岸，桥尽入幽洞。洞很广，内置棋桌，利用穴窦采光。复临水辟门，人自此可循阶至池。洞左通步石（用石块置水中代桥）、崖道，导至后部花厅，厅前山尽头有磴道可上山。这里是一个很好的谷口，题为“水流云在”。山洞的处理，既开敞又曲折多变化，应该说是构筑山洞中的好实例。右出洞转入小院，向上折入游廊，可登山

巅。山上有亭名风亭，坐亭中可以顾盼东西两部的景色。今东部布置已毁，正在修复中。其入口门作桃形额为“丛翠”。池北曲尺形厅，今改建。山拔地峥嵘，名九狮图山。峰高约九米余，惜民国初年修缮时，略损原状。此园假山为扬州诸园中的上选作品。山石水池与建筑物皆集中处理，对比明显，用地紧凑。以建筑物与山石、山石与粉墙、山石与水池、前院与后园、幽深与开朗、高峻与低平等对比手法，形成一时难分的幻景。花墙间隔得非常灵活，山峦、石壁、步石、谷口等的叠置，正是危峰耸翠，苍岩临流，水石交融，浑然一片了。妙处在于运用“以少胜多”的艺术手法。虽然园内没有崇楼与复道廊，但是幽曲多姿，浅画成图。廊屋皆不髹饰，以木材的本色出之。叠山的技术尤佳，足与苏州环秀山庄抗衡，显然出于名匠师之手。案清光绪《江都县续志》卷十二记片石山房云：“园以湖石胜，石为狮九，有玲珑夭矫之概。”【从周案十】 今从小盘谷假山章法分析，似以片石山房为蓝本，并参考其他佳作综合提高而成。又据《扬州画舫录》卷二云：“淮安董道士垒九狮山，亦籍籍人口。”卷六又云：“卷石洞天在城闉清梵之后……以旧制临水太湖石山，搜岩剔穴为九狮形，置之水中，上点桥亭，题之曰‘卷石洞天’。”扬州博物馆藏李斗书九狮山条幅，臧谷跋语指为卷石洞天九狮山，但未言系董道士所叠。据旧园主周叔弢丈及其侄煦良先生说，小盘谷的假山一向以九狮图山相沿称，由来已很久，想系定有所据。因此我认为当时九狮山在扬州必不止一处，而以卷石洞天为最出名。董道士以叠此类假山而著名，其后渐渐形成了一种风气。董道士是乾隆间人，今证以峰峦、洞曲、崖道、壁岩、步石、谷口等，皆这一时期的手法，而陈鸿寿所书一额，时间又距离不太远。姑且提出这个假设，即使不是董道士的原作，亦必摹拟其手法而成。旧城南门堂子巷的秦氏意园小盘谷，系黄石堆叠的假山小品，乾隆以后所筑，出名匠师常州戈裕良之手，今不存。《履园丛话》卷十二载：“近时有戈裕良者，常州人，其堆法尤胜于诸家。”据此，则戈氏时期略迟于董道士。从秦氏小盘谷遗

迹来看，山石平淡蕴藉，以“阴柔”出之，而此小盘谷则高险磅礴，似以“阳刚”制胜。这两位叠山名手同时作客扬州，那么这两件艺术作品，正是他们颉颃之作，用以平分秋色了。

东关街个园的西首，有园名逸圃，为李姓的宅园。从大门入，迎面有八角门，额书“逸圃”二字。左转为住宅。八角门内有廊修直，在东墙叠山，委婉屈曲，壁岩森严，与墙顶之瓦花墙形成虚实对比。山旁筑牡丹台，花时若锦。山间北头的尽端，倚墙筑五边形半亭，亭下有碧潭，清澈可以照人。花厅三间南向，装修极精。外廊天花，皆施浅雕。厅后小轩三间，带东厢配以西廊，前置花木山石。轩背置小院，设门而常关，初看去与木壁无异。沿磴道可达复道廊，即由楼后转入隔园。园在住宅之后，以复道与山石相连，折向西北，有西向楼三间，面峰而筑。楼有盘梯可下，旁有紫藤一架，老干若虬，满阶散绿，增色不少。此园与苏州曲园相仿佛，都是利用曲尺形隙地加以布置的，但比曲园巧妙，形成上下错综，境界多变。匠师们在设计此园时，利用“绝处逢生”的手法，造成了由小院转入隔园的办法，来一个似尽而未尽的布局。这种情况在过去扬州园林中并不少见，亦扬州园林特色之一。

怡庐是嵇家湾黄宅（银钱商黄益之宅）花厅的一部分，系余继之的作品。余工叠山，善艺花卉，小园点石尤为能手。怡庐花厅计二进。前进的前后皆列小院。院中东南两面筑廊，西面则点雪石一丘，荫以丛桂。厅后翼两厢，小院的花坛上配石笋修竹，枝叶纷披，人临其间有滴翠分绿的感觉。厅西隔花墙，自月门中入，有套房内院，它给外院造成了“庭院深深深几许”的景色，又因外院的借景，而内院中便显得小中见大了。这是中国建筑中用分隔增大空间的手法，是在居住的院落中较好的例子。后厅亦三间，面对山石，其西亦置套房小院。从平面论，此小园无甚出人意料处，但建筑物与院落比例匀当，装修亦以横线条出之，使空间宽绰有余，而点石栽花，亦能恰到好处。至于大小院落的处理，又能发挥其密处见疏、静中生趣的优点。从这里可见绿化及空间组合对

小型建筑的重要性了。

余园在广陵路，初名“陇西后圃”。清光绪间归盐商刘姓后，就旧园修筑而成，又名刘庄。因曾设怡大钱庄于此，一般称怡大花园。园位于住宅之后，以院落分隔，前院南向为厅，其西缀以廊屋，墙下筑湖石花坛，有白皮松二株。厅后一院，西端多修竹。墙下叠黄石山，由磴道可登楼。东院有楼北向筑，其下凿池叠山，而湖石壁岩，尤为这园精华的所在。

蔚圃在风箱巷。东南角入门，院中置假山，配以古藤老柏，很觉苍翠葱郁。假山仅墙下少许，然有洞可寻，有峰可赏，自北部厅中望去，景物森然。东西两面配游廊，西南角则建水榭，下映鱼池，多清新之感。这小院布置虽寥寥数事，却甚得体。

蔚圃旁有杨氏小筑，真可谓一角的小园，原属花厅书斋部分。入门为花厅两间，前列小院，点缀少量山石竹木，以花墙分隔。旁有斜廊，上达小阁。阁前山石间有水一泓：因地位过小，以鱼缸聚水，配合很觉相称。园主善艺兰，此小园平时以盆兰为主花，故不以绚丽花木而夺其芬芳。此处虽不足以园称，然园的格局具备，前后分隔得宜，咫尺的面积，能无局促之感，反觉多左右顾盼生景的妙处。

扬州园林的主人，以富商为多。他们除拥有盘剥得来的物质财富外，还捐得一个空头的官衔，以显耀其身份，因此这些园林在设计的主导思想上与官僚地主的园林有了些不同。最特出的地方，便是一味追求豪华，借以炫富有，榜风雅。在清康熙、乾隆时代，正如上述所说的还期望能得到皇帝的“御赏”，以达到升官发财的目的，若干处还摹拟一些皇家园林的手法。因此在园林的总面貌上，建筑物的尺度、材料的品类，都从高敞华丽方面追求。即以楼厅面阔而论，有多至七间的；其他楼层复道，巨峰名石，以及分峰用石的四季假山（个园、八咏园）和积土累石的“斗鸡台”（壶园有此）。更因多数富商为安徽徽州府属人，间有模拟皖南山水者。建筑用的木材，佳者选用楠木，楼层铺方砖。地面

除鹅石的“花街”外，院中有用大理石的。至于装修陈设的华丽等，都是反映了园主除享受所谓“诗情画意”的山水景色意图与暴露其腐朽的生活方式外，还有为招待较多的宾客作为交际场所之意，因此它与苏州园林在同一的设计主导思想下，还多着这一层的原因。这种设计思想在大型的园林如个园、寄啸山庄等最容易见到。并且扬州的诗文与八怪的画派，在风格上亦比吴门派来得豪放沉厚，这些多少给造园带来了一定感染与提高。无疑地要研究扬州园林，必须先弄清这些园主当时的物质力量与精神需要，根据主客观愿望，决定了其设计的要求与主导思想，因而影响了园林的意境与风格。

自然环境与材料的不同，对园林的风格是有一定影响的。扬州地势平坦，土壤干湿得宜，气候及雨量亦适中，兼有南北两地的长处。所以花木易于滋长，而芍药、牡丹尤为茂盛。这对豪华的园林来说，是最有利的条件。叠山所用的石材，又多利用盐船回载，近则取自江浙的镇江、高资、句容、苏州、宜兴、吴兴、武康等地，远则运自皖赣的徽州府属——宣城、灵璧、河口等处，更有少量奇峰异石罗致自西南诸省的，因此石材的品种要比苏州所用为多。

中国园林的建造，总是利用“因地制宜”的原则，尤其在水网与山陵地带。可是扬州属江淮平原，水位不太高，土地亦坦旷，因此在规划园林时，与苏杭一带利用天然地形与景色就有所不同了。大型园林多数中部为池，厅堂又为一园的主体，两者必相配合。池旁筑山，点缀亭阁，周联复道，以花墙山石、树木为园林的间隔，造成有层次、富变化的景色。这可以个园、寄啸山庄为代表。中小型园林则倚墙叠山石，下辟水池，适当地辅以游廊水榭，结构比较紧凑。片石山房、小盘谷都按这个原则配置。庭院还是根据住宅余地面积的多寡，或院落的大小，安排少许假山立峰，旁凿小鱼池，筑水榭，或布置牡丹台、芍药圃，内容并不求多，便能给人以一种明净宜人的感觉。蔚圃与杨氏小筑即为其例。而逸圃却又利用狭长曲尺形隙地，构成了平面布局变化较多的一个突出的

例子。总的说来，扬州园林在平面布局上较为平整，以动观与静观相结合。然其妙处在于立体交通，与多层观赏线，如复道廊、楼、阁以及假山的窦穴、洞曲、山房、石室，皆能上下沟通，自然变化多端了。但就水面与山石、建筑相互发挥作用来说，未能做到十分交融；驳岸多数似较平直，少曲折弯环；石矶、石濑等几乎不见，则是美中不足的地方。但从片石山房、小盘谷及逸圃、个园“秋云”山麓来看，则尚多佳处。又有“旱园水做”的办法，如广陵路清道光间建的员姓二分明月楼（钱泳书额），将园的地面压低，其中四面厅则筑于较高的黄石基上，望之宛如置于岛上，园虽无水，而水自在意中。嘉定县秋霞圃后部似亦有此意图，但未及扬州园林明显。我们聪明的匠师能在这种自然条件较为苛刻的情况下，达到中国艺术上的“意到笔不到”的表现方法是可贵的。扬州园林中的水面置桥，有梁式桥与步石两种，在处理方法上，梁式多数为曲桥，其佳例要推片石山房的利用石梁而作飞梁形的，古朴浑成，富有山林的气氛；步石则以小盘谷所采用的最为妥帖。这些曲桥总因水位过低，有时转折太僵硬，而缺少自然凌波的感觉。这对园林桥来说，在建造时是应设法避免的。片石山房的用飞梁形式，即弥补了这些缺陷，而另辟蹊径了。

扬州园林素以“垒石胜”，在技术上，过去有很高的评价。因此今日所存的假山，多数以石为主，仅已损毁的秦氏小盘谷似由土石间用的。因为扬州不产石，石料运自他地，来料较小，峰峦多用小石包镶，根据石形、石色、石纹、石理、石性等凑合成整体，中以条石（亦有用砖为骨架，早例推泰州乔园明构假山）铁器支挑，加固嵌填后浑然成章；即使水池驳岸亦运用这办法。这样做人工花费很大，且日久石脱堕地，破坏原形，即有极佳的作品，亦难长久保存。虽然如此，扬州叠山确有其独特的成就，特出的作品以雄伟论，当推个园。个园的黄石山高约九米，湖石山高约六米，因规模宏大，难免有不够周到的地方，但仍不失为上乘之作。以苍石奇峭论，要算片石山房了；而小盘谷的曲折委婉，

逸圃的婀娜多姿，都是佳构。棣园的洞曲、中垂钟乳，为扬州园林罕见。其他如寄啸山庄的石壁磴道，亦是较好的例子。在扬州园林的假山中，最为突出的是壁岩，其手法的自然逼真，用材的节省，空间的利用，似在苏州之上，实得力于包镶之法。片石山房、小盘谷、寄啸山庄、逸圃、余园等皆有妙作。颇疑此法明末自扬州开始，乾隆间董道士、戈裕良等人继承了计成、石涛诸人的遗规，并在此基础上得到更大的发展。总之，这些假山，在不同程度上，达到异形之山运不同之石，体现了石涛所谓“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”的画理。以高峻雄厚，与苏州的明秀平远互相颉颃，南北各抒所长。至于分峰用石及多石并用，亦兼补一种石材难以罗致之弊，而以权宜之计另出新腔了。堆叠之法一般皆与苏南相同。其佳者总循“水随山转，山因水活”一原则灵活应用。胶合材料，明代用石灰加细砂和糯米汁，凝结后有时略带红色，常用之于黄石山；清代的颜色发白，也有其中加草灰的，适宜用于湖石山。片石山房用的便是后者。好的嵌缝是运用阴嵌的办法，即见缝不见灰，用于黄石山能显出其壁石凹凸多态，仿佛自然裂纹；湖石山采用此法，顿觉浑然一体了。不过像这样的水平，其作品在全国范围内也较罕见。

在墙壁的处理上，现存的园林因为多数集中于城区，且是住宅的一部分，所以四周是磨砖砌的高墙，配合了砖刻门楼，外观很是修整平直。不过园林外墙上都加瓦花窗，墙面做工格外精细。它与苏南园林给人以简陋的园外感觉不同（苏南园林皆地主官僚所有），是炫富斗财的方法之一。内墙与外墙相同，凡在需增加反射效果或需花影月色的地方，酌情粉白。园既围以高墙，当然无法眺望园外景色，除个园登黄石山可“借景”城北景物外，余则利用园内的对景，来增加园景的变化。寄啸山庄的什锦空窗所构成的景色，真是宛如图画，其住宅与园林部分均利用空窗达到互相“借景”的效果。个园桂花厅前的月门亦收到引人入胜的作用。再从窗棂中所构成的景色，又有移步换景的感觉。在对比手法方面，基本与苏南园林相同，多数以建筑物与墙面山石作对比，运用了

开朗、收敛、虚实、高下、远近、深浅、大小、疏密等手法，以小盘谷在这方面运用得最好。寄啸山庄设计能从大处着眼，予人以完整醒目的感觉。

扬州园林在建筑方面最显著的特色，便是利用楼层。大型园林固然如此，小型如二分明月楼，也还用了七间的长楼。花厅的体形往往较大，复道的延伸又连续不断，因此虽安排了一些小轩水榭，适与此高大的建筑起了对比作用。它与苏州园林的“婉约轻盈”相较，颇有用铜琶铁板唱“大江东去”的气概。寄啸山庄循复道廊可绕园一周，个园盛兴时，情况亦差不多。至于借山登阁，穿洞入穴，上下纵横，游者往往至此迷途，此与苏州园林在平面上的“柳暗花明”境界，有异曲同工之妙，不能单以平面略为平整而判其高下。

扬州园林建筑物的外观，介于南北之间，而结构与细部的做法，亦兼抒二者之长。就单体建筑而论，台基早期用青石，后期用白石，踏跺用天然山石随意点缀，很觉自然。柱础有北方的“古镜”形式，同时也有南方的“石鼓”形式；柱则较为粗挺，其比例又介于南北二者之间。窗则多数用和合窗，栏杆亦较肥健。屋角起翘，虽大都用“嫩戗发戗”（由屋角的角梁前端竖立的一根小角梁来起翘），但比苏南来得低平。屋脊则用通花脊，比苏南的厚重。漏窗、地穴（门洞）工细挺拔，图案形式变化多端，轮廓完整，与苏南柔和细腻的不同。门额多用大理石或高资石，而少用砖刻，此又是与苏州显然不同的。建筑的细部手法简洁工整，在线脚与转角的地方，略具曲折，虽然总的看来比较直率，但刚中有柔，颇耐寻味。色彩方面，木料皆用本色，外墙不粉白，此固然由于当地气候比较干燥的缘故，但也多少存有以原材精工取胜的意图。其内部梁架皆圆料直材，制作得十分工致完整，间亦有用扁作的。翻轩（建筑物前部的卷棚）尤力求豪华，因为它处于显著的地位，所以格外突出一些。内部以方砖铺地，其间隔有罩与槅扇，材料有紫檀、红木、楠木、银杏、黄杨等，亦有雕漆嵌螺钿与嵌宝的，或施纱隔的。室内家具

陈设及屏联的制作，亦同样讲究。海梅（红木）所制的家具，与苏、广两地不同，手法和其他艺术一样，富有扬州“雅健”的风格（参看住宅部分）。

建筑物在园林中的布置，在今日扬州所有的类型并不多，仅厅堂、楼、阁、亭、榭、舫、复道廊、游廊等，其组合似较苏南园林来得规则。楼常位于园的尽端最突出处，厅往往为一园之主体，有些厅加楼后，形成楼厅就必建在尽端了。其他的舫榭临水，轩阁依山，亭有映水与踞山的不同处理。如因地形的限制，则建筑物可做一半，如半楼、半阁、半亭等。虽仅数例，亦发挥了随宜安排的原则，以及同中求异，异中见其规律的灵活善变的应用。廊亦同样不出这些原则方法，不过以环形路线为主，间有用作分隔的；形式有游廊、叠落廊、复廊、复道廊等。厅堂据《扬州画舫录》所载，名目颇多，处理别出心裁。今日常见的有四面厅、硬山厅、楼厅等。梁架多“回顶鳖壳”式（卷棚式的建筑，在屋顶部仍做成脊）。在材料方面，楠木与柏木厅最为名贵，前者为数尚多，后者今日已少见。园林铺地，大部分用鹅子石花街，间有用冰裂纹石的。在建筑处理上值得注意的，便是内部的曲折多变，其间利用套房、楼、廊、小院、假山、石室等的组合，造成“迷境”的感觉。现存的逸圃尚能见到，此亦扬州园林重要特征之一。

花木的栽植是园林中重要的组织部分。各地花木有其地方特色，因此反映在园林中亦有不同的风格。扬州花木因风土地理的关系，同一品种，其姿态容颜，也与南北两地有异。一般说来，枝干花朵比较硕秀。在树木的配置上，以松、柏、栝、榆、枫、槐、银杏、女贞、梧桐、黄杨等为习见。苏南后期园林中，杨柳几乎绝迹，然在扬州园林中却常能见到，且更具有强烈的地方色彩。因为此地的杨柳，在外形上高劲，枝条疏修，颇多画意，下部的体形也不大，植于园中没有不调和的感觉。梧桐在扬州生长甚速，碧干笼阴，不论在园林或庭院中，都给人以清雅凉爽之感，与柳色分占夏春二季的风光。花树有桂、海棠、玉兰、山

茶、石榴、紫藤、梅、腊梅、碧桃、木香、蔷薇、月季、杜鹃等。在厅轩堂前，多用桂、海棠、玉兰、紫薇诸品。其他如亭畔、榭旁的枫榆等，则因地位的需要而栽植。乔木与花树同建筑的关系，在扬州园林中，前者作遮阴之用，后者用作供观赏之需，姿态与色香还是占着选择的最重要标准。在假山间，为了衬托山容苍古，酌植松柏，水边配置少许垂杨。至于芭蕉、竹、天竹等，不论用来点缀小院，补白大园，或在曲廊转处、墙阴檐角，或与腊梅丛菊等组合，都能入画。书带草不论在山石边，树木根旁，以及阶前路旁，均给人以四季常青的好感。冬季初雪匀披，粉白若球。它与石隙中的秋海棠，都是园林绿化中不可缺少的小点缀。至于以书带草增假山生趣，或掩饰假山堆叠的疵病处，真有山水画中点苔的妙处。芍药、牡丹更是家栽户植。《芍药谱》（《能改斋漫录》十五，“芍药”条引孔武仲《芍药谱》）载：“扬州芍药，名于天下，非特以多为夸也。其敷腴盛大而纤丽巧密，皆他州所不及。”李白诗（《送孟浩然之广陵》）：“烟花三月下扬州”，可以想见其盛况。因此花坛、药阑便在园林中占有显著的地位。其形式有以假山石叠的自然式，有用砖与白石砌的图案式，形状很多，皆匠心独运。春时繁花似锦，风光宛如洛城。树木的配合，仍运用了孤植与群植的两种基本方法。群植中有用同一品种的，亦有用混合的树群布置，主要的还是从园林的大小与造景的意图出发。如小园宜孤植，但树的姿态须加选择；大园多群植，亦须注意假山的形态，地形的高低大小，做到有分有合，有密有疏。若假山不高，主要山顶便不可植树；为了衬托出山势的苍郁与高峻，非植于山阴略低之处不可，使峰出树梢之间，自然饶有山林之意了。此理不独植树如此，建亭亦然，而亭与树、山的关系，必高下远近得宜才是。山麓水边有用横线条的卧松临水，亦不失为求得画面统一的好办法。山间垂藤萝，水面点荷花，亦皆以少出之，使意到景生即可。至于园内因日照关系有阴阳面的不同，在考虑种树时应注意其适应性，如山茶、桂、松、柏等皆宜植阴处，补竹则处处均能增加生意。

扬州盆景刚劲坚挺，能耐风霜，与苏杭不同。园艺家的剪扎功夫甚深，称之为“疙瘩”“云片”及“弯”等，都是说明剪扎所成的各种姿态特征的。这些都非短期内可以培养成。松、柏、黄杨、菊花、山茶、杜鹃、梅、玳玳、茉莉、金橘、兰、蕙等都是盆景的好主题。又有山水盆景，分旱盆、水盆两种，咫尺山林，亦多别出心裁。棕碗菖蒲，根不着土，以水滋养，终年青葱，为他处所不常见。他如艺菊，扬州花匠师对此有独到之技。以这些来点缀园林，当然锦上添花了。园林山石间因乔木森严，不宜栽花，就要运用盆景来点缀。这种办法从宋代起即运用了，不但地面如此，即池中的荷花，亦莫不用盆荷入池。因此谈中国园林的绿化，不能不考虑盆景。

按扬州画派的作品，以花卉为多。摹写对象当然为习见的园林花木，经画家们的挥洒点染，都成了佳作，则扬州园林中的花木其影响可见。反之，画家对园林花木批红判白，以及剪裁、配置、构图等，对花木匠师亦起了一定的启发与促进。扬州产金鱼；天然禽鸟兼有南北品种，且善培养笼鸟，这些对园林都有所增色。

总之，造园有法而无式，变化万千，新意层出，园因景胜，景因园异，其妙处在于“因地制宜”与相互“借景”，所谓“妙在因借”，做到得体（“精在体宜”），始能别具一格。扬州园林综合了南北的特色，自成一格，雄伟中寓明秀，得雅健之致，借用文学上的一句话来说，真所谓“健笔写柔情”了。而堂庑廊亭的高敞挺拔，假山的沉厚苍古，花墙的玲珑透漏，更是别处所不及。至于树木的硕秀，花草的华滋，则又受自然条件的影响与经匠师们的加工而形成。假山的堆叠，广泛地应用了多种石类。以小石拼镶的技术，以及分峰用石、旱园水做等因材致用、因地制宜的手法，对今日造园都有一定的借鉴作用。唯若干水池似少变化，未能发挥水在园林中的弥漫之意，似少构成与山石建筑物等相互成趣的高度境界。一般庭院中，亦能栽花种竹，荫以乔木，配合花树，或架紫藤，罗置盆景片石，安排一些小景。这些都丰富了当时城市居民的

文化生活，同时集腋成裘，又扩大了城市绿化的面积，是当地至今还相沿的一种传统。

·住宅

卢宅在康山街。清光绪间盐商江西卢绍绪所建，造价为纹银七万两，是今存扬州最大的住宅建筑。大门用水磨砖刻门楼，配以大照壁。入门北向为倒座（与南向正屋相对的房屋），经二门有厅二进，皆面阔七间，以当中三间为主厅，其旁两间为会客读书之处，内部用罩（用木制镂空花纹做成的分隔）及槅扇（落地长窗）间隔。院中以大漏窗与两旁的小院区分。小院中置湖石花台，配以树木，形成幽静的空间，与中部畅达的大厅不同。再入为楼厅二进，面阔亦七间，系主人居住之处。厅后二进面阔易为五间，系亲友临时留居的地方。东为厨房，今毁。宅后有园名“意园”。池在园东北，濒池建书斋及藏书楼二进，自成一区。池东原有旱船，今亦废。园南依墙建盝顶亭，有游廊导向北部。余地栽植乔木，以桂为主。这宅用材精选湖广杉木，皆不髹饰。装修皆用楠木，雕刻工细。虽建筑年代较迟，然屋宇高敞，规模宏大，是后期盐商所建豪华住宅的代表。

汪氏小苑（盐商汪伯屏宅）在地官第，民国间扩建，为今存扬州大住宅中最完整的一处。它分三路，各三进。东西花厅布置各别，东花厅入口用竹丝门，甚古朴。厅用柏木建造，内部置罩及槅扇。槅扇上嵌大理石，皆雕刻精工，作前后分隔之用。其南有倒座三间。院中置湖石山，有檐瀑，栽腊梅琼花。东有门，入内仅一小小余地，所谓明有实无，以达扩大空间的目的。西花厅以月门与小院相隔。院内中有假山一丘，面东置船轩，缀以游廊，下凿小池，轩下砌砖台，可置盆景，映水成趣。自厅中穿月门以望院中，花木扶疏，山石参差，宛如画图。宅北后园列东西两部，间以花墙月门。西部北建花厅六间，用罩分隔为二。

厅西有书斋三间，缀五色玻璃，其前有廊横陈，两者之间植紫薇两株，亭亭如盖，依稀掩映，内外相望有不尽之意。厅南叠假山为牡丹台，西部亦筑花台，似甚平淡。两部运用花墙间隔，人们的视线穿过漏窗月门望隔园景色，深幽清灵，发挥了很大的“借景”作用。这处当以住宅建筑占主要部分，而园则相辅而已，因面积不大，所以题为“小苑春深”。

赞化宫赵宅（布商赵海山宅），厅堂三进南向，门屋及厨房等附属建筑，皆建于墙外，花园亦与住宅以高墙隔离；但亦可由门屋直接入园，避免与住宅相互干扰。在建筑平面的分隔上来说，很是明晰。花园前部东向有书斋三间，以曲廊与后部分隔，后有宽敞的花厅两进，与住宅的规模很相称。

魏宅（盐商魏次庚宅）在永胜街，属中型住宅，大门西向，总体为不规则的平面。因此将东首划出长方形的地带作为住宅，西首不规则的余地辟为园林，主次很是鲜明。住宅连倒座计四进，皆面阔五间。它的布置特点：厅为三间带两厢，旁皆配套房小院，在当时作为居住之用。这类套房，处理得很是恰当，它与起居部分，实联而似分，互不干扰。尤其小院，不论在采光通风与扩大室内外空间上，皆得到较好效果。园前狭后宽，前部邻大门处有杂屋，后部划分作前后两区，前区筑四面厅名“吹台”，郑板桥书额为“歌吹古扬州”，配以山石、玉兰、青桐，面对东南角建有小阁。后区为前区的陪衬，又东西划为两部分，东部置旱船，旁辅小阁，花墙下叠黄石山，栽天竹、黄杨，穿花墙外望，景色隐约。这园虽小，而置两大建筑物，尚能宽绰有余，是利用花墙划分得宜、互相得以因借之法，使空间层次增加，也是宅旁余地设计的一种方法。

仁丰里刘宅，宅不大，门东向。入内沿门屋筑西向屋一排，前有高墙，天井作狭长形，可避夏季炎阳与冬季烈风；而夏季因墙高地狭，门牖爽通，反觉受风较多。墙内南向厅三进，而末进除置套房外，更增密室（套房内的套房）。厅旁有花墙，过月门，内有花厅，置山石花木。

整个建筑设计是灵活运用东向基地的一个例子。

大武城巷贾宅，清光绪间盐商贾颂平所有。大门东向，厅计二路，皆南向而建。而东部诸厅设计尤妙，每一厅皆有庭院，有栽花植竹为花坛，有凿池叠石为小景，再环以游廊，映以疏棂，多清新之意。宅西偏原有园林，今废。

仁丰里辛园，为周挹扶宅，大门东向。入内筑西向房屋一排，为扬州东向基地的惯用手法。南向的厅与东西两廊及倒座构成四合院。厅西花厅入口处建一半亭，对面为书斋，厅南以花墙间隔。其外尺余空地留作虚景，老桂树超出花墙之上，秋时满院飘香，人临其境，便体会到一种天香院落的境界（桂树必周以墙，香不散）。厅后西通月门，有额名“辛园”。园内中凿鱼池，有曲桥，旁建小亭。花厅装修以银杏木本色制成，未髹漆更是雅洁。厅前以白石拼合铺地，很是平整。此宅居住部分小，绿化范围大，平面上的变化比较多，是由于过去宅主在扩建中逐步形成的现象。

石牌楼黄氏汉庐，清道光间为金石书画家吴熙载的故居。大门北向，入门有院，其西首的“火巷”可达南向的四合院。院以正屋与侧座相对而建，院子作横长形，石板墁地。此为北向住宅的一例。

甘泉路匏庐，民国初年资本家卢殿虎建。门西向，入内南向筑大厅，其南端为花厅。厅北以黄石叠花坛。厅南以湖石叠山，殊葱郁，山右构水轩，蕉影拂窗，明静映波。极西门外，北端又有黄石一丘。越门可绕至厅后。宅的东部，有一片曲尺形地，以游廊花墙通贯。小池东南隅筑方亭，隔池尽端筑小轩三间，皆随廊可达，面积虽小，尚觉委婉紧凑。此宅是利用西门南向及不规则余地设计的一例。

丁家湾某宅，是扬州用总门的住宅。总门内东西各有两宅，东宅有三合院，天井中以花墙分隔，形成前后两部分，而房屋面阔皆作两间，处理很灵活。西宅正屋二进皆三合院，面阔作三间，二进的三合院排列又非一致。此类住宅有因地制宜，分隔自由的好处。

牛背井二号某宅，为最小住宅的一例。南向，入门仅厅三间，由厢房倒座构成一个四合院。外附厨房。这种平面布局是扬州住宅的基本单元了。

扬州城由平行的新旧两城组合成今日的城区。运河绕城，小秦淮自北门流入，为新旧两城的分界。旧城南北又以汶河贯串，所以河道都是南北平行的，由于河道平直，道路及建筑物可以得到较规则的布局。其间主要干道为通东西南北的十字大街，与大街垂直的便是坊巷。这一点在旧城更为突出。巷名称头巷、二巷……九巷，和北京的头条胡同、二条胡同相似。新城因后期富商官僚的大住宅与若干商业建筑的发展，布局比旧城零乱，颇受江南城市风格的影响。新城的湾子街就不是垂直线，好像北京的斜街，是一条交通捷径。在这许多街道中，掺杂了不少小巷，有的还是“死胡同”，因此看来似乎复杂，其实仍旧井然有序，脉络自存。过去大的巷口还建有拱门，当地称为“圈门”。它是南北街坊布置的介体，兼有南北城市街坊布置特征。

住宅是按街巷的朝向布置，在处理上大体符合“因地制宜”的要求，较为灵活，而内部尤曲折多变。住宅主要位于通东西坊巷中，因此都能取得正南的朝向，或北门南向。通南北的坊巷中，亦有些住宅，因为要利用正南或偏南的朝向，于是产生了东门南向，或西门南向的住宅。又运用总门的办法，将若干中小型不同平面的住宅，利用一个总门，非常灵活地组合成一个整体。这样在坊巷中，它的外貌仍旧十分整齐，而内部却有许多变化，这是大中藏小、化零为整的巧办法。在封建社会，不但能满足了聚族而居的生活方式和封建家族的治安防卫，并且在市容整齐等方面，也相应地带来了一定的好处。

扬州城区，今日尚存的多为大中型住宅，这些住宅的特点是，都配合着大小不等的园林和庭院，使居住区中包括了充裕的绿化地带，形成了安适的居住环境。

住宅平面一般是采用院落式，以面阔三间的厅堂为主体，更有面阔

到五间的，即《工段营造录》所谓：“如五间则两梢间设槅子或飞罩，今谓明三暗五。”也有四间、两间的，皆按地基面积而定。虽然也有面阔七间的，其实仍以三间为主，左右各加两间客厅，如康山街卢宅的厅堂。大中型住宅旁设弄，名“火巷”，是女眷、仆从出入之处。如大型住宅有两路以上的“火巷”，又为宅内主要交通道。扬州的“火巷”，比苏州“避弄”（俗称备弄，今据明代文震亨著《长物志》卷一）开朗修直，给居住者以明洁坦直的感觉，尤其以紫气东来巷龚姓沧州别墅的“火巷”最为广阔，当时可乘轿出入。厅堂除一进不连庑的“老人头”外，尚有两面连庑的“曲尺房”（由两面建筑物相连，平面形成曲尺形），三面连庑的“三间两厢”（厅堂左右加厢的三合院），以及“四合头”（四合院）、“对合头”（两厅相对又称对照厅）等。但是“三间两厢”及“四合头”作走马楼的称“串楼”。厅堂的排列程序，前为大厅，后为内厅（女厅），即所谓“上房”（主人所住的地方），多作三间，《工段营造录》称“两房一堂”（两间房一间起居室）。旁边大都置套房，还有再加密室的，如仁丰里刘宅还能见到。厅旁建圭形门、长八方形门，或月门通花厅或书房。墙外附厨房杂屋及“下房”（仆从居住），使与主人的生活部分隔离，充分反映了封建社会的阶级差别。套房与密室数目的多少，要看建屋需要的曲折程度而定，越曲折则套房、密室越多。《工段营造录》：“……三间居多，五间则藏东西梢间于房中，谓之套房，即古密室、复室、连房、闺房之属。”在这类套房前面，皆设小院，置花坛，夏日清风徐来，凉爽宜人，入冬则朔风不到，温暖适居。在封闭性的扬州住宅中，采用这种办法还是切合当时实际的。书房小者一间、两间，大者兼作花厅，一般都是三间。其前必叠石凿池，点缀花木修竹；或置花坛、药阑等，形成一种极清静的环境。在东门南向或西门南向的住宅，门屋旁的房屋，则属账房、书塾及杂屋等次要房屋。这些屋前的天井狭长，仅避日照兼起通风的作用。大门北向的住宅，则以“火巷”为通道，导至前部进入南向的主屋。

扬州住宅的外观，在中型以上的住宅，都按居住者的地位设照壁。大者用八字照壁，次者一字照壁，最次者在对户他宅的墙上，用壁面隐出方形照壁的形状。华丽的照壁，贴水磨面砖，雕刻花纹，正中嵌“福”字，像个园的大门上者，制作精美。外墙以清水砖砌成，讲究的用磨砖对缝做法。门楼用砖砌，加砖刻。最华丽的作八字形，复加斗拱藻井，如东圈门壶园大门即是。一般亦有用平整的磨砖贴面，简洁明快。按扬州以八刻著世（砖刻、牙刻、木刻、石刻、竹刻、漆刻、玉刻、磁刻），砖刻即为其中之一。大门髹黑漆，刊红门对，下有门枕石。石刻丰富多彩，大小按居住者的地位而定。屋顶皆作两坡顶，屋脊较高，用镂空脊（屋脊以瓦叠成空花形），这些与高低叠落的山墙相衬托。有时在外墙顶开一排瓦花窗，可隐约透出院中树梢与藤萝，这些自然形成一种整齐而又清新的外貌，给巷景增加了生趣。

入大门，迎面为砖刻土地堂，倚壁而建，外形与真实建筑相似。它的雕刻和大门门楼的形式相协调，是内照壁中最令人注目的。虽同时想起一定的装饰作用，但总是封建迷信的产物，理应扬弃。门屋院内以砖或石墁地。二门与大门的形制相类似。厅堂高敞轩豁，一般用质量很高的本色杉木，而大住宅的厅堂又有用楠木、柏木，《工段营造录》载有用桫椤的。木材加工有外施水磨的，更是柔和圆润了。这种存素去华的大木构架，与清水砖墙的格调一致。厅堂外檐施翻轩，明间用槅扇，次间和厢房用和合窗。后期的建筑，则有改用槛窗的。在内厅与花厅，明间的槅扇只居中用两扇，两旁仍旧用和合窗。楼厅的槛窗，其槛墙改用栏杆，则内装活动的木榻板，在炎热季节可以卸除，以便通风。在分隔上，内院往往以花墙来区分，用地穴（门洞）贯通。地穴有门可开启。

院落的大小与建筑物高度的比例一般为1:1，在扬州地区能有充分的日照。夏日上加凉棚，前后门牖洞开，清风自引。从地穴中来的兜风，更是凉爽。到冬季，将地穴门关闭，阳光满阶，不觉有严寒的袭人了。这些花墙与重重的门户，却增加了庭院空间感与深度，有小宅不见

其狭，大宅不觉其旷的好处。在解决功能的前提下，同时又扩大了艺术效果。大厅的院子用横长形，有的配上两厢或两廊，使主体突出。内厅都带两厢，院子形成方形，房屋进深一般比苏南浅，北面甚至有不设窗牖的。因夏季较凉爽，冬季在室内需要较多日照的缘故。

室内的空间处理，主要希望达到有分有合，曲折有度，使用灵活，人处其间觉含蓄不尽的设计意图。因此在花厅中，必用罩或槅扇，划成似分非分、可大可小的空间，既有主次，又有变化。如仁丰里辛园、地官第小苑皆可见到。厅室前面的翻轩，在进深较大的建筑中有用两卷（两个翻轩）的，如康山街卢宅。内室与套房有主副之别，似合又分。内室往往连厢房，而以罩或槅扇分间。罩以圆光罩（罩作圆形的）为多，有的还施纱槅（罩的花纹中夹纱），雕刻多数精美。书房中亦可自由划分，应用上均较灵活。厅堂皆露明造（不用天花），亦不施草架（用两层屋顶）。居住房屋有酌用天花的。花厅内部亦有作轩顶（卷棚）。房屋内都墁方砖，砖下四角置复钵的“空铺法”（见《长物志》卷一），垫黄沙，磨砖对缝，既平且无潮湿之患。卧室内冬天上置木地屏（方形木制装脚的活动地板）以保暖，同时亦减低了室内空间的净高。有些质量高的楼厅，二层亦墁砖，更有再加上地屏的，能使履步无声，与明代《长物志》卷一上所说办法“与平屋无异”相符合。这些当然只会在高级的住宅中出现，一般近期的住宅，则皆用地板了。

内外墙都用砖实砌，在质量高的住宅中用清水砖，经济的住宅则用灰泥拼砌大小不等的杂砖，外表也很整齐。在外墙的转角，当一人高的地位，为了便利交通用抹角砌。廊壁部分刷白，内壁用木护壁，其余仍保存砖的本色。天井铺地通常用砖石铺。砖铺有方砖、条砖平铺，及条砖仄铺的。石铺则用石板与冰裂纹铺，更有用大方块大理石、高资石拼铺的。柱础用“古镜”式。在明代及清代早期的建筑中，还沿用了礩形石础。大住宅皆用“石鼓”，或再置垫“复盆”础石，取材用高资石，兼有用大理石的。

柱都为直径。明代住宅的柱顶，尚存“卷杀”（曲线）的手法，比例肥硕。柱径与柱高的比例约为1:9，如大东门毛宅大厅的。现在一般见到的比例在1:10—1:16之间。柱的排列，与《工段营造录》所说“厅堂无中柱，住屋有中柱”一致。大厅明间有用通长额枋，而减去平柱两根的，此为便利观剧，不阻碍视线。梁架做法可分为三种：一是苏南的扁作做法；二是圆料直材，在扬州最为普遍；三是介于直梁与月梁（略作弯形的梁）间的介体，将直梁的两端略作“卷杀”，下刻弧线，此种做法看来似受徽式建筑的影响。这三种做法中，以第二种足以代表扬州的风格。尚有北河下吴宅，建筑系出宁波匠师之手，应当是孤例了。圆料的梁架，用材挺健，而接头处的卯榫，砍杀尤精，很是准确。一般厅堂，主要梁架在前后柱间施五架梁，上置蜀柱，再安三架梁与脊瓜柱。不过檩下不施枋及垫板，与《工段营造录》所示不符，当为苏北地方做法。从结构上来说，似有不够周到的地方。花厅有用六架卷棚的，其山墙作圆形叠落式。豪华的厅堂有改为方柱方梁的，系《工段营造录》所谓方厅之制。翻轩一般为海棠轩（椽子弯作海棠形），或菱角轩（椽子弯作菱角状），但多变例。此外鹤颈轩（椽子弯如鹤颈）也有见到，总的以船篷轩为多，草架只偶有用在翻轩之上。

栏杆的比例一般较高，花纹常用拐子纹，四周起凸形线脚。檐下挂落也很简洁，都与整个建筑物立面保持协调。屋顶在望砖上酝瓦。其瓦饰有勾头滴水等，勾头的下部较长，滴水的上部加高，形式渐趋厚重。

扬州城区住宅的给水问题，除小秦淮与汶河一带有河水可应用外，住宅内皆有水井，少者一口，多者几口。其地位有在院子中，厨房前，园中，或“火巷”内，更有掘在屋内的暗井（无井栏）。坊巷中的公共用井随处可见。凡在井的边墙，必砌发券（杭绍一带用竖立石板），以免墙身下陷，也是他处所罕见的。井水除洗涤及供作饮料外，必要时还可作消防用水。此外，住宅内还置有积储檐漏供食用的天落水缸，与供消防用的储水缸并备。每宅院子中有窨井，在大门外有总的下水道。至于

池中置鱼缸，则供金鱼栖息度冬用。

扬州住宅建筑在外观上是修整挺健的，对城市面貌起到一定的影响。这许多井然有序的居住区，在我国旧城市中还是较少有的。它的优点是明洁宁静，大中寓小，分合自如。在空间处理上注意到院落分隔与宽狭的组合，以及日照与通风的合理解决办法。建筑物不论大小，都配置恰当，比例匀整，用地面积亦称经济，达到居之者适，观之者畅的目的。在平面处理上能“因地制宜”巧于安排，不论何种朝向的地形，皆能得到南向；不论何种大小的地形，皆能有较好的空间组合并解决了功能上的需要。而建筑手法，介于南北二地之间，以工整见长。这些都是扬州住宅的特征。

扬州的园林与住宅，在我国建筑史上有其重要的价值，尤其是古代劳动人民在园林建筑方面的成就，可供社会主义园林建筑借鉴【从周案十一】。

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SMALL-ROCK MOUNTAIN ABODE, YANGZHOU—SHITAO'S CRAFT OF ARTIFICIAL MOUNTAINS

1962

Monk Shitao (1642-*c.* 1707) was a preeminent painter of the early Qing, but his other artistic attainments also culminated in sublimity and played an innovative role in his time in verse, prose, calligraphy, and theories on painting. However, according to the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* , the *Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign* and *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* , he was also a consummate rockwork crafter, having built a number of artificial mountains after he settled down in Yangzhou for the rest of his life.

Two of the artificial mountains built by Shitao in Yangzhou are recorded in history books. One of them is in the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks. According to the *Record of Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two),

> Shi Daoji, whose style name was Shitao….was also dexterous at piling up rocks as a sideline occupation. Yangzhou puts its name on the map with its famed gardens, and famed gardens make a name for themselves with piled-up rocks. The Yu's Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks crafted by Daoji remains a scenic attraction to this day.

The *Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign* (Volume Thirty) has this to say:

> The Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks, the former residence of a man surnamed

> Wang, was laid out according to one of Monk Shitao's paintings. The Lake Tai rocks collected in the garden were counted by tens of thousands, hence the garden's name. Its major attractions include the Loft in Aromatic Tree Shade, the Balustrade over Ripple Water, the Towering Pine Pavilion, and the Painted Boat Docked in a Plum Sea. The garden fell into decay after its rockeries were dismantled to build the Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain during the Qianlong reign.

The other artificial mountain crafted by Shitao is the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. As *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty) puts it,

> The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found at Garden Lane in New City, Yangzhou. Behind its two halls there is a square pond. An artificial mountain built of Lake Tai rocks sits on the pond, and looks exceptionally steep at a height of fifty or sixty feet. Legend has it that it was personally wrought by Monk Shitao.

We are no strangers to the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks thanks to the many extant records about it, but no trace of it can be found in reality because it was ruined during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. The Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain, built with the rocks torn from the garden, is no more, too. The Small-Rock Mountain Abode, which I have discovered during my current visit to Yangzhou, therefore, is the only artificial mountain Shitao has bequeathed on the human world.

During my visit, which is part of a survey I have conducted over the last few years of ancient buildings, gardens and dwellings in Yangzhou, I espied an artificial mountain clinging against a wall in the Ho Family Garden (that is, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode) at the eastern end of Garden Lane in the city's southeast corner. It was small in floor space, and the pond

at its foot has long been levelled. Judging from its exquisite craftsmanship and its naturalistic, yet classical design, it is a rare objet d'art, and, dating back to the early Qing, the earliest of all artificial mountains known to exist in Yangzhou. Based on my analysis of its rock-piling technique, and by referring to descriptions of it in Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* , I can ascertain that it is by far the only extant artificial mountain that Shitao has bestowed on humanity.

Seen from its plan, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, facing south in front of the posterior wall of the Ho Family Garden, is a rectangular wall-hugging rockwork. The main peak rises from its western end to impose its steep and verdant presence upon the pond at its foot. A bridge propped up in the air is connected with a stone stairway which winds its way along the stone wall to the top of the peak. Below the peak stands the so-called "Small-Rock Mountain Abode," a two-bay square stone chamber (actually built of bricks). A mystic and seemingly unfathomable cave is ensconced beneath a range of small rocks that twist and turn eastward as a whole. As the western part of the cave has collapsed together with the building atop it, there is no way of knowing what the artificial mountain looked like in its entirety. Its layout by and large follows the tradition of Ming-dynasty artificial mountains, but through Shitao's ingenious craft, both its main peak and cave are brought into focus and properly set off by subsidiary structures. Manoeuvring in an untrammelled way despite the lack of space, the peerless monk painter kept density and space on an even keel in his masterpiece, and its lofty and steep image is apt to the name "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

Yangzhou is located in a plain between the Yangtze and the Huaihe River. With no quarriable mountains available in the vicinity, Yangzhou outdid Suzhou by procuring more varieties of materials for rockwork

construction—including Lake Tai stones, yellow stones, snow stones and Lingbi stones—from Suzhou, Zhenjiang, Xuancheng and Lingbi counties in Anhui. As waterways are the only means of bulk transportation for Yangzhou, the stones shipped in are mostly of small sizes, a fact which is challenging to artificial mountain crafters and calls for higher stone-piling expertise. I surmise that Shitao must have made do with such small stones when he was building his mountain for the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks. It is also apparent that he had taken great pains in selecting his rocks for the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, and put them together according to their sizes, textures and veins and following the principle that "construction of mountain peaks should accord with a painter's texturing brush strokes derived from natural peaks" (quoted from the *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*) to bring about mountain tops reigning over ravines and cliffs whose shapes change all the time and appear to be at once linked and delinked. (For Shitao's theory on painting, see the colophon of *A Small Landscape Painting by Monk Balsam Pear* .) In this way no traces of axing and chiselling can be found on his tall peaks and deep caves, while the unity of his texturing work, the contrast between tangibles and intangibles, and the compact makeup of his designs are unimaginable for those who know little about the principles of painting or those who are not good enough to put such principles into practice. Shitao's techniques were frequently imitated, but because of lack of dexterity and understanding, his imitators could only pile up stone slabs horizontally and coat and imbed them with small stones. The artificial mountains thus built always look unnatural.

Because stones are somewhat hard to come by in Yangzhou, stone embankments are seldom built around ponds in local gardens, but stone walls are repeatedly built, which not only enhances scenic depth, but also saves

land and stones, with the resulted products appearing more exquisite than those in Suzhou. Peaks, caves, stone stairways, stone bridges, and stepping stones are also properly crafted in Yangzhou gardens.

Qian Yong says in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve),

> Among the pioneering artificial mountain builders, Zhang Lian (1587-1673) was the best in the beginning years of the dynasty. During the Kangxi reign there was Monk Shitao, who was followed by such masters as Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795), Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795), Wang Tianyu (1736-1795) [1] , and Zhang Guotai. More recently there was Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), a Changzhou native whose rock-stacking craft was better than those of others.

Ge Yuliang, who came to the fore in the wake of Shitao during the Qianlong-Jiaqing reigns, was a famous mountain builder who assimilated Shitao's techniques in many of his works. The artificial mountains he built in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou and the Homecoming Swallow Garden of Changshu (as well as the Lesser Winding Gully built of yellow stones in the Qin's Imagined Garden in Yangzhou, which unfortunately, are in ruins today), show that he had improved his craft while inheriting Shitao's legacies. Because Ge had mastered Shitao's principle that "mountain peaks ought to accord with a painter's texturing brush strokes derived from natural peaks," the mountain he had built of Lake Tai stones in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode look deep, tranquil and replete with surprises, while the one he built of yellow stones for the Homecoming Swallow Garden look natural and life-like despite their seemingly plain appearances. The former is complicated but well-organized, with the builder's workmanship shining forth through the kind of depth and tranquillity that evokes Wang Meng's horizontal painting scrolls; the latter looks simple but is never shallow thanks

to the builder's rich expertise derived from Ni Zan's sketches. As each of the two rockeries used a different kind of stones, the builder adjusted his techniques accordingly, and came up with two masterpieces whose knolls and ravines and artistic allure stood out in distinct differences. It is thus no exaggeration to say that Shitao was as outstanding in building artificial mountains as he was in the realm of painting.

Rereading Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* and checking his records of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, I found the address he gives of this rockery is factual. Of the two halls cited in this book, one is still there today, a threebay structure built of *Phoebe nanmu* during the Qianlong reign; the pond has long been filled in, but traces of Lake Tai stone embankments are still there. The mountain turns out to be fashioned out of Lake Tai stones as well, a fact that tallies with Qian Yong's record. The peak of the artificial mountain overlooks the surrounding wall at a proper height. And the mountain's imposing structure, its lone peak enveloped in greenery in particular, deserves the superlatives, "exceptionally perpendicular." According to Fu Baoshi's [2] *A Chronicle of Shitao the Venerable Buddhist* , Shitao was a regular visitor to Yangzhou in the period 1678-1697, and he never left Yangzhou during the years from his settlement in the city in 1697, the thirty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign, to his death in 1707, the forty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign. The Great Mind-Cleansing Thatched Hut, the Thatched Belvedere Amidst Green Lotuses, the Heart-Ploughing Thatched Hut, and the Thatched Hut for Revering Mount Tai were names of his residences that he often signed—though not as often as the Mountain-Level Hall and the Quiet Prajna Temple—on his inscriptions and paintings during his years in Yangzhou [3] . In a colophon on his painting *Cloud Waves over Mount Huangshan* done in 1687 at age forty-five, [4] he says, "It was a winter

day in a *ding-mao* year that I overnighted at the Lane Under Giant Trees in Guangling after a failed northbound trip…." On a one-foot scroll done on a piece of Heart-Purifing Hall paper: "Signed on a winter day in a year of *wu-yin* at the Thatched Hut of East City in Guangling." In his "Postscript to the Album of Mount Huangshan Paintings" in 1699 at age fifty-seven: "Upon returning to Guangling after a tour of Mount Huangshan, Mr. Jin'an gathered us at Down the River Street to recount the sceneries of the mountain… in the seventh month of a year of *ji-mao* ." The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found in the southeast of the city, with Down the South River Street in front of it and Down the North River Street to the east, and Lane Under Giant Trees behind it. I am not sure if the "East City" mentioned in Shitao's colophon refers to the eastern part of Yangzhou today, but his "Down the River Street" is the present-day Down the South River Street or Down the North River Street, whereas Lane Under Giant Trees should be today's Big Tree Lane. Thus Shitao's lodging at the time was probably close by Garden Lane. He was born in 1642, and died in 1707, with his body entombed at the foot of the Shugang Hill [5] . Qian Yong was born in 1759, the twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign, and died in 1844, the twenty-fourth year of the Daoguang reign, just fifty-two years after Shitao's demise. This short span of time, plus the fact that Qian Yong, an artist with all-round attainments, had unique perspectives on gardens and architecture and had personally visited and recorded the famous gardens of his day, indicates that his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* and his comments on Shitao in it are of immense reference value to researchers of Chinese garden history. Qian Yong himself had also settled in Yangzhou for some years, and had inscribed in his own handwriting many boards for the city's scenic resorts and gardens, including the nameboard of the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight. This further

convinces me that his records are well founded and, therefore, can never be put on a par with the notes of ordinary folks or hearsay. Moreover, judging from the time of Shitao's settlement in Yangzhou, the artificial mountain in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode should be attributed to his evening years, which fell on the early Qing.

Based on the sights I have presented in the foregoing, as well as the documentations I have cited, it is safe to attribute, at least initially, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode to Shitao as by far the only extant rockwork he had personally wrought. According to our survey findings of Yangzhou, this artificial mountain is also the earliest of its kind extant in Yangzhou today. It is not only a major testimony to the development of Chinese rockwork techniques, but also an authentic model of Shitao's landscaping painting. Insofar the craft of gardens is concerned, its value speaks for itself[6].

扬州片石山房——石涛叠山作品

石涛是我国清初杰出的一个大画家。他在艺术上的造诣是多方面的，不论书画、诗文以及画论，都达到高度境界，在当时起了革新的作用。在园林建筑的叠山方面，他也很精通。《扬州画舫录》《扬州府志》及《履园丛话》等书，都说到他兼工叠石，并且在流寓扬州的时候，留下了若干假山作品。

扬州石涛所叠的假山，据文献记载有两处：其一，万石园。《扬州画舫录》卷二："释道济字石涛……兼工垒石，扬州以名园胜，名园以垒石胜，余氏万石园出道济手，至今称胜迹。"《嘉庆扬州府志》卷三十："万石园汪氏旧宅，以石涛和尚画稿布置为园，太湖石以万计，故名万石。中有樾香楼、临漪槛、援松阁、梅舫诸胜，乾隆间石归康山，遂废。"其二，片山石房。《履园丛话》卷二十："扬州新城花园巷又有片石山房者，二厅之后，湫以方池。池上有太湖石山子一座，高五六丈，甚奇峭，相传为石涛和尚手笔。"

万石园因多见于著录，大家比较熟悉，可是早毁于乾隆间，而利用该园园石新建的康山今又废，因此现已无痕迹可寻。唯一幸存的遗迹，便是这次我发现的片石山房了。

近年来，我在扬州对古建筑与园林住宅作较全面的调查研究。在市区东南隅花园巷东尽头旧何宅内，有倚墙假山一座，虽然面积不大，池水亦被填没，然而从堆叠手法的精妙，以及形制的古朴来看，在已知的现存扬州园林中，应推其年代最早，其时间当在清初，确是一件不可多得的精品。现在从其堆叠的手法分析，再证以钱泳《履园丛话》的记载，传出石涛之手是可征信的，确是石涛叠山的"人间孤品"。

假山位于何宅的后墙前，南向，从平面看来是一座横长的倚墙假山。西首为主峰，迎风耸翠，奇峭迫人，俯临水池。度飞梁经石磴，曲

折沿石壁而达峰巅。峰下筑方正的石屋（实为砖砌）二间，别具一格，即所谓“片石山房”。向东山石蜿蜒，下构洞曲，幽邃深杳，运石浑成。可惜洞西已倾圮，山上建筑亦不存，无从窥其全璧。此种布局手法，大体上仍沿袭明代叠山的惯例，不过石涛加以重点突出，主峰与山洞都更为显著，全局主次格外分明，虽地形不大，而挥洒自如，疏密有度，片石峥嵘，更合山房命意。

扬州属江淮平原，附近无山。园林叠山的石料，必仰给于他地，如苏州、镇江、宣城、灵璧等处。有湖石、黄石、雪石、灵璧石等，品类较苏州所用者为最多。因为扬州主要依靠水路运输，石料不能过大，所以在堆叠时要运用高度的技巧。石涛所叠的万石园，想来便是以小石拼凑而成山的。片石山房的假山，在选石上用过很大的功夫，然后将石之大小按纹理组合成山，运用了他自己画论上“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”（《苦瓜和尚画语录》）的道理，叠成“一峰突起，连冈断堑，变幻顷刻，似续不续”（石涛论画见《苦瓜小景》）的章法。因此虽高峰深洞，了无斧凿之痕，而皴法的统一，虚实的对比，全局的紧凑，非深通画理又能与实践相结合者不能臻此。此种做法，到后期因不能掌握得法，使用条石横排，以小石包镶，矫揉做作，顿失自然之态。因为石料取之不易，一般水池少用石驳岸，在叠山上复运用了岩壁的做法，不但增加了园林景物的深度，且可节约土地与用石，至其做法，则比苏州诸园来得玲珑精巧。其他主峰、洞曲、磴道、飞梁与步石等的安排，亦妥帖有致。钱泳《履园丛话》卷十二：“堆假山者，国初以张南垣为最。康熙中则有石涛和尚，其后则仇好石、董道士、王天于【从周案十二】、张国泰，皆为妙手。近时有戈裕良者，常州人，其堆法又胜于诸家。”戈裕良比石涛稍后，为乾嘉时著名叠山家。他的作品有很多就运用了这些手法。从他的作品——苏州环秀山庄、常熟燕园（扬州秦氏意园小盘谷，亦戈氏黄石叠山小品，惜仅存残迹），可看出戈氏能在继承中再提高。由于他掌握了石涛的“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”的道理，因而环

秀山庄深幽多变，以湖石叠成；而燕园则平淡天真，以黄石掇成。前者繁而有序，深幽处见功力，如王蒙横幅；后者简而不薄，平淡处见蕴藉，似倪瓒小品。盖两者基于用石之不同，因材而运技，形成了不同的丘壑与意境。如果说石涛的叠山如其画一样，亦为一代之宗师，启后世之先声，恐亦非过誉。

如今再研究钱泳《履园丛话》所记片石山房地址，也是相合的。二厅今存其一，系面阔三间的楠木厅，其建筑年代当在乾隆间。池虽填没，然其湖石驳岸范围尚在，山石品类用湖石，更复一致。山峰出围墙之上，其高度又能仿佛，而叠山之妙，独峰耸翠，确当得起“奇峭”二字。综上则与文献所示均能吻合。案石涛晚年流寓扬州，傅抱石著《石涛上人年谱》所载，从清康熙三十六年（1697年）石涛六十八岁起，到康熙四十六年（1707年）七十八岁殁，一直没有离开扬州。就是在1678年至1697年前后八九年的时间中，也常来扬州。书画上所署的大滌草堂、青莲草阁、耕心草堂、岱瞻草堂等，都是在扬州时，除平山堂、静慧寺二处外所常用的斋名。复据五十八岁（1687年）所作黄海云涛题语：“时丁卯冬日，北游不果，客广陵大树下……”六十九岁（1698年）所作澄心堂尺幅轴款云：“戊寅冬日，广陵东城草堂并识。”七十岁（1699年）所作《黄山图卷跋》云：“劲庵先生游黄山还广陵，招集河下，说黄山之胜……己卯又七月。”案片石山房在城东南，其前为南河下，东为北河下，后有巷名大树巷。今虽不能确指东城即今市区东部（亦即扬州新城东部），但河下即南河下或北河下，大树下即大树巷。要之，石涛当时居停处，可能一度在花园巷附近。他生于明崇祯三年（1630年），殁于清康熙四十六年（1707年），葬于蜀冈之麓【从周案十三】。而钱泳则生于乾隆二十四年（1759年），殁于道光二十四年（1844年）。从1795年上推至1707年，为时仅五十二年，论时间并不太久。再者钱泳是一个多面发展的艺术家，在园林与建筑方面有很独到的见解，尤其可贵的是对当时各地的一些名园，都亲自访观过，还作了记

录，不失为我们今日研究园林史的重要资料。他亦流寓过扬州，名胜与园林的匾额有很多为他所写，今扬州的二分明月楼额，即出钱泳笔。因此他的记载比一般人的笔记转录传闻的要可靠得多，一定是有所根据的。再以石涛流寓扬州的时期而论，这片石山房的假山，应该属于他晚年的作品，时间当在清初了。

从以上所述实物与文献的参证，可以初步认为片石山房的假山出石涛之手，为今日唯一的石涛叠山手迹，也是我们此次扬州调查所知的现存最早假山。它不但是叠山技术发展过程中的重要证物，而且又属石涛山水画创作的真实模型。作为研究园林艺术来说，它的价值是可以不言而喻的【从周案十四】。

1962年

QIAO'S GARDEN, TAIZHOU

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Translated by Zhong Zhilan

The second largest city behind Yangzhou in north Jiangsu province, Taizhou develops its economy on the basis of commerce and handicrafts production. As the scourge of war rarely occurred on its land over the years, Taizhou is the largest repository of ancient buildings, gardens, and other cultural and historical heritages among all the cities in northern Jiangsu. Heading the list is the Southern Mountain Temple, whose stone tablet pedestal dates back to the Five Dynasties (907-960), and whose Ming-dynasty Heavenly Kings Hall [1] , completed in 1463, the seventh year of the Tianshun reign (1457-1464), is a study of pre-Yuan (1271-1368) architecture on account of its main hall's timber structure, whose inner and outer columns are of equal height, with inverted V-shaped braces resting underneath ridgepoles. Also noteworthy are two other Ming halls that remain relatively intact today: one is fashioned out of *Phoebe nanmu* in Jiang Ke's [2] Mansion built during the Longqing reign (1567-1572), and the other hall, built toward the end of the Ming inside of the Gong's Mansion. There is also the Mount Dai Temple, known for its Tongguang [3] Bronze Bell and two bronze statues cast respectively in 1107, the first year of the Daguan reign (1107-1110), and 1126, the first year of the Jingkang reign (1126-1127) of the Song (960-1279).

Insofar as Taizhou's gardens are concerned, no talk about them is

complete without the Qiao's Garden on the east-west Straight Road of Character Eight Bridge [4] .

The Qiao's Garden was built by Chen Yingfang (1534-1601) [5] , a landed official who served as Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud during the Wanli reign (1573-1620) of the Ming. Drawing inspirations from a line in Tao Qian's "Come Away Home," "The garden enriches my soul through my daily rambling of it," Chen named it "Daily Rambler's Garden" and wrote his *Jottings from the Daily Rambler's Garden* . The garden changed hands repeatedly after the Chens' fortune went downhill. Tian Jingxi [6] became its owner in the early years of the Kangxi reign (1662-1722) of the Qing. A man surnamed Gao renamed it "Three Peaks Garden" after coming into possession of it during the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735). When Wu Wenxi (1800-1870) [7] acquired the garden in 1858, the eighth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1861), he called it "Hibernation Garden." Soon afterwards, Qiao Songnian (1815-1875) [8] , Salt Distribution Commissioner of Huaidong and Huaixi, gave it a new leash of life and a new name, "Qiao's Garden."

When Gao Fengzhu [9] lived in the garden, he asked a man by the name of Li Yu to paint a picture of it for him. Barely a century later in 1825, the fifth year of Daoguang reign (1821-1850), Zhou Xiang [10] came up with four other paintings with views on each side of the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains [11] . Wu Wenxi wrote the "Notes on the Hibernation Garden" after he had the garden renovated in 1859, the ninth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1861). From these literary sources we get a glimpse of what had happened over the years to this oldest garden in northern Jiangsu.

Sprawling over a large area in its heyday, the Qiao's Garden used to be graced with exterior dwellings that gradually grew into a mammoth mansion after the mid-Ming through repeated expansions and annexations by landed

bureaucrats. We have no way of knowing the mansion's former glory from the buildings we can see around the garden today, but we can still gain some idea about it from its four remaining Ming-dynasty halls, one of which looks rather intact.

Facing south, the Qiao's Garden is nestled in the center of the mansion. During the years when it was known as "Three Peaks Garden," it offered fourteen sights: the Evergreen Mountain Abode; the Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well [12] ; the Fish Enumerator's Pavilion; the Cloud Enshrouded Cave; the Howling Pine Belvedere [13] ; the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain; the Bamboo Cottage that Splits a Forest in Two [14] ; the Nest Pavilion [15] ; the Zither Playing Verandah [16] , the Imminent Greenness Belvedere; the Laizi Blessing Hall [17] ; the Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah; the Literary Osmanthus Landboat [18] ; and the Rock Forest Trail. Though we cannot see the garden's former glory in its entirety, it is not too difficult to restore it based on its present size.

The centerpiece of the garden is the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains. Hemmed in by a massive artificial mountain with a brook flowing in front of it, the hall's front gate opens onto three stalagmites that soar into the sky from atop the mountain, hence the hall's byname, "Three Peaks Thatched Hall." A Lake-Tai rock embedded in a wall at the western end of the mountain foot is easily mistaken for a lattice window. As per a description in the "Notes of the Hibernation Garden," this very rock is "thoroughly creased, hollowed through and looking slim." A small arch bridge sits astride one end of the brook and a stone beam spans its other end. The bridge conducts to the Cloud Enshrouded Cave that meanders its way through the mountain. There used to be a Flower Goddess Belvedere south of the Three Peaks Mountain, but it is nowhere to be seen today.

An ancient Chinese juniper rises from among the three peaks in front of the former site of the vanished belvedere. As the "Notes of the Hibernation Garden" puts it: "With galls and gnarls piling up upon its curling and coiling branches, this tree belongs unmistakably to a remote generation." Whilst adding an impressive touch to the garden, it is also the most celebrated ancient tree in Taizhou. A half pavilion that clings against the western wing of the mountain foot seems to have been added to the fold in recent times, because its absence is conspicuous among the garden's old pictures. Stepping eastward across the stone beam and the valley, one arrives at the Fish Enumerator's Pavilion, which has collapsed, with its site remaining there for all to see; the ancient pine standing by the pavilion is rare and rustic to the uttermost, but to visitors' dismay, it is rotting away. To the north of the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain, a trail threads through a moon gate in a wall adorned with lattice windows. Inside of the courtyard, a yellow-stone terrace rises along a zigzagging stone stairway before one reaches the Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well. The hall, equipped with floor-length windows on its four sides, is found between two reconstructed structures, the Howling Pine Belvedere to the left and the Nest Pavilion to the right. Jutting out like a wing, the hall is encircled by a parterre that features a cornucopia of trees, slim bamboos, rugged vines and imposing rocks, all of which mingle to accentuate the exceptional seclusion and fascination of the entire scene. With sparse embellishments and a layout akin to a traditional Chinese painting, this courtyard evokes elegance and quietude in ways both unconventional and ingenious.

Comparisons made between historical archives and literature and what remains of the Qiao's Garden indicate that the garden we see today is worlds apart from its former self. Nevertheless, it still offers something noteworthy

as far as the craft of gardens is concerned.

Judging from its general layout, the garden is centered upon the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain, and supplemented with a belt of water and a mountain in the front to conjure up its focal scenery. The small courtyard laid out in the rear to add a deliberate digression, serves, in literary parlance, to revive the visitor's spirits with another fabulous scene. Significantly different in size, visibility and importance, the focus and foil give full play to space grouping in a clever way. The integration of simple elements—a hall situated up north, a pond in the middle, a mountain opposite the hall, a cave with rocks hidden inside of it, and a stone beam lying across a brook—brings fresh and original prospects to the premises without falling into the beaten track, an integration that is exactly what the Ming tradition of garden-making is all about. With scenic sights arrayed in all directions, the garden also makes the most of the view-borrowing technique by keeping its belvederes on either side of its enclosing wall. The main travel route takes a circuitous track, with the trail atop the mountain and the cave below it offering two more optional sightseeing routes. More changes are also added to the main travel route in the form of small bridges, steppingstones, and a footpath that forks out at the foot of the artificial mountain.

In terms of rockwork arrangement, all the Lake-Tai rocks and yellow stones were carefully chosen and cleverly arranged in compliance with a unified plan before they were shipped to the Qiao's Garden. There being absolutely no stones to be quarried locally in Taizhou, these rocks and stones were procured from other places, and came in sundry categories and sizes, yet they were assembled and stacked up so intelligently that no trace of cobbling is found in all the artificial mountains constructed on the site. In the pond, for instance, yellow stones are kept under water while Lake-Tai rocks

protrude from the water surface to show their distinctive shapes and postures to best advantage. At the Cloud Enshrouded Cave, yellow stones are paved to form the base, with Lake-Tai rocks piled up upon them to beautify the garden's scenic skyline. Moreover, bricks are used to build the archway inside of the cave to make up for the shortage of stones, with a small yard built in the valley to facilitate smooth transition from rock structures to brickwork, thereby forestalling feels of bluntness or blemishes. To further economize on rocks, construction of all-stone walls is minimized and interspersed with brick-and-earth walls surfaced with Lake-Tai rocks. All caves inside of the garden, built in the techniques of brick trail building and dynamic balance of blocks in stone caves (see *The Craft of Gardens*), are apparent Ming-dynasty legacies. Compactly structured with agreeable variants, and produced with superb craftsmanship with the least traces of artistry, they are among the best of small caves comparative with those found in the Ming-dynasty Five Peaks Garden in Suzhou. Moreover, the brick archway tunneled through the mountain is a rarity unseen elsewhere. The three stalagmites that stand atop the summit and mingle with the curling branches of an ancient juniper are definitely the highlight of the entire garden's scenery, an arrangement that obviously breaks the convention that such stone pillars can only be situated among lush bamboos. At the foot of the mountain, the pond meanders its way into the distance as an admirable supplement; foot roads, bridges and steppingstones are scattered to a nicety. All these excellent ways of doing things are rarely seen in other gardens in north Jiangsu. In similar rockwork techniques, the artificial mountain builder of the Qiao's Garden obviously outdid such consummate rockery builders as Shitao and Ge Yuliang.

In horticultural arrangement, priority is given to arbors, with ancient-looking cypresses highlighted, and pines and plum groves supplementing.

Nandinas are planted at most mountain cols and brook bays, and winter sweets and osmanthus clumps are arranged in front of courtyards. Bamboos and plantains offer delightful shade to the surroundings of halls, and arboraceous and herbaceous peonies are cultivated in parterres. These trees and flowers not only give inspirations to building names such as "Evergreen Mountain Abode," "Howling Pine Belvedere" and "Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah," but also conjure up kaleidoscopic seasonal changes in the garden's scenery. More importantly, the adoption of the aforementioned botanical combinations is in accord with traditional Chinese painting theories. In terms of spiritual setting, demure elegance and unadorned delicacy are the starting point before such trees and flowers are put together. For instance, plantains are used for their coolness and green hues; sparse bamboo twigs can cast picturesque shadows on windows; and nandina, winter sweet, pine and cypress branches intertwine to set off each other agreeably. As prototypes in traditional Chinese painting, all these botanical groupings have captivated so many literati officials through the generations. Bookbinding grass (*Ophiopogon japonicus*) is also planted to fill in baldness on crags and turn an entire mountain into an unblemished green carpet. In this way, bluntness and flaws in artificial mountains are cleverly covered or concealed so that the entire garden looks like a harmonious whole. The way the bookbinding grass is applied in the Qiao's Garden has long been commonplace among northern Jiangsu gardens, but in my opinion, it ought to be popularized in southern Jiangsu gardens as well, where such grass is still used sparsely for patchwork purposes. It ought to be assimilated by all the garden-makers in China, for that matter. Just as Guo Xi puts it in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams* :

A mountain takes streams as its arteries, grass and trees as its hair, and the misty

clouds above it as its spiritual verve.

To sum up, as the one and only completely extant traditional Chinese garden in Taizhou, as well as the most venerable one in northern Jiangsu, the Qiao's Garden deserves a prominent position in regional studies of Chinese gardens.

泰州乔园

泰州是仅次于扬州的一个苏北大城市，以商业与轻工业为主，在历史上复少兵灾，因此古建筑园林与文物保存下来视他市较多。如南山寺五代碑座，明代的天王殿及正殿，正殿建于明天顺七年癸未（公元1463年），在大木结构上，内外柱皆等高，脊檩下用叉手，犹袭元以前的建筑手法。明隆庆间的蒋科住宅的楠木大厅，明末的宫宅大厅，现状尚完整。其他岱山庙的唐末铜钟、宋铜像等，前者款识为“同光”，后者为宋崇宁五年（即宋大观元年，公元1107年）及宋靖康元年丙午（公元1126年）年所造。园林则推乔园。

乔园在泰州城内八字桥直街，明代万历间官僚地主太仆陈应芳所建，名日涉园，取晋陶潜《归去来辞》中“园日涉以成趣”之意名额。应芳名兰台，著有《日涉园笔记》。园于清康熙初归田氏。雍正间为高氏所有，更名三峰园。咸丰间属吴文锡（莲芬），名蛰园。旋入两淮盐运使乔松年（鹤侪）手，遂以乔园名。在高凤翥（麓庵）一度居住时期，曾由李育（某生）作园图。周庠（西笭）绘园四面景图，时在道光五年（公元1825年）。咸丰九年己未（公元1859年）吴文锡修复是园后，又作《蛰园记》。从记载分别可以看到当时的园况，为今存苏北地区最古的园林。

乔园在其盛时范围甚大，除园林外尚拥有大住宅，这座大住宅是屡经扩建及逐步兼并形成的。从这里可以看出，明代中叶后官僚地主向农民剥削加深的具体反映。今日园之四周住宅部分，虽难观当日全貌，然明代厅事尚存四座，其中一座还完整。

园南向，位于住宅中部，三峰园时期有十四景之称：皆绿山房；绠汲堂；数鱼亭；囊云洞；松吹阁；山响草堂；二分竹屋；因巢亭；午韵轩；来青阁；莱庆堂；蕉雨轩；文桂舫；石林别径。今虽已不能窥见其

全豹，但根据今日的规模，是不难复原的。

园以山响草堂为中心，其前水池如带，山石环抱，正峙三石笋，故又名三峰草堂。山麓西首壁间嵌一湖石，宛如漏窗，殆即《蛰园记》所谓具“绉、透、瘦”者。池上横小环洞桥及石梁。过桥入洞曲，名囊云，曲折蜿蜒山间。主山则系三峰所在，其南原有花神阁，今废。阁前峰间古柏桧一株，正《蛰园记》所谓“瘿疣累累，虬枝盘拿，洵前代物也”。实为园中最生色之处，同时亦为泰州古木之尤者。山麓西则为半亭，案旧图记无此建筑，似属后造。东度小飞梁跨幽谷达数鱼亭，今圮，遗址尚存。亭旁原有古松一株，极奇拙，已朽。山响草堂之北，通花墙月门，垒黄石为台，循迂回的石蹬达正中之绠汲堂。堂四面通敞，左顾松吹阁，右盼因巢亭。今阁与亭名存而实非。绠汲堂翼然邻虚，周以花坛丛木，修竹古藤，山石森然，丘壑独存。虽点缀无多，颇曲尽画理，是一园中另辟蹊径的幽境。

乔园今存部分，与文献图录所示对照，已非全貌。然就现状来看，在造园艺术上尚有足述的地方。

在总体布局上，以山响堂为中心，其前凿池叠山以构成主景。后部辟一小园，别具曲笔，使人于兴尽之余，又入佳境。这两者不论在大小隐显与地位高卑上，皆有显著不同的感觉，充分发挥了空间组合上的巧妙手法。至于厅事居北，水池横中，假山对峙，洞曲藏岩，石梁卧波等，用极简单的数事组合成之，不落常套，光景自新，明代园林特征就充分地体现在这种地方。此园林以东南西北四个风景面构成，墙外楼阁是互为“借景”。游览线以环形为主，山巅与洞曲又形成上下不同的两条游径，并佐以山麓崖道及小桥步石等歧出之，使规则的主线中更具变化。

叠山方面，此园在运用湖石与黄石两种不同的石种上，有统一的选择与安排。泰州为不产石之地，因此所得者品类不一，而此园在堆叠上使人无拼凑之感。在池中水面以下用黄石，水面以上用体形较多变化的

湖石。在洞中下脚用黄石，其上砌湖石。在石料不足时，则以砖拱隧道代之，它与石构者是利用山涧的小院作过渡，一无生硬相接之处。若干处用砖墙挡土，外包湖石，以节省石料。以年份而论，山洞部分皆明代旧物，盖砖拱砌法以及石洞的大块“等分平衡法”（见《园冶》），其构造既有变化又复浑融一片，无斧凿之痕可寻，洵是上乘的作品，可与苏州明代旧园之一的五峰园山洞相颉颃，为今日小型山洞中不可多得的佳例。至于山中置砖拱隧道，则尤为罕见。主峰上立三石笋，与古柏虬枝构成此园之主要风景面，一反前人以石笋配竹林的陈例。山下以水池为辅，曲折具不尽之意。以崖道、桥梁与步石等酌量点缀其间，亦能恰到好处。这些在苏北诸园中未见有此佳例。此种叠山艺术的消息，清代仅在石涛与戈裕良的作品中尚能见之，并有所提高。

花木的配置以乔木为主，古柏重点突出，辅以高松、梅林。山坳水曲则多植天竺。庭前栽腊梅、丛桂，厅周荫以修竹、芭蕉，花坛间布置牡丹、芍药，故建筑物的命名遂有皆绿山房、松吹阁、蕉雨轩等。至于其所形成四季景色的变化，亦因此而异。最重要的是此类植物的配合，是符合中国古代画理的，当然在意境上，还是从优雅清淡上着眼，如芭蕉分绿，疏筠横窗，天竹腊梅，苍松古柏，交枝成图，相映生趣，皆古画中的粉本，为当时士大夫所乐于欣赏的。山间以书带草补白，使山石在整体上有统一的色调。这样使若干堆叠较生硬处与堆叠不周处能得到藏拙，全园的气息亦较混成，视苏南园林略以少数书带草作补白者，风格各殊。此种手法为苏北园林所习用，对今日造园可作借鉴。宋人郭熙说，“山以水为血脉，以草木为毛发，以烟云为神采”（《林泉高致》），便是这个道理。

总之，乔园为今日泰州仅存的完整古典园林，亦是苏北已知的最古老的实例，在中国园林研究中，以地区而论，它有一定的代表性。

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英译：仲志兰

A NOTE ON REBUILDING WATER-INKED GARDEN

May, 1992

Translated by Zhong Zhilan

The Water-Inked Garden in Rugao, Jiangsu province, was a garden of national renown built by Mao Xiang (1611-1693) [1] in the waning years of the Ming dynasty. The much-told tale of Mao and the courtesan Dong Bai (1624-1651) [2] has come down as a legend in Chinese literary history along with the garden.

I still remember having the honour in my youth to make the acquaintance of Mao Xiaolu (1909-1988) [3] during a visit to his father Mao Guangsheng (1873-1959) [4] in their Shanghai residence. [5] Descendants of the owner of the Water-Inked Garden, the revered father and son were more than familiar with the history of the garden. I wanted to visit it, but procrastinated and never made it, which pretty much choked me through the years.

Of late the local government asked me to make cartographic records of this famed heritage site and draw a conservation plan for it. I ruminated, and was slow and hesitant to take action. Judged from its name, this garden was apparently predicated on water. Enveloped in water and nestled against a vast bamboo grove, it also clung to a city parapet topped with imposing crenellations, which made it a true rarity among private gardens across the country. When the restoration task eventually came under way, we worked to preserve the water surfaces in the first place while repairing and expanding the city wall and rejuvenating the bamboo groves on the premises. An

artificial mountain was built, with water splashing out of a fountainhead into a pool at the mountain foot. In this way, the entire scenery looked at once integral and judiciously divided, the lofts and terraces tossed their silhouettes into the water to conjure up a vista in which tangibles and intangibles mingled to the enchantment of visitors, and vivid expression was somewhat given to water as the overriding theme of the Water-Inked Garden.

I hereby jot down this brief note upon completion of the restoration project to commend the Rugao government's devotion to conserving local cultural and historical legacies. Only with such devotion can our nation's spirit be boosted and our local cultures be rejuvenated. It will be my uttermost delight if, on a fine spring or autumn day, I, walking stick in hand, can join some local friends for a visit to this famous garden. Only thus can a fifty-year-long wish of my life come true.

重修水绘园记

如皋水绘园，天下名园也，明冒辟疆所筑，董小宛故事，遍传人间，名园名姬，流为艳谈。忆少时谒冒丈鹤亭于沪寓，获交孝鲁先生，贤乔梓为水绘后人，熟知园之史实，尝拟往访，因循未果，耿耿于怀。近如皋市以保此名迹，嘱为摹画修复，迟迟未敢举笔。此园以水绘名，重在水字。园故依城，水竹迷漫，城围半园，雉堞严然，于我国私园中别具一格。今复斯园，仍以水为主，城墙水竹，修复而扩大之。筑山一丘，山中出涧，泻泉入池，合中有分；楼台映水，虚虚实实，游者幻觉迷目，水绘意境，于是稍出。园成，为记此文，知如皋重历史之文物，振民族之正气，地方文化得兴。他时春秋佳日，携筇与如皋人同游名迹，以偿五十年前访园之夙愿，实平生一大快事也。

1992年5月

英译：仲志兰

GRATIFICATION GARDEN, INNER GARDEN, SHANGHAI

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The complex comprising the Gratification Garden and the Inner Garden, with the City God's Temple in between, is one of the old gardens that remain relatively intact to this day in Shanghai. As it is located in the most densely populated area of the metropolis, the municipal culture bureau and cultural heritage administration has stepped up its management and refurbishment in an effort to provide ideal greenery to this area and a cosy place where people can relax and see the scenery. As a participant in such an effort over the years, I would like to share my experience and discoveries with my readers.

The garden was built by Pan Yunduan (1526-1601)[1] , a Shanghai native who served as administrative commissioner of Sichuan province during the Wanli reign of Emperor Shenzong (1573-1620) of the Ming. He called it "Gratification Garden" because he built it to gratify his father Pan En (1496-1582), a retired minister of justice during the Jiajing reign of Emperor Shizong (1521-1566) of the same dynasty. Its construction began in 1559, the thirty-eighth year of the Jiajing reign, and was completed eighteen years later in 1577, the fifth year of the Wanli reign. Sprawling on a lot of over seventy *mu* , it became one of the few famous gardens in the Jiangnan area at the time. The Pans' Mansion, situated to the east of the garden on Benevolence-Cherishing Street at Phoenix Tree Road, with one of its Five Old Peaks now in the former Yans' Mansion on Yan'an Road Central, was at the time the largest of its kind in Shanghai. In the mid-17th century, the garden fell into

dilapidation with the decline of the Pan family. In 1760, the twenty-fifth year of the Qianlong reign of the Qing, some local gentries pooled money and bought part of the garden complex, restored it and named it "West Garden," with the Inner Garden built in 1709, the forty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign, renamed "East Garden."

During the Daoguang reign (1821-1851) of the Qing, local authorities consigned the long decaying Gratification Garden to twenty-one trade associations, whose leaders overhauled their respective portions and converted them into conference halls. The garden sustained a major destruction during the five-day occupation of the City God's Temple by the British troops during the First Opium War in 1842, the twenty-second year of the Daoguang reign, and was destroyed even more seriously in 1860, the tenth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1862), at the hands of the BritishFrench troops who took the City God's Temple and suppressed the Heavenly Kingdoms uprising in league with the Qing government. Towards the end of the Qing, the area west of the garden became marketplace, and the size of the garden diminished as a result. The roads close by the garden today, such as Sunshine Condensing Road, Painted Boat Road, and Nine Lions Road, are named respectively after the Sunshine Condensing Belvedere, Hall of Painted Boat and Nine Lions Pavilion in the garden's precincts in old days.

Though the Gratification Garden remains torn apart to this day, its former glory is still discernable for the most part of it. According to a new urban development plan of Shanghai, the lost parts shall be reverted to the garden. The Gratification Garden we see today was actually part of its original northeast corner, which features a massive artificial mountain, with a pond dug and pavilions built at its foot, and its space divided vertically in two

by a bridge sitting astride a stream. Across the stream stands a belvedere, with a roofed walkway with latticed windows running through them, whereas the stream takes a series of twists before turning to the garden's east part, where it is flanked by more rockeries and verandahs. Thanks to adoption of Ming-dynasty garden-making techniques, rockeries and water surfaces in the garden are now clustered, now strewn to humour the terrain, with major scenic spots set off properly by secondary ones.

The central building in the area of the great artificial mountain is the "Profuse Beauty Hall," which faces the mountain at its eastern foot. The mountain, built by Zhang Nanyang (*c* . 1517-1596) [2] on a pile of earth, is the largest extant yellow stone work in the Jiangnan area. The path winding its way up and down the mountain, and the stream taking a zigzagging course at its foot seem ever ready to conduct the visitor to fascinating nooks and crannies. Having walked along the aforementioned roofed walkway by the side of the Profuse Beauty Hall, one steps upon the mountain's footpath and sees a stone tablet inscribed with the words, "Stream and mountain to be marvelled at in serenity," in the handwriting of the celebrated calligrapher Zhu Yunming (1460-1526) [3] .

The observation deck atop this mountain provides a panoramic view of the garden. In old days, the masts of junks drifting down the Huangpu River in the distance could be seen from the balustrade of a tiny pavilion standing by the deck. Hence its name, "RiverWatcher's Pavilion." Another small pavilion at the foot of the mountain is silhouetted in the pond. Also tossing its reflection into the water from the other side of the pond is the Mountain-Admiring Hall, a two-story building with a richly variegated façade. This is where the water in the pond forks, with one branch running northwest into the mountain and cascading down to a ravine in a noisy chaos of spray. The

other branch is a narrow strip of clear water that takes a detour beyond the gazebo and runs eastward past the Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers, where it flows on through a moon gate in the wall to no one knows where—all the while it is flanked by graceful-looking rockeries and ancient trees whose rich foliage blocks the sun and enhances the peace and quiet of the scene.

In the courtyard before the Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers, a large gingko tree extends its boughs in all directions to interplay with well-spaced *yulan* magnolia's leaves. Judging from its trunk, with a girth larger than a man's arm span, the gingko is likely to have been there as early as the Ming. The grand artificial mountain excels in magnificence and majesty, and the pond wins with its widely extravert character, but the stream, for all its tininess, can still square them off with its deep and serene presence. What is laudable about the garden's design is that its placid stream and double-lane loggia are well coordinated, whereas through the waterside gazebo's pivotal transitional role, coupled with the brick-framed hollowed windows' segmentation and play of perspective, the space is expanded instantly and layered richly, making it possible to pack a profusion of spellbinding sights into a small lot.

Running eastward, the tiny stream begins to widen gradually upon reaching the front of the Spring Adorning Hall. (There used to be a Western-style building in front of this hall in the southwest, but it was demolished in 1958 to make way for a rearrangement of vistas.)

Opposite the Spring Adorning Hall, and surrounded on three sides by water is the Belvedere of Female Phoenix Waltzing and Male Phoenix Wobbling. In front of the belvedere stands the Hall of Balmy Sunshine, with a wall to the east providing the background for an artificial mountain in the breathtaking shape of an overhanging cliff. This mountain is encircled by a

pond filled with water cascading down the rockery. Gazing westward from the Belvedere of Delight on the mountain's summit at the eastern end, one finds that the garden's giant artificial mountain looks as if it were shifted right before the balustrade. Its steep cliff is enclosed behind a tracery-topped wall together with the Verandah of Reposed Comfort. The views beyond this verandah are faintly visible through latticed windows, but if observed from without, the sights within the wall look like belonging to the pavilions and terraces inside the seemingly unfathomable courtyard next door.

The winding roofed walkway of the Spring Adorning Hall provides access to the Room for Private Dialogue by the side of a pavilion with a well under its roof and the studio upon the artificial mountain reachable through a cave in it. The Spring Adorning Hall is a former site of the people's revolution—in 1853, the third year of the Xianfeng reign of the Qing, it was the headquarters of an uprising launched by Liu Lichuan (1820-1855) and members of his Small Dagger Society, who liberated the seat of Shanghai county from the government for seventeen months.

The Inner Garden was as "East Garden" when it was built in 1709, the forty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing. As one of the small traditional gardens in Jiangnan, it is well conserved, with its pavilions, terraces, flowers and trees, as well as the pond and rockeries laid out tidily on a two-*mu* lot. Its architectural centerpiece, the Sunny Snow Hall, faces an artificial mountain whose back and wings are encircled by storied buildings. Its other major buildings include the Loft of Prolonged Serenity and the Wave-Watchers' Loft. The Pavilion of Manifold Verdure sits on a knoll surrounded by a dragon-topped wall and exotic rocks scattered among emerald bamboos. A small gate opens onto the Nine-Lion Pond, with the said pavilion and terrace reflected in its crystal clear water. Anyone sitting in the

roofed corridor by the side of the pond and watching the slender bamboos and swimming fish will be impressed with the exceptional serenity of the surroundings. The pond could not be smaller, yet no crampedness is felt as water keeps flowing out of it from the mouth of a cave underneath the dragon-topped wall. The roofed walkway takes a turn at the pond before returning to the Sunny Snow Hall. The name of the Wave-Watchers' Loft, where the waves in the Huangpu River could be observed in old days, is only nominal today because the view is totally blocked by a cluster of shopping malls.

Given their small sizes, the gardens built during the Qing are greedily packed with buildings and sceneries. As pavilions, terraces, lofts and verandahs are squeezed into their small lots, there is no way for these gardens to look natural and commodious. The impact of such greediness is especially apparent in the Inner Garden, which, therefore, compares unfavorably with the Gratification Garden whose builders refused to be encumbered by frivolities in their bold and rather concise plan for it. However, fine designs can still be found in the Inner Garden, including the methodically circuitous layout close by the Nine-Lion Pond, and the vast space in front of the Sunny Snow Hall.

Notwithstanding the "preordained" differences in layout between the Gratification Garden and its Inner Garden, much of the scraggly disorder in rockwork and architecture and the uncouth additions and repairs are aftermaths of wilful repairs done by the aforementioned trade associations in the late years of the Qing. Future repair and maintenance planners ought to pay due attention to restoring both gardens' original plans, so that all the elements that have an ill effect upon the eye can be removed and all the old delights restored.

In this short article I have said little of the other attractions that belonged to the Gratification Garden in its former days because all of them have been inundated in the din and traffic of metropolitan Shanghai. These include the Greater Lotus Pond, the Nine-Bend Bridge, the Moon-Bestowed Loft, the Exquisite Jade Boulder from Lake Tai, and the Nine Lions Pavilion [4] .

上海的豫园与内园

豫园与内园皆在上海旧城区城隍庙的前后，为上海目前保存较为完整的旧园林。上海市文化局与文物管理委员会十分重视这个名园，除加以管理外，并逐步进行了修整，给人口密度最多的地区以很好的绿化环境，作为广大人民游憩的地方，充分发挥了该园的作用。年来我参与是项工作，遂将所见，介绍于后：

豫园是明代四川布政使上海人潘允端为侍奉他的父亲——明嘉靖间尚书潘恩所筑，取“豫悦老亲”的意思，名为豫园。从明朱厚熜（世宗）嘉靖三十八年（公元1559年）开始兴建，到明朱翊钧（神宗）万历五年（公元1577年）完成，前后花了十八年工夫，占地七十余亩，为当时江南有数的名园（潘宅在园东安仁街梧桐路一带，规模甲上海，其宅内五老峰之一，今在延安中路旧严宅内）。17世纪中叶，潘氏后裔衰落，园林渐形荒废。清弘历（高宗）乾隆二十五年（公元1760年），该地人士集资购得是园一部分，重行整理。当时该园前面已在清玄烨（圣祖）四十八年（公元1709年）筑有“内园”，二园在位置上所在不同，就以东西园相呼，豫园在西，遂名西园了。清道光间，豫园因年久失修，当时地方官曾通令由各同业公所分管，作为议事之所，计二十一个行业各处一区，自行修葺。旻宁（宣宗）道光二十二年（公元1842年）鸦片战争时，英兵侵入上海，盘踞城隍庙五日，园林遭受破坏。其后奕詝（文宗）咸丰十年（公元1860年），清政府勾结帝国主义镇压太平天国革命，英法军队又侵入城隍庙，造成更大的破坏。清末园西一带又辟为市肆，园之本身益形缩小，如今附近几条马路如凝晖路、船舫路、九狮路等，皆因旧时凝晖阁、船舫厅、九狮亭而得名的。

豫园今虽已被分隔，然所存整体，尚能追溯其大部分。上海市的新规划，将来是要将它合并起来的。今日所见豫园是当年东北隅的一部

分，其布局以大假山为主，其下凿池构亭，桥分高下。隔水建阁，贯以花廊，而支流弯转，折入东部，复绕以山石水阁，因此山水皆有聚有散，主次分明，循地形而安排，犹是明代造园的一些好方法。

萃秀堂是大假山区的主要建筑物，位于山的东麓，系面山而筑。山积土累黄石而成，出叠山家张南阳之手，为江南现存最大黄石山。山路泉流迂曲，有引人入胜之感。自萃秀堂绕花廊，入山路，有明祝枝山所书“溪山清赏”的石刻，可见其地境界之美。达巅有平台，坐此四望，全园景物坐拥而得。其旁有小亭，旧时浦江片帆呈现槛前，故名望江亭。山麓临池又建一亭，倒影可鉴。隔池为仰山堂，系二层楼阁，外观形制颇多变化，横卧波面，倒影清晰。水自此分流，西北入山间，谷有瀑注池中。向东过水榭绕万花楼下，虽狭长清流，然其上隔以花墙，水复自月门中穿过，望去觉深远不知其终。两旁古树秀石，阴翳蔽日，意境幽极。银杏及广玉兰扶疏接叶，银杏大可合抱，似为明代旧物。大假山以雄伟见长，水池以开朗取胜，而此小流又以深静颉颃前二者了。在设计时尤为可取的，是利用清流与复廊二者的联系，而以水榭作为过渡，砖框漏窗的分隔与透视，顿使空间扩大，层次加多，不因地小而无可安排。

小溪东向至点春堂前又渐广（原在点春堂前西南角建有洋楼，1958年拆除，重行布置）。“凤舞鸾鸣”为三面临水之阁，与堂相对。其前则为和煦堂，东面依墙，奇峰突兀，池水潆洄，有泉瀑如注。山巅为快阁，据此东部尽头西眺，大假山又移置槛前了。山下绕以花墙，墙内筑静宜轩。坐轩中，漏窗之外的景物隐约可见，而自外内望又似隔院楼台，莫穷其尽。点春堂弯沿曲廊，可导至情话室，其旁为井亭与学圃。学圃亦踞山而筑，山下有洞可通。点春堂，在清奕詝（文宗）咸丰三年（公元1853年）上海人民起义时，小刀会领袖刘丽川等解放上海县城达十七个月，即于此设立指挥所，因此也是人民革命的重要遗迹。

内园原称东园，建于清玄烨（圣祖）康熙四十八年（公元1709

年）。占地仅二亩，而亭台花木，池沼水石，颇为修整，在江南小型园林中，还是保存较好的。晴雪堂为该园主要建筑物，面对假山，山后及左右环以层楼，为此园之主要特色，有延清楼、观涛楼等。耸翠亭出小山之上，其下绕以龙墙与疏筠奇石。出小门为九狮池，一泓澄碧，倒影亭台，坐池边游廊，望修竹游鱼，环境幽绝。此池面积至小，但水自龙墙下洞曲流出，仍无局促之感。从池旁曲廊折回晴雪堂。观涛楼原可眺黄浦江烟波，因此而定名，今则为市肆诸屋所蔽，故仅存其名了。

清代造园，难免在小范围中贪多，亭台楼阁，妄加拼凑，致缺少自然之感，布局似欠开朗。内园显然受此影响，与豫园之大刀阔斧的手笔，自有轩轾。然此园如九狮池附近一部分，尚曲折有致，晴雪堂前空间较广，不失为好的设计。

总之，二园在布局上有所差异，但局部地方如假山的堆砌，建筑物的凌乱无计划，以及庸俗的增修，都是清末叶各行业擅自修理所造成的后果。今后在修复工作中，还是要留心旧日规模，去芜存菁，复原旧观才是。

其他如大荷池、九曲桥、得月楼、环龙桥、玉玲珑湖石、九狮亭遗址等，均属豫园所有，今皆在市肆之中，故不述及【从周案十五】。

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SHEN'S GARDEN, VERNAL WAVES BRIDGE, SHAOXING

Wen Wei Po , Hong Kong, October 2, 1963
Translated by Ren Xiaomei

Several years ago I went to Shaoxing in Zhejiang province for the restoration of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints [1] and the Orchid Pavilion. Upon my arrival I was lodged in the Memorial Museum of Lu Xun (1881-1936) within spitting distance of the Vernal Waves Bridge [2] and the Shen's Garden. Recently refurbished, with a surrounding wall newly added, the garden was where Lu You (1125-1210) [3] wrote a legendary lyrical poem to lament the collapse of his first marriage under feudal pressure, and a hall on the premises is dedicated to the memory of this celebrated patriotic poet of the Southern Song (1127-1279). For this reason, the Shen's Garden is thronged all year round with visitors who come to pay homage to him. The crowd is larger than usual when spring sets in.

Only a small yard remains of the old Shen's Garden today, where a few ancient trees, a tiny mound decorated with some yellow stone rockeries, and a limpid pond at its foot combine to engender an ambience tranquil and serene to the utmost. Lu You's memorial hall is housed in a row of rooms by the side of the mound, with a funeral portrait of the poet and a collection of his works on display. According to historical records, the Shen's Garden was quite well-known during the Southern Song and several times larger than it is today.

During his brief first marriage, Lu You was in deep love with his wife,

Tang Wan (*fl* . 12th century), a childhood sweetheart who happened to be his mother's niece. However, the old lady did not get along with her daughter-in-law and demanded a divorce. [4]

Not wanting to abandon his wife, Lu You hid her away, but his effort was short lived. The marriage buckled under soon after, and Tang Wan ended up marrying a royal clansman by the name of Zhao Shicheng. In the first lunar month of 1155, the twenty-fifth year of the Shaoxing reign (1131-1163) of Emperor Gaozong,

the two star-crossed lovers chanced upon each other at the Shen's Garden next to the Temple of King Yu's Footprints. When they sat down for some wine and food, an emotional Lu You, at age thirty-one, improvised a lyrical poem to the tune of "Phoenix Hairpin," and scribbled it down on a wall to unbosom himself to his ex-wife:

Fine pink hands [5] , golden wine,
Spring paints willows green walls can't confine.
East wind unfair, affections wearing thin.
In my heart sad thoughts throng;
Our hearts were severed for years long.

Wrong, wrong, wrong!
Spring is as green, in vain she's become lean,
Her silk scarf tear-soaked, red with stains unclean.
Our oath does remain.
No word to her can go.
No, no, no!

Revisiting the Shen's Garden a year later, Tang Wan wrote a poem to the same tune to echo her ex's melancholy feelings:

Worldly sentiments flimsy, Man's feeling hateful,
Easy victim to dusk rain, floral petals tumble.
The wind stills at dawn, yet tear stains remain.
Failing to speak my mind,
I'm left alone to murmur at the balustrade.
Hard! Hard! Hard!

Broken the wedlock, today not as of old,
Sickness haunts me like a swinging hood.
When dusk falls, blaring horns bring in cold.
Fearing to attract an enquirer,
I swallow down tears under joyful cover.
Faker! Faker! Faker!

Tang Wan died shortly afterward, a death which dealt a heavy blow to Lu You and tormented him for the rest of his life. At age sixty-eight in 1192, the third year of the Shaoxi reign (1190-1195) of the Southern Song, he lapsed into a poetic mood again, and wrote the following lines:

To the south of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints, there is a little garden belonging to a man surnamed Shen, where I scribbled down a short lyrical poem on a wall forty years ago. I happen to be here once more, only to find that the garden has changed hands thrice. Sadness wells up my heart when I reread my poem.

When maples begin to redden, oaks are yellowed,
New frost to his temples Heyang judge does dread [6] .
Woods and pavilion plunge me into nostalgic mood,
To whom can I open broken heart on death's road?

My drunk scribbling on ruined wall in dust covered,
Past events drift like cloud or dream long dissipated.
Gone, too, in my aging years are fantasies wild,
As I burn a joss stick in Buddha's niche in solitude.

Lu spent his twilight years in a mountain abode by the Mirror Lake in the outskirts of Shaoxing. Whenever he went to town he would stop at the Temple of King Yu's Footprints and go upstairs to gaze at the Shen's Garden. These visits culminated in "Shen's Garden: Two Stanzas":

For four decades she is unheard from, in dream even,
Willows too old to set catkins flying in Shen's Garden.
Though to be buried under loess upon Mount Ji anon,
Honoring her memory my tears rain on.

As sun sinks below town wall, a painted horn bewails;
The garden's old self is no more, be it pool or terrace.
My heart aches as vernal wave 'neath a bridge greens;
The startled swan's [7] silhouette I espied once.

The last two lines of the second stanza are so heart-wrenching that they never fail to haunt those familiar with them whenever they walk up the Vernal Waves Bridge and see the clear water flow underneath. Lu You was already seventy-five when he wrote these lines. Turning eighty in 1205, the year Emperor Ningzong began his Kaixi reign (1205-1208), he wrote "Touring Shen's Garden in a Year-End Dream," in which he lamented once more:

My feet wobble as south town draws nearer;
The Shen's Garden finds me even sadder.
Aroma fills guests' sleeves, plum blooms lingering.
The temple bridge greens as water rises in spring.

As spring sets in anew on south town path's course,
I get an eyeful of plum blooms, yet not her presence;
Long after her bones under Yellow Spring turned ashes,
Locked beneath dust on the wall is my ink's trace.

Indeed, even in the twilight years of his life, Lu You still found his tragic first marriage hard to forget.

The poems quoted in this short article drive home what really happened in a love story gone wrong and shed some light on the history of the Shen's Garden and the Vernal Waves Bridge. Though couched in a plain and unassuming language, the passion and implications behind the lines are forever heartrending and poignant. Today, the Shen's Garden has been restored to its former glory, with the said memorial hall added to honour the poet's memory. Gone forever is the old society with its moribund feudal system. If our Old Man Set Free knew all this, he would wake up smiling broadly in the nether world.

绍兴的沈园与春波桥

前几年我因绍兴的禹庙与兰亭的修复工程，到绍兴去了，住在鲁迅纪念馆。相近有一座春波桥【从周案十六】，桥旁就是沈园，里面并设了南宋爱国诗人陆放翁（游）的纪念馆。沈园亦经过整理，新筑了围墙，常常有从各地方去凭吊的人，尤其是在春日。这里是放翁最有名的一首作品——《钗头凤》词的诞生地。这词使人联想到放翁在旧社会封建势力压迫下的一幕悲剧。

沈园在春波桥旁，现存小园一角，古木数株，在积土的小坡上，点缀一些黄石。山旁清池澄澈，环境至为幽静。旁有屋数椽，今为放翁纪念堂，内部陈列了放翁遗像以及放翁作品。根据记载，沈园在南宋是个名园，范围比今日要大几倍。

放翁原娶唐琬，是他母亲的侄女，两人感情很好。后来因为他母亲不喜欢这位媳妇，放翁又不忍出其妻，将她居住到另一个地方，但终因迫于母命而分开了。唐琬不得已改嫁给当时的宗室赵士程。有一年正月，两人相遇在城南禹迹寺（今尚存，建筑物已重建）沈氏园，酒间放翁赋《钗头凤》一词，题于壁间。词云："红酥手，黄縢酒，满城春色宫墙柳。东风恶，欢情薄，一怀愁绪，几年离索。错，错，错！春如旧，人空瘦，泪痕红浥鲛绡透。桃花落，闲池阁。山盟虽在，锦书难托。莫，莫，莫！"唐琬的和词云："世情薄，人情恶，雨送黄昏花易落。晓风干，泪痕残，欲笺心事，独语斜阑。难，难，难！人成各，今非昨，病魂常似秋千索。角声寒，夜阑珊，怕人寻问，咽泪装欢。瞒，瞒，瞒！"这是绍兴二十五年（公元1155年），放翁三十一岁。不久唐琬死，这对放翁当然是一个刺激，这刺激与隐痛可说一直延续到他将死。绍熙三年（公元1192年）放翁六十八岁，又作了一首诗，序云："禹迹寺南有沈氏小园，四十年前尝题小词壁间，偶复一到，园已

三易主，读之怅然。”诗云：“枫叶初丹槲叶黄，河阳愁鬓怯新霜；林亭感旧空回首，泉路凭谁说断肠。坏壁醉题尘漠漠，断云幽梦事茫茫；年来妄念消除尽，回向禅龛一炷香。”放翁晚年是住在城外鉴湖畔的山上，每次入城，必登寺眺望沈园一番，因此又赋了二首诗说：“梦断香消四十年，沈园柳老不吹绵；此身行作稽山土，犹吊遗踪一泫然。”“城上斜阳画角哀，沈园非复旧池台；伤心桥下春波绿，曾见惊鸿照影来。”第二首诗的末后两句写得那么真挚，今日熟悉这诗的游客过春波桥，望了桥下清澈的流水，总要想起这两句来。此时的放翁已七十五岁了。到开禧元年（公元1205年），放翁八十岁那年，又作了《岁暮梦游沈氏园》的两首诗：“路近城南已怕行，沈家园里更伤情；香穿客袖梅花在，绿蘸寺桥春水生。”“城南小陌又逢春，只见梅花不见人；玉骨久成泉下土，墨痕犹锁壁间尘。”已是垂老的情怀，尚是难忘这段旧事。

我们谈了这一些诗词，使人很清楚地明白了这一个故事与沈园及春波桥的由来，但见文字是那么平易能懂，情感与意思是那么的深刻动人。如今人民政府已将沈园修复，又添设了纪念馆。旧社会一去不复返，旧的封建制度再也不会再来。我想放翁地下有知，亦当含笑于九泉了。

香港《文汇报》1963年10月2日

英译：任小玫

WEST LAKE GARDENS, HANGZHOU

Wenhui Daily , March 14, 1962

Garden architecture at the West Lake has long been a requisite theme for local landscape gardeners. On this lake, it is both complex and diverse, and strewn with monumental landmarks and fabulous scenic "sketches." Essayists and poets through the ages, too, have written profusely about it and come up with quite a few immortal works that, one way or another, give wings to imagination and longings.

The West Lake is one of the premier scenic zones in our country, but it is becoming even more beautiful through the diligent labour of so many people. However, she is by no means a new picture drawn on a piece of white paper. She has a history of over a thousand years that, to say the least, dates back to the Tang-Song period, and is still being rebuilt and revised on the basis of what was done by our predecessors. Chinese literature and history archives abound in Tang poems and Song narratives on it. As society develops, the West Lake changes on as well. More discussions about it are necessary because we cherish the hope that she will become still better.

Wang Weilin (1763-1822) [1] writes in a poem on overhauling his Literary Garden:

I had flower hedge replaced, stone railing mended,
Alas, it's harder to improve a garden than a rondel;
If I can settle down with every word to be recited,
Even a small pavilion or terrace can stand perusal.

These lines, indeed, pinpoint the bittersweetness in the heart of this garden-

maker, a feeling that is comparable to a fish knowing whether the water it drinks is cold or warm. Whether it be a flower hedge or a stone railing, uppermost on our minds is how the West Lake can be ameliorated in the ongoing reconstruction drive, an issue that invariably brings into focus the landscaping style of the gardens on and around the West Lake and calls for contention among a hundred schools of thought. Let me kick off the "contention" by relating a little bit about the lake's scenery.

The West Lake sprawls over the western part of Hangzhou. The present-day Lakeshore Road used to be the city wall in days of yore, so that people on their way to the West Lake must go through the wall's three city gates—the Clean Waves Gate, the Gold-Revealing Gate [2] and the Qiantang Gate. The Gold-Revealing Gate is where Xu Xian and White Maiden meet for the first time, according to the folktale "Legend of the White Snake." As the lake is encircled on three sides by mountains, with the city wall on its backside, a visitor standing on this wall can look out in three directions at the southern mountain, the northern mountain, and the western mountain that faces downtown Hangzhou in the distance. The sights observed northward and westward are on the sunny side and therefore more eye-pleasing than those seen southward; this explains why most of the buildings in private gardens face north, such as the Mountain-in-View Lofts and the Lotus-Flower Halls. A building made to face a view of the West Lake ought to be situated on the shady side—a dilemma about directions that has to be manoeuvred with utmost ingenuity if satisfaction is to be met in both respects. Only then can all the "beauty's four elements" [3] be procured.

Because the western and northern mountains, the Gushan Mountain included, offer the best views of the West Lake, we should consider if it is feasible to erect buildings of excess heights and allow them to obscure too

much of the mountain greenery and scenery in both directions. If the Gushan Mountain, for its small size, were covered all over with buildings, would its own vistas be put upside down? Such is the question I once put before the Tongji University architectural designers working on a library to be set up on the Gushan Mountain. Firstly, if the library were an absolute necessity, it should be handled like a small garden contained in a large one, with its buildings cleverly strewn and concealed behind amidst trees and exotic rockeries—only in this way could architecture and scenery echo each other brilliantly. Secondly, some scenic attractions look their best only if seen in the distance, and a building would come handy for this particular sightseeing purpose. However, this justifies neither a construction spree at the vintage point in question nor the building of a structure to monopolize such a scenic spot. Rather, a building erected for this purpose must be kept at a proper distance from the scenery to be savored, and this is where conceptions for view borrowing or opposite views are needed. If houses were built all over the best part of a scenic belt, not only the belt itself would be ruined, but people staying in them would have no views to feast their eyes on as well. Just as Su Shi (1037-1101) says,

> Why can't I see Mount Lushan's true face?
>
> Because I am caught right in its embrace.

Classical verse and prose make frequent mentions of the scenic sights of southern Hangzhou, but in my opinion, the views of the Precious Stone Mountain, the Gushan Mountain and the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi up north deserve even more attention.

The landscape of the West Lake is all-encapsulating. There are clear, open water surfaces sparkling like mirrors; sinuous mountain trails now plunging deep into a ravine, now threading their way through an ocean of

bamboos; water-side verandahs and storied buildings by the lake; and dwellings tucked away in ravines or nestling against mountain coves. Even vistas of the same kind can look different because of their different whereabouts. It is the rich and varied mountains and waters that make the matchless West Lake Scenic Resort possible and provide landscape gardeners with ample grounds to fall back on when adapting their designs to actual conditions.

Compositions vary with contents and genres that include long essays and short vignettes, but no matter what the content or genre, every composition must be pertinent to its subject matter and methodically written. Qian Yong (1759-1844) says a mouthful as he puts it,

> Making a garden is like writing prose or verse;
> Every twist and turn must be made judicious.

This line also justifies the requirement for a garden to have a tortuous plan with plenty of changes. The vastly changeable scenery available at the West Lake can be likened to such literary genres as poetry and rhymed prose that offer the needed options for writing a composition—what a landscape gardener needs to do is to come up with well-conceived blueprints and know where to put his finishing touch to make what is better still better.

I feel that arrangements ought to be made painstakingly before we can do something about the West Lake's myriad scenic gems. But most importantly, we have got to seek out all the historical records and literary allusions, so that all-round fieldwork can come under way for us to look here and there and search high and low for a number of vintage sightseeing points. Only after such vintage points are selected can we decide where new buildings can be erected, where viewing facilities can be built without being encumbered by excess buildings, which places are quiet enough for the

construction of sanatoriums, and where a cultural recreational center is needed. Everything, however, is contingent on "siting." As a couplet that graces the Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides on the premises of the Xiling Seal Engravers Society puts it,

Affective is facet after facet,
With water hugging hills that hug water;
Affinitive is heart to heart,
As man inherits the land that inherits him.

This couplet's first line captures exactly the two requirements pivotal to the craft of gardens: "siting" and "view borrowing." I surmise anyone who has been to the Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides must have been deeply impressed. The Lei's Peak [4] Pagoda in the southern mountain area is an important structure designed for view highlighting.

A colossal scenic zone invariably contains views that are either "dormant" or "prominent." The West Lake with its pictureperfect natural environment is no exception, where the lake surface and the surrounding mountains are not only affective in every façade but also captivating wherever they burst upon the eye. Its Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks seem to be close at hand when observed from afar but disappear into nowhere when seen close at hand; its Taoguang [5] Temple and Dragon Well Village offer the best venue to discover narrow footways meandering their way to mystic recesses. These and other clever techniques employed by our forbearers in handling different scenic spots need be inherited and carried forward. To weed through the old and bring forth the new, and to avoid falling into old rut, we still need to take stock of our heritages through thoroughgoing investigations and all-round analyses. Only thus can we be down-to-earth enough when arranging garden views.

In a mammoth scenic zone like the West Lake, architecture and scenery are mutually dependent, with the former playing a major role in the latter. As the saying goes, "Good flowers need a good pavilion or terrace to shine forth." Such a relationship is pronounced in every Chinese garden. Unlike private gardens, the West Lake does not need a legion of pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers to stand on its own, but it cannot do without such buildings altogether. Different from the traditional gardens of Suzhou and Yangzhou, the West Lake does not flaunt gigantic buildings with flying eaves in the southern Chinese tradition, nor are red chambers under blue-glazed tile roofs congruous to it. What is becoming to it may well be white-washed walls and unadorned tiled roofs that are commonplace in central Zhejiang province, whose simplistic, yet graceful style sets people's minds at peace without fail. Large buildings may need flying eaves, whereas what small ones need are well-arranged *yingshan* (pitched roofs with two slopes on the front and the rear respectively), *xuanshan* (*yingshan* plus two walls up through to the roof on the left and right) or *shuiqiangfaqiang* (overhang of roof ridges achieved by turning up the four ridge ends instead of the minor hip rafters) roof forms, winding roofed walkways, and halfpavilions. Take, for example, the complex centered on the Buddhist Incense Belvedere in the Summer Palace, Beijing. Its main building features a gigantic roof with glazed tiles, but its secondary halls, chambers and pavilions are all covered with double-eave roofs with gray tiles, which shows that even in feudal society royal buildings were not always treated with the same level of extravagance and pomp. In the vast West Lake scenic zone, buildings should be applied flexibly—they ought to be given prominence in one place, kept in low profile in another, and scattered somewhere else. Before actions are taken, the following question must be answered: which should play the leading role,

architecture or scenery? But under all circumstances, architecture and scenery should be made to set off each other in delightful ways. The fact that the buildings at the West Lake have taken on new functions today makes it impossible to emphasize which should come first, content or form, but it prompts us to be mindful of the unity between the two. Fortunately, these questions are not at issue for the West Lake, which has already got everything needed for a mammoth scenic zone—waters and mountains, ravines and peaks, frontal mountains and back hills, among other things. Unity in style throughout the zone, and the salient features of every scenic attraction on its premises can be maintained if the entire zone is clearly and strictly demarcated.

The West Lake has long established itself with its "Ten Sights," but more fabulous sights are needed in the days to come. The "Ten Sights" refer to the best of all views that the West Lake has to offer. Some are seasonal, like "Spring Sets In on Memorial Causeway of Su Shi" and "Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake"; some occur at a particular moment of the day, like "Sunset Beyond the Lei's Peak Pagoda"; some are related to weather, like "Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery" [6] and "Remnant Snows on a Broken Bridge"; some accentuate mountain views, like "Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks"; and some are pleasing to one's ears, like "Orioles Singing in Weeping Willows." It is no accidental for these sights, available at different sites and times and in different spaces, to be entrancing and enduring and for their reputation to spread far and wide. Once the secret to such a sight is given away, it becomes the toast of the town in no time, not to mention the fact that no visitor leaves the West Lake without being indelibly impressed. For this reason, I would like to call attention to the need to make every scenic sight look unique or focused on a central theme. A scenic place cannot live up to

its reputation if it is not unique enough or overshadowed by secondary things. If, for example, the lotus flowers at the "Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery" merely serve ornamental purposes, how can the sight's name make sense? I would like to propose that this complex issue be handled with utmost caution. In other words, our gardens should exude poetic sentiment and picturesque allure, their scenic spots should look at once attached and detached, their mountains should be enshrouded in mist and their waters ethereally misty. The West Lake may be characterized in various ways—as a painting, a poem, an enormous garden, or whatever—it all depends on what point of view one takes.

Trees have a certain role to play in defining a garden's character. I remember reading verse lines that bring into bold relief the landscape of the West Lake,

> The lake that sparkles like an emerald,
> With green mountains all around,
> Willows, six bridges in misty water mingled.

The term "misty water" instantly brings to mind the weeping willows on the West Lake; through it one sees in one's mind's eye their soft twigs swaying to stroke the water surface ever so affectionately. Just like the trees mentioned in such sayings, "The city greened with willows is none other than Yangzhou" and "Weeping willows at the White Gate are dense enough to shield crows," the willows are what the West Lake and the two cities of Yangzhou and Nanjing depend heavily on to be carpeted in emerald. Other trees, like pines for Mount Huangshan and redleaf trees for the Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain, all adequately serve forestation purposes in their respective areas. At the West Lake, however, some other tree species are needed to properly supplement or mix with the willows, but such trees ought

to be sensibly selected. Otherwise, the aftermath would be unimaginable.

Just as a painting must have cohesive tone and style, just as an artificial mountain must be built with a cogent texturing pattern, I believe the West Lake scenic zone should be covered mainly with willow trees because they love water and are easy to take care of and most effective in keeping the land green. What is more, the choice of trees must tally with the "personality" of a particular scenic spot. A tree species chosen properly can easily become the landmark of a certain place. Examples of it abounds in Hangzhou, such as the *Phoebe nanmu* grove at the Taoguang Temple, the bamboos that flank the footpaths at Cloud Dwelling Valley and Dragon Well Village, the sweet-scented osmanthus in the Perfect Enlightenment Gully, and the plum trees at the Gushan Mountain. The combination of principal and subsidiary trees helps improve a place's scenic prospects. The West Lake scenic zone also abounds in camphor trees and bamboos. It takes only a few years for camphor trees to develop canopy-like foliage, whereas bamboos become tall enough to provide cooling shades a year after they are planted, not to mention the fact that both are of considerable economic value. All this is why they are often adopted as the major greeneries for gardens in central Zhejiang. I would like to suggest both camphor trees and bamboos be popularized so that they can become "hallmarks" for gardens all over the province. As to exotic tree species, they can be used with discretion, but we had better keep them in botanical gardens, which is more effective than having them scattered everywhere. The potted dwarf trees I have seen in Zhejiang are richer and more varied than those in Suzhou and Yangzhou. Of all the potted stumps of plum trees, fingered-citrons, and fragrant citron trees in Zhejiang, those crafted by artisans from Jinhua and Lanxi counties are peerless, particularly those having moss-covered branches and jade-like plum flowers, and those

with golden fruits hanging down green twigs. These potted dwarf trees are bound to make the West Lake even more enchanting if their local characteristics become even more pronounced.

西湖园林风格漫谈

西湖的园林建筑是我们园林修建工作者的一个重大课题，它既复杂又多样，其中有巨作、有小品，是好题材。古来的作家诗人，从各种不同角度，写成了若干的不朽作品，到今日尚能引起我们或多或少的幻想和憧憬。

西湖是我国最美丽的风景区之一。今天在党的领导下，经过多少人的辛勤劳动，使她越变越美丽。可是西湖并不是从白纸上绘制的一幅新图画，她至少已有一千多年的历史（说得少点从唐宋开始），并在前人的基础上一直在重建修改。唐人诗词上歌咏的与宋人笔记上记载的西湖，我们今天仍能在文献资料中看到。社会在不断发展，西湖也不断地在变，今天我们希望她变得更好，因此有必要来讨论一下。清人汪春田有重葺文园诗：“换却花篱补石阑，改园更比改诗难；果能字字吟来稳，小有亭台亦耐看。”这首诗对我们园林修建工作者来说，真是一言道破了其中甘苦的，他的体会确是“如鱼饮水，冷暖自知”。花篱也罢，石阑也罢，我们今天要推敲的是到底今后西湖在建设中应如何变得更理想，这就牵涉到西湖园林风格问题，这问题我相信大家一定可以“争鸣”一下。如今我来先谈一谈西湖的风景。

西湖在杭州城西，过去沿湖滨路一带是城墙，从前游西湖要出钱塘门、涌金门与清波门，因此《白蛇传》的许仙与白娘娘就是在这儿会面的。她既位于西首，三面环山，一面临城，因此在凭眺上就有三个面：即向南山、北山及面城的西山。以风景而论，从南向北，从东向西，比从北望南来得好，因为向北向西，山色都在阳面，景物宜人，如私家园林的“见山楼”“荷花厅”多半是北向的。可是建筑物面向风景后，又不免要处于阴面，想达到“二难并，四美具”，就要求建筑师在单体设计时，在朝向上巧妙地考虑问题了。西山与北山既为最好的风景面，因此应考

虑这两山（包括孤山）是否适宜造过于高大的建筑物，以致占去过多的绿化面与山水；如孤山，本来不大，如果重重地满布建筑物的话，是否会产生头重脚轻失调现象。同济大学设计院在孤山图书馆设计方案时，我就开宗明义地提出了这个问题。即使不得已在实际需要上必须建造，亦宜大园包小园，以散为主，这样使建筑物隐于高树奇石之中，两者会显得相得益彰。再其次，有些风景遥望极佳，而观赏者要立足于相当距离外的观赏点，因此建筑物要发挥观赏佳景作用，并不等于要据此佳丽之地大兴土木，甚至于踞山盘居，而应若接若离地去欣赏此景，这就是造园中所谓“借景”“对景”的命意所在。我想如果最好的风景面上都造上了房子，不但破坏了风景面，即居此建筑物中亦了无足观，正所谓“不见庐山真面目”了。过去诗文中常常提到杭州城南风光，依我看还是北望宝石山、孤山与白堤一带景物更为美妙吧！

西湖风景有开朗明净似镜的湖光，有深涧曲折、万竹夹道的山径，有临水的水阁湖楼，有倚山的山居岩舍，景物各因所处之地不同而异。这些正是由西湖有山有水的优越条件而形成。既有此优越的条件，那么“因地制宜”便是我们设计时最好的依据了。文章有论著、有小品，各因体裁内容而异，但总是要切题，要有法度。清代钱泳说得好：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法。”这就提出了园林要曲折、要有变化的要求，因此西湖既有如此多变的风景面，我们做起文章来正需诗词歌赋件件齐备，画龙点睛，锦上添花，只要我们构思下笔就是。我觉得今后对西湖这许多不同的风景面，应事先好好地安排考虑一下，最重要的是先广搜历史文献然后实地勘察，左顾右盼，上眺下瞰，选出若干观赏点。选就以后，就能规定何处可以建筑，何处只供观赏不能建造多量建筑物，何处适宜作安静的疗养处，何处是文化休憩处。这都要先“相地”，正如西泠印社四照阁上一联所说的：“面面有情，环水抱山山抱水；心心相印，因人传地地传人。”上联所指，是针对“相地”“借景”两件园林中最主要的要求而言，我想如果到四照阁去过的人，一定体会很深。而

南山区的雷峰塔，则更是重要的一个“点景”建筑。

大规模的风景区必然有隐与显不同的风景点，像西湖这样好的自然环境，当然不能例外，有面面有情、处处生姿的西湖湖面及环山；有“遥看近却无”的“双峰插云”；更有“曲径通幽”的韬光龙井。古人在处理这许多各具特色的风景点，用的是不同的巧妙手法，因此今后安排景物时，如何能做到不落常套，推陈出新，我想对前人的一些优秀手法，以及保存下来的出色实例，都应作进一步的继承与发扬。当然我们事先应作很好的调查，将原来的家底摸摸清楚，再作出全面的分析，这样可能比较实事求是一些。

西湖是个大风景区，建筑物对景物起着很大的作用，两者互相依存，所谓“好花须映好楼台”。尤其是中国园林，这种特点更显得突出。西湖不像私家园林那样要用大量的亭台楼阁，可是建筑物却是不可缺少的主体之一。我想西湖不同于今日苏扬一带的古典园林，建筑物的形式不必局限于翼角起翘的南方大型建筑形式；当然红楼碧瓦亦非所取，如果说能做到雅淡的粉墙素瓦的浙中风格，予人以清静恬适的感觉便是。大型的可以翼角起翘，小型的可以水戗、发戗或悬山、硬山，游廊、半亭，做到曲折得宜，便是好布置。我们试看北京颐和园主要的佛香阁一组用琉璃瓦大屋顶，次要的殿宇馆阁，就是灰瓦复顶。即使封建社会皇家的穷奢极欲，也还不是千篇一律的处理。再者西湖范围既如此之大，地区有隐有显，有些地方建筑物要突出，有些地方相反地要不显著，有些地方要适当地点缀，因此在不同的情况下，要灵活地应用，确定风景和建筑何者为主，或风景与建筑必须相映成趣，这些都要事先充分地考虑。尤其是今天，西湖的建筑物有着不同的功能，这就使我们不能强调内容为先还是形式为先，要注意到两者关系的统一。好在西湖范围较大，有水有山，有谷有岭，有前山有后山，如果能如上文所说能事先有明确的分区，严格地执行，这问题想来也不太大。如此就能保持整个西湖风格的统一，与其景物的特色。

西湖过去有“十景”，今后当有更多的好景。所谓“十景”是指十个不同的风景欣赏点，有带季节性的如“苏堤春晓”“平湖秋月”；有带时间性的“雷峰夕照”；有表示气候特色的“曲院风荷”“断桥残雪”；有突出山景的“双峰插云”；有着重听觉的“柳浪闻莺”；等等。总之根据不同的地点、时间、空间，产生了不同的景物，这些景物流传得那么久，那么深入人心，是并非偶然的。好景一经道破，便成绝响，自然每一个到过西湖的人都会留下不灭的印象。因此今日对于景物的突出、主题的明确，是要加以慎重考虑的。如果景物宾重于主，或虽有主而不突出，如“曲院风荷”没有荷花，即使有亦不过点缀一下，那么如何叫人一望便知是名副其实呢？所以我这里提出，今后对于这类复杂课题，都要提高到主宾明确，运用诗情画意、若即若离、空濛山色、迷离烟水的境界去进行思考处理。因此说西湖是画，是诗，是园林，关键在我们如何地从各种不同角度来理解她。

树木对于园林的风格是起一定作用的。记得古人有这样的句子：“明湖一碧，青山四围，六桥锁烟水。”将西湖风景一下子勾勒了出来。从“六桥烟水”四字，必然使读者联想到西湖的杨柳。这是烟水杨柳，是那么的拂水依人。再说“绿杨城郭是扬州”“白门杨柳好藏鸦”，都是说像扬州、南京这种城市，正如西湖一样以杨柳为其主要绿化物。其他如黄山松、栖霞山红叶，也都各有其绿化特征。西湖在整个的绿化上不能不有其主要的树类，然后其他次要的树木才能环绕主要树木，适当地进行配合与安排。如果不加选择、兼收并蓄的话，很难想象会造成什么结果。正如画一样必定要有统一的气韵格调，假山有统一的皴法，我觉得西湖似应以杨柳为主。此树喜水，培养亦易，是绿化中最易见效的植物。其次必定要注意到风景点的特点，如韬光的楠木林，云栖、龙井的竹径，满觉陇的桂花，孤山的梅花，都要重点栽植，这样既有一般，又有重点，更好地构成了风景地区的逗人风光。至于宜于西湖生长的一些花木，如樟树、竹林，前者数年即亭亭如盖，后者隔岁便翠竿成荫，

在浙中园林常以此二者为主要绿化植物，而且经济价值亦大，我认为亦不妨一试，以标识浙中园林植物的特点。至于外来的植物，在不破坏原来风格的情况下，亦可酌量栽植，不过最好是专门辟为植物园，其所收效果或较散植为佳。盆景在浙江所见的，比苏州、扬州更丰富多彩。我记得过去看见的那些梅桩与佛手桩、香橼桩，培养得好，苔枝缀玉，碧树垂金，都是他处不及的，皆出金华、兰溪匠师之手。像这些地方特色较重的盆景，如果能继续发扬的话，一定会增加西湖不少景色。

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SLENDER WEST LAKE, YANGZHOU

Wenhui Daily , June 14, 1962

The Slender West Lake of Yangzhou is a narrow strip of water dotted with some isles at the confluence of several rivers. On its banks numerous twigs of weeping willows flutter in the wind ever so gently. As landmarks go, the Five-Pavilion Bridge and the White Pagoda situated in the water's widest section are to the Slender West Lake what the Jade Flowery Islet is to the Beihai Park of Beijing and what the Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu is to the West Lake of Hangzhou. The White Pagoda looks like the very spit of its namesake in the Beihai Park except that the latter looks more proportionate; tall, slim and graceful as it gazes down at the lake through sun-lit clouds, it is worlds apart from the solid and poised presence of its prototype. Looking into the distance from the Anglers' Platform, one finds the White Pagoda and the FivePavilion Bridge framed separately in its two gates, forming a picture of high spatiality and spirituality. Every visitor who catches this vista intentionally or unintentionally will be captivated by its highly resonant but utterly unspeakable delicateness. This is a textbook example of view borrowing, a technique unique to the traditional Chinese craft of gardens. The largest isle in the lake is fashioned in imitation of the Golden Hill of Zhenjiang, and is therefore named "Lesser Golden Hill." The adjectives in the names of the Lesser Golden Hill, the Slender West Lake and the Lesser Qinhuai River are apt for the graceful images of these three landmarks of Yangzhou. For the same reason, I would like to liken the Slender West Lake to a potted miniature landscape—despite its smallness one can easily

decipher an abundance of beauty from it.

There are no tall mountains around the Slender West Lake. The Mountain-Level Hall and the Avalokitesvara Mountain to its northwest are neither sky-reaching nor precipitous—they just bear a rough resemblance to a mountain. Gardens were therefore built along the lakeshores to adorn the landscape of Yangzhou. From the *Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours* , a Qing-dynasty compendium of one hundred and twenty volumes, as well as Zhao Zhibi's *An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall* , Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* , and Luo Zaitian's *Paintings of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou* , we may get some idea about the scenery of the Slender West Lake in its heyday under the reigns of emperors Qianlong and Jiaqing of the Qing. There, every loft, terrace, pavilion, or verandah, every chamber or cave, and every flower or rockery dating back to those years was not without its innovative conception. The private gardens built around the Slender West Lake were now congregated, now dispersed, but all the while they accommodated to each other and borrowed one another's vistas to form a fabulous scenic belt that extended from the North City Gate to the Mountain-Level Hall, with boats on the lake ferrying visitors from one garden to another. The buildings around the lake were single- or two-storied structures laid out on an irregular, ever-changing plan that enhanced the three-dimensional space and echoed the low-lying water surface, thereby giving prominence to the White Pagoda and the Five-Pavilion Bridge and incorporating far-off scenes and sights at the Mountain-Level Hall and Avalokitesvara Mountain through view-borrowing.

Extra attention was paid to meshing the buildings along the lakeshore with the water surface, and to guiding the water to flow along winding embankments, so that the water surface could be utilized to increase the

limited land acreage. The techniques adopted by our predecessors in the scenic arrangement of the Slender West Lake are still viable today. As to artificial mountains, I believe they should be built into flat ridges or gentle slopes to form undulating terrains that help break the flat and straight lake surface and the flat field around it, so that the landscape can be beautified and more changes can be facilitated to the topography and spatial segmentation of small gardens contained in larger ones.

The Yangzhou school of traditional gardens is a synthesis of the grand and majestic style of north China and the subtle and elegant style of south China, a synthesis in which the relationship between Suzhou gardens' emphasis on gracefulness and subtlety and northern gardens' stress on weightiness and solidity is tweaked to a nicety. In terms of color tones, it would not hurt to add a bit of bright color to the low-key ornamental style of Yangzhou gardens, which is how the Slender West Lake's mist-and-drizzle water surface is brought to life in vivid and refreshing ways. The Rainbow Bridge of today, for instance, was known as "Red Bridge" in bygone days for its vermilion-lacquered balustrades.

The Mountain-Level Hall commands a vintage point over the scenic zone of the Slender West Lake. Those standing in front of it can stretch their eyes over many a mile of terra incognita over the land of the Yangtze River Delta, and what they can see is thoroughly condensed in the couplet inside of the Mountain-Level Hall,

Rising at dawn to lean over a rail,
All the six dynasties' green hills I behold;
Raising a cup of wine at nightfall,
Two thirds of shiny moon I see overhead.

The celebrated poet Du Mu (803-852) improvised while climbing a mountain

on an autumn day,

> Faint are the green hills and distant the waters,
>
> At autumn's end Jiangnan's grass never withers.

The hall stands as tall as the mountains on the other side of the Yangtze, hence its name, the "Mountain-Level Hall," which captures exactly the secret of the view in question. As the Mountain-Level Hall commands a far and wide vista, discretion should be applied to the heights of buildings in front of it. If a thick cluster of storied buildings were built at its foot so that the visitor can look afar to see the hilly scenery of the Jiangnan area and look down at the Slender West Lake close at hand, they would unavoidably rival with the Mountain-Level Hall for visitors' favor, but neither side would be happy with the result. My suggestion is that nearby buildings be kept low enough to hug the winding tail of the lake's scenic belt. In this way the height of the hall is brought into focus and people's field of vision will not be blocked, so that when they look afar against a railing beyond the Slender West Lake's mirror-like surface, he would keep aahing and oohing over the celestial picture of hills and abodes gleaming amidst the thick foliage of weeping willows.

As an ancient city dating back to the Sui-Tang period (581-907), the former site of Yangzhou behind the Mountain-Level Hall is strewn with spots of cultural and historical interest accumulated over the last millennium and more. Such a fact is deeply ingrained in people's minds through so many famous men of letters' poems and inscriptions. These include the maze-like former palaces of Emperor Yang of the Sui, the Bridge of Twenty-Fours eulogized by Du Mu and Jiang Kui (1154-1221) in verse, the Mountain-Level Hall built by Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), and the Rainbow-Leaning Garden at the Rainbow Bridge, where famous poets gathered to improvise verse to the tinkling of earthen bowls. Like the Slender West Lake's Twenty Sceneries,

including the Mist and Rain over Four Bridges, the White Pagoda in Clouds on a Fine Day, the Spring Terrace under the Bright Moon, and the Shugang Hillock in Evening Glow, they have enticed numerous visitors to the Slender West Lake and added a wealth of perennial tales to local folklore. These ancient sites and scenic resorts should be assiduously selected for repairs and refurbishment, for every one of them is a condensed embodiment of the Chinese craft of gardens as well as a crystallization of landscape in combination with literature and art.

As Yangzhou used to be known as a "Green Willow City," and as the Green Willow Village is found on the Slender West Lake, it follows all too naturally that the Slender West Lake should be kept green primarily with weeping willows. The willow tree's high profile in this city probably began with the excursions of Yangzhou by Emperor Yang of the Sui, and has since been maintained to this day. Having gone through a metamorphosis of more than one thousand years, the fascinations of Yangzhou seem to have everything to do with the emerald richness of the willows. By singlehandedly dressing up Yangzhou into the famed seat of the Eastern Huainan Circuit, these willows cannot but be regarded as a success story. Achieved by giving due consideration to a single tree species' graceful appearances and high adaptability to local conditions, such a success need be made to last.

Talk about the springtime beauty of the Slender West Lake, and I think my favorite view is that of the Long Dyke Draped with Spring Willows. Talk about the lake when the sun emerges right after a summer rain, and I love nothing more than the Mist and Rain over Four Bridges. After all, weeping willows can always be suited to their environment to a T wherever they find themselves, be it a mountain slope or riverside, along a canopied walkway or at the foot of a pavilion. They look exceptionally pliant and endearing when

swaying in the wind.

Apart from the willows, Yangzhou is also known for its arboreous and herbaceous peonies. In fact, a woody peony terrace, and a herbaceous peony hedge in particular, can be the centerpiece of a certain garden. The popularity of the herbaceous peony on the Slender West Lake during the Song is well attested in the "The Yangzhou Adagio" by Jiang Kui:

> The Bridge of Twenty-Fours does still exist,
> While ripples glitter and undulate,
> Frigid is the moon ever so silent.
> I wonder the peonies that by the bridges sit,
> For whom do they bloom year in, year out?

The bamboos, too, enjoy a long history in Yangzhou, where, as the saying goes, "Beauty lies west of the bamboo-flanked road." Ancient painters like Shitao (1642-*c* . 1707), Zheng Xie (1693-1765) and Jin Nong (1687-1763), among others, have bestowed a rich legacy of bamboo paintings on posterity. The Yangzhou species of bamboo differs from its Jiangnan counterparts in that there is always a touch of masculine vigour in its serene gracefulness. There being no mountains in the surroundings of the Slender West Lake, it seems the bamboo should be planted widely so that its lush green foliage can sway and roll in the air while goose-yellow willows' twigs keep stroking the lake surface—it does not sound unreasonable to enhance the lake's appeals by bringing the elegant and divine charms of both the bamboo and the willow into full play, does it?

The other plants that thrive in the climate of the Slender West Lake include *yulan* magnolia and plantain, nandina and wintersweet, crabapple and flowering peach and apricot. All of them should be cultivated because, firstly, they are harmonious with bamboos and willows in both color and imagery,

and, secondly, they can take seasonal turns to bedeck the lakeside scenery with beautiful leaves and flowers. The evergreen "book-binding grass" spotted at the foot of a mountain or a tree is another local specialty. The lake being rather small, the acreage of its water space sown to lotus ought to be strictly minimized. Pines, supplemented with ginkgos, should be planted as barriers around the Mountain-Level Hall, for both trees can grow tall enough to form a wall, not to mention the fact that Yangzhou actually leads all the ancient cities in this country in the number of mammoth ginkgo trees. All the big trees in the city should be preserved the best we can in future urban development efforts. Just as *The Craft of Gardens* puts it,

> If a site is covered with many old trees that would get in the way of the eaves or walls of a building, one must erect a house at a certain distance, or just lop off a few branches to keep off the roof. As the saying goes, it is easy to carve pillars and build flying beams, but it takes a long time to get a Chinese scholar tree to grow tall and develop a shady foliage.

Yangzhou's miniature landscapes follow a hallowed tradition that has long been neck and neck with those of Suzhou in the Jiangnan area. Rugged, wrinkled, durable, and highly resistant to the elements and adaptable to the environment, such miniature landscapes are marked for their robust and richly varied contours and postures without the least bit of pretentious bashfulness. Thanks to local craftsmen's painstaking efforts in pruning and binding, every dwarf pine, cypress or little-leaf box features curvy branches on an ancient-looking trunk, with boughs dexterously trained into "cloud sheets"—artistic results attained by dovetailing human craftsmanship to nature's endowment. The other Yangzhou miniature landscapes include potted chrysanthemums, stumps of peach, plum and pomelo trees, and medicinal citrons, but every one of them is alluring in a special way. The

Yangzhou style of miniature landscapes is a hybrid of southern and northern styles, particularly those of Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. It is the local artists' enduring innovative craftsmanship that makes them stand out as a school in their own right.

To enjoy and digest the charms of all the man-made scenic wonders along the small, narrow and gyrating water surface of the Slender West Lake calls for an appropriate means of touring and sightseeing. Observed through the window of a fast-moving automobile, the entire scenic resort comes and goes without so much as an eyewink, which robs the visitor of the chance to feast his eyes on every scenery in rain and breeze or the gentle waves beyond misty islets. If the automobile is replaced with a painted boat that starts from the Lesser Qinhuai River in city proper and spies slowly into the lake, the lengthened route and timetable allow the visitor to scrutinize and ruminate, through the boat's window frames, numerous enchanting pictures that flash by in a magic montage. Such an experience, which also allows for measured drinking and toasting, is worlds apart from wining and dining on board a pleasure yacht that prowls the West Lake in Hangzhou. As Wang Shizhen (1634-1711) [1] writes in a poem:

A painted boat passed 'neath the bridge at high noon,
Gone are her figure and scented sleeves all too soon.

My advice to those opting to visit the Slender West Lake: Take your time and appreciate everything you can see over there. It makes no sense to go all the way there only to take a cursory look and leave in a hurry.

The inscriptions on couplets and boards in traditional Chinese gardens and scenic resorts are most helpful to visitors, offering them the most succinct and beautiful interpretations to relevant scenes and sights. The Slender West Lake is no exception, where every phrase or sentence for such

inscriptions was painstakingly hammered out, and their calligraphic styles discreetly chosen. Just to cite two such couplets quoted from Tang poems on the Loft of Mist and Rain over Four Bridges in the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* :

> Silent the flowers, gentle the swinging tree shadows;
> Thin clouds in sunny sky, spreading out the willows.

> Spring mist arises from ancient stones;
> Sparse willows reflected in new pools.

Both couplets, coming readily from the poets' fingertips, brim with wits and verve. In them, scenery and architecture boil down to one word, "leanness," which is apt for the Slender West Lake, and contravening words are prudently shunned. Thus unity is maintained not only on the color tones of various scenery but also on the poems selected, which convinces me that the craft of Chinese gardens is a combination of multiple principles of art.

To sum up, as a scenic resort of Yangzhou, the Slender West Lake is a veritable depository of small gardens designed and built by bringing a narrow strip of water and natural terrain into full play. Such gardens are at once detached and attached, some playing a leading role, some are supplementary, but all the time they borrow and accommodate to each other's views. Such mutual view borrowing, though limited in scope, brings about an infinite panoply of scenes and sights. Many such gardens are patterned after prototypes in ways that are never mechanical but highly creative, which is why the Slender West Lake can figure prominently among all traditional Chinese gardens with a "personality" peculiarly its own. It is thus clear the craft of gardens does have its principles but offers no set patterns. Once such principles as "accommodating to different conditions" and "view borrowing"

are deftly mastered, every plateau or low slope, and every mountain pavilion or waterside verandah can be deployed with a high degree of adaptability and discipline, and all the scenic sights thus created can prolong their "youth" no matter what happens to their environment.

The rise of the picturesque Slender West Lake is not without its historical background. To refurbish and preserve such a historical scenic resort, we have got to bear its inherent characteristics in mind, but more importantly, we must consider how to adapt it to everyday life today, so as to make the past serve the present without ruining its originality. This issue merits deliberation and discussion. If we do a good job in this regard, more new scenes and views are bound to emerge beyond the existing twenty views of the Slender West Lake. As to such issues as how to adapt scenic attractions to the circumstances and achieve good view-borrowing results while economizing on human and material resources, I believe the Slender West Lake has a lot to learn from, especially in how to arrange gardens and scenic belts in medium-sized and small cities. However, the wisdom and initiatives of localities must be keenly mobilized, for only thus can gardens look different from one another and every scenery thus created can stay novel on its own. This account of mine about the Slender West Lake is, if anything, just a glimpse of it.

A new fairyland as if painted on a scroll ten-mile wide;

Having two-thirds shiny moon, Yangzhou is in itself old.

It is my belief that through reconstruction efforts in the days to come, the Slender West Lake shall become more enchanting.

瘦西湖漫谈

扬州瘦西湖由几条河流组织成一个狭长的水面，其中点缀一些岛屿，夹岸柳色，柔条千缕。在最阔的湖面上，五亭桥及白塔突出水面，如北海的琼华岛与西湖的保俶塔一样，成为瘦西湖的特征。白塔在形式上与北海相仿佛，然比例秀匀，玉立亭亭，晴云临水，有别于北海白塔的厚重工稳。从钓鱼台两圆拱门远眺，白塔与五亭桥正分别逗入两圆门中，构成了极空灵的一幅画图。每一个到过瘦西湖的人，在有意无意之中见到这种情景，感到有但可意会不可言传的妙境。这种手法，在园林建筑上称为"借景"，是我国造园艺术上最优秀巧妙手法之一。湖中最大一岛名小金山，它是仿镇江金山而堆，却冠以一"小"字，此亦正如西湖之上加一"瘦"字、城内的秦淮河加一"小"字一样，都是以极玲珑婉约的字面来点出景物。因此我说瘦西湖如盆景一样，虽小却予人以"小中见大"的感觉。

瘦西湖四周无高山，仅其西北有平山堂与观音山，亦非峻拔凌云，唯略具山势而已，因此过去皆沿湖筑园。我们从清代《乾隆南巡盛典》、赵之璧《平山堂图志》、李斗《扬州画舫录》及骆在田《扬州名胜图》等来看，可以见到清代乾隆、嘉庆二代瘦西湖最盛时期的景象。楼台亭榭，洞房曲户，一花一石，无不各出新意。这时的布置是以很多的私家园林环绕了瘦西湖，从北门直达平山堂，形成一个有合有分、互相"因借"的风景区。瘦西湖是水游诸园的通道。建筑物类皆一二层，在平面的处理上是曲折多变，如此不但增加了空间感，而且又与低平水面互相呼应，更突出了白塔、五亭桥，遥远地又以平山堂、观音山作"借景"。沿湖建筑特别注意到如何陆水交融，曲岸引流，使陆上有限的面积用水来加以扩大。现在对我们处理瘦西湖的布置上，这些手法想来还有借鉴的必要。至于假山，我觉得应该用平冈小坡形成起伏，用以点缀

冲破平直的湖面与四野，使大园中的小园，在地形及空间分隔上，都起较多的变化。

扬州建筑兼有南北二地之长，既有北方之雄伟，复有南方之秀丽，因此在建筑形式方面，应该发挥其地方风格，不能夸苏式之轻巧，学北方之沉重，正须不轻不重，恰到好处。色泽方面，在雅淡的髹饰上，不妨略点缀少许鲜艳，使烟雨的水面上顿觉清新。旧时虹桥名红桥，是围以赤栏的。

平山堂是瘦西湖一带最高的据点，堂前可眺望江南山色。有一联将景物概括殆尽："晓起凭阑，六代青山都到眼；晚来把酒，二分明月正当头。"而唐代杜牧的"青山隐隐水迢迢，秋尽江南草未凋"，又是在秋日登山，不期而然诵出来的诗句。此堂远眺，正与隔江山平，故称平山堂。平山二字，一言将此处景物道破。此山既以望为主，当然要注意其前的建筑物，如果为了远眺江南山色，近俯瘦西湖景物，而在山下大起楼阁，势必与平山堂争宠，最后卒至两难成美。我觉得平山堂下宜以点缀低平建筑，与瘦西湖蜿蜒曲折的湖尾相配合。这样不但烘托了平山堂的高度，同时又不阻碍平山堂的视野。从瘦西湖湖面远远望去，柳色掩映，仿佛一幅仙山楼阁，凭阑处处成图了。

扬州是隋唐古城（旧址在平山堂后），千余年来留下了许多胜迹，经过无数名人的题咏，渐渐地深入了大家的心中。如隋炀帝的迷楼故址，杜牧、姜夔所咏的二十四桥，欧阳修的平山堂，虹桥修禊的倚虹园等，它与瘦西湖的"四桥烟雨""白塔晴云""春台明月""蜀冈晚照"等二十景一样，给瘦西湖招来了无数的游客，平添了无数的佳话。这些古迹与风景点，今后应宜重点突出地来修建整理。它是文学艺术与风景相合形成的结晶，是中国园林高度艺术的表现手法。

扬州旧称绿杨城郭，瘦西湖上又有绿杨村，不用说瘦西湖的绿化是应以杨柳为主了。也许从隋炀帝到扬州来后，人们一直抬高了这杨柳的地位，经千年多的沿袭，使扬州环绕了万缕千丝的依依柳色，装点成了

一个晴雨皆宜、具有江南风格的淮左名都，这不能不说是成功的。它注意到植物的适应性与形态的优美，在城市绿化上能见功效，对此我们现在还有继承的必要。在瘦西湖的春日，我最爱“长堤春柳”一带，在夏雨笼晴的时分，我又喜看“四桥烟雨”。总之不论在山际水旁，廊沿亭畔，它都能安排得妥帖宜人，尤其迎风拂面，予人以十分依恋之感。杨柳之外，牡丹、芍药为扬州名花，园林中的牡丹台与芍药阑是最大的特色，而后者更为显著。姜夔词：“二十四桥仍在，波心荡、冷月无声。念桥边红药，年年知为谁生。”可以想见宋代湖上芍药种植的普遍。至于修竹，在扬州又有悠久的历史，所谓“竹西佳处”。古代画家石涛、郑燮、金农等都曾为竹写照，留下许多佳作。扬州的竹，清秀中带雄健，有其独特风格，与江南的稍异。瘦西湖四周无山，平畴空旷，似应以此遍植，则碧玉摇空与鹅黄拂水，发挥竹与柳的风姿神态，想来不致太无理吧。其他如玉兰芭蕉、天竹腊梅、海棠桃杏等，在瘦西湖皆能生长得很好。它们与前竹、柳在色泽构图上，皆能调和，在季节上，各抒所长，亦有培养之必要。山旁树际的书带草，终年常青，亦为此地特色。湖不广，荷花似应以少为宜，不致占过多水面。平山堂一区应以松林为障，银杏为辅，使高挺入云。今日古城中保存有巨大银杏的，当推扬州为最。今后对原有的大树，在建筑时应尽量地保存。《园冶》说得好：“多年树木，碍筑檐垣让一步可以立根，斫数桠不妨封顶。斯谓雕栋飞楹构易，荫槐挺玉成难。”

盆景在扬州一带有其悠久的历史，与江南苏州颉颃久矣。其特色是古拙经久，气魄雄伟，雅健多姿，而无忸怩作态之状；对自然的抵抗力很强，适应性亦大。在剪扎上下了功夫，大盆的松、柏、黄杨，虬枝老干，缀以“云片”繁枝，参差有序，具人工天然之美于一处。其他盆菊、桃桩、梅桩、香橼、文旦桩等，亦各臻其妙。它可说是南北、江浙盆景手法的总和，而又能自出心裁，别成一格，故云之为“扬州风”。

瘦西湖湖面不大，水面狭长曲折。要在这样小的范围中游览欣赏，

体会其人工风景区的妙处，在游的方式上，亦经推敲过一番。如疾车走马，片刻即尽，则雨丝风片，烟渚柔波，都无从领略。如易以画舫，从城内小秦淮慢慢地摇荡入湖，这样不但延长了游程，并且自画舫中不同的窗框中窥湖上景物，构成了无数生动的构图，给游者以细细的咀嚼，它和西湖的游艇是有浅斟低酌与饱饮大嚼的不同。王士祯诗说："日午画船桥下过，衣香人影太匆匆。"我想既到瘦西湖去，不妨细细领略一番，何必太匆匆地走马看花呢。

我国古典园林及风景名胜地的联额，是对这风景点最概括而最美丽的说明，使游者在欣赏时起很大的理解作用，瘦西湖当然不能例外。其选词择句，书法形式，都经细致琢磨，瘦西湖的大名，是与这些联额分不开的。在《扬州画舫录》中，我们随便检出几联，如"四桥烟雨"的集唐诗二联："树影悠悠花悄悄，晴烟漠漠柳毵毵""春烟生古石，疏柳映新塘"等，都是信手拈来，遂成妙语。其风景点及建筑物的命名，都环绕了瘦西湖的特征"瘦"来安排，辞采上没有与瘦西湖的总名有所抵触。瘦西湖不但在具体的景物色调上能保持统一，而且对那些无形的声诗，亦是作同样的处理，益信我国园林设计是多方面的一个综合艺术作品。

总之，瘦西湖是扬州的风景区，它利用自然的地形，加以人工的整理，由很多小园形成一个整体，其中有分有合，有主有宾，互相"因借"，虽范围不大，而景物无穷。尤其在摹仿他处能不落因袭，处处显示自己面貌，在我国古典园林中别具一格。由此可见，造园虽有法而无式，但能掌握"因地制宜"与"借景"等原则，那么高冈低坡、山亭水榭，都可随宜安排，有法度可循，使风花雪月长驻容颜。

瘦西湖的形成，自有其历史的背景。对于在一定历史条件下形成的风景区，在今日修建时，我们固要考虑其原来特色，而更重要的，还应考虑怎样与今日的生活相配合，做到古为今用，又不破坏其原有风格，这是值得大家讨论的。我想如果做得好的话，瘦西湖二十景外，必然有更多新的景物产生。至于怎样"因地制宜"与"借景"等，在节约人力、物

力的原则下，对中小型城市布置绿化园林地带，我觉得瘦西湖还有许多可以参考的地方，但仍要充分发挥该地方的特点，做到园异景新。今日我介绍瘦西湖，亦不过标其一格而已。“十里画图新阆苑，二分明月旧扬州。”我相信在今后的建设中，瘦西湖将变得更为美丽。

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SOUTH-AND-NORTH LAKES, HAIYAN

Written towards the end of 1991

Translated by Qian Jingyu

Having paid quite a few visits to the South-and-North Lakes [1] , I come to the conclusion that this scenic zone in Haiyan county, Zhejiang province, is the place to be

With mountains, waters and the sun to admire,

And teas, oranges and bamboo shoots to savor.

Occupying 1,600 *mu* on the East China Sea coast between Shanghai and Hangzhou, the South-and-North Lakes look more exquisite than the West Lake of Hangzhou and more ethereal than the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou. A dyke [2] divides what used to be the Yongan Lake or Ganshui Lake in two, hence its present name. There is a bridge and a pavilion on either end of the dyke. On the east end stands the Star Pavilion, built in commemoration of Hu Die (1908-1989), a Shanghai Mingxing Film Company superstar who shot the movie *Salt Tide* here on location in 1932; on the west end is the Memorial Pavilion of Dong Bai (1624-1651), where this talented courtesan from Nanjing buried flower petals after she settled down in Haiyan with her husband Mao Xiang (1611-1693) to shun war and turmoil during the Ming-Qing transition period.

Blue waves ripple and sparkle under the sun while flocks of white egrets dance in the sky. The lakeside itself is strewn with orange and pear orchards, with pink peach flowers blooming amidst green willows in spring and branches weighed down with fruits in autumn—a fabulous landscape that

mingles with local dwellings' whitewashed walls and black-tiled roofs to conjure up one idyllic scenery after another. Added to the allure of the South-andNorth Lake Scenic Zone are a host of tourist attractions, including "Wild Goose Diving at Sinking Rainbow," [3] "Dawn at Jing Mound," and "Thatched Hut on Western Brook," [4] each having its own mesmerizing sight to offer.

A footpath beginning at the dyke's western end conducts to a mountain that changes the scenery as it stands to the left, with the lake lying to the right. This is none other than the "Ridge in Remembrance of Gu Kuang [5] ," a Tang-dynasty Haiyan native and poet who often came here to get lost for a while in the landscape. As the footpath extends further west, it is hemmed in between two steep cliffs, where little birds twitter incessantly to echo a susurrating roadside rivulet. While the terrain twists and turns to usher in a succession of fascinating views, the footpath climbs up the slope for 250 or so meters before stopping at the foot of the well-known Stone Fort of Celestial Tan's Mountain [6] .

Small though the Stone Fort is, it reigns over a jumble of high mountains. Built entirely of monoliths, it looks breathtaking and precipitous, so much so that the locals call it "Badaling Fort [7] South of the Yangtze." Take a look around atop the fort's turret, and everything comes into vivid sight, with the South-and-North Lakes of Haiyan to the east and the field of Huangwan township of Haining to the west. As the Celestial Tan's Mountain sits at the juncture of the Haining-Haiyan boundaries, it was a bone of contention between warring strategists in bygone years. During the Ming dynasty it was garrisoned by the legendary General Qi Jiguang (1528-1588) and his warriors in resistance against Japanese pirates. By the time of the 1840-1842 and 1856-1860 Opium Wars, the Qing government rebuilt the fort to keep Western invaders at bay; and a stone statue of Xu Xingjian (?-1556) [8]

, a Ming-dynasty anti-Japanese hero and commander of the Haining Garrison, is erected here for worshippers in recent times.

Sauntering across a woodland with a tea plantation on it, one espies a tip of vermillion walls of the venerated Nunnery at Cloud-Enshrouded Peak [9] on the other side of a bamboo forest. As a domain of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, the temple is also known for its "Eight Cloud-Enshrouded Sights"—the Snow-Hole Spring, the Ming-dynasty gingko tree, the Scripture Library, the Homecoming Birds' Kiosk, the ancient stage, the great castiron tripod, the Celestial Crane Pool, and the Small Attainment Pagoda. The mineral water spewing from the Snow-Hole Spring is the choicest for brewing tea. For these scenic gems, the CloudEnshrouded Peak is extolled as a "celebrated mountain on the sea," and its nunnery was known in old days as the Evening Potalaka. [10]

Further south along the footpath stands the Eagle-Nest Pinnacle, the site of an astronomical miracle in which the sun and the moon rise simultaneously on the morning of the first day of the tenth lunar month every year. At the foot of the pinnacle lies the Yellow Sand Nook, home to a village with an eight-century-long tradition in orange farming. Surrounded on three sides by mountains, with its southern side facing the sea, the nook is warm in autumn and cool in summer—a favorable microclimate that enables orange trees to bear golden and sweet fruit that account for eighty percent of the total annual output of oranges in the Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou area. A trail runs northward along the ridge of the Eagle-Nest Pinnacle and leads to the osmanthus-covered Northern Woody Mountain, where flowers bloom and tree saplings flourish all year round. Adding to the glamour of this place are also such scenic attractions as the Golden Buffalo Cave and cliff carvings on the Tea Mill Mountain.

To sum up, the South-and-North Lakes are characterized by mountains that rise range upon range, waters that twist and turn endlessly, and a seascape that brims with exotic sights. The entire scenic zone exudes dynamic vigour and demure grace that provide inspirations for men of letters and prototypes for ink-and-wash landscape painters in the Northern Song tradition. In terms of scenic appeals, the South-and-North Lake is none the inferior to the West Lake of Hangzhou. While the West Lake excels in glamorous feminine beauty, the South-and-North Lakes are at her delicate best—in other words, they make a perfect pair of siblings. For this reason, you can never crack the secret code to West Lake's heavy make-up without taking a look at the South-and-North Lakes. It is high time that you went to the South-and-North Lakes for a look around!

南北湖

“观山观水观日，品茗品橘品笋。”这是多次游览海盐南北湖风景区后得出的评价。

南北湖湖临东海之滨，地处沪杭之中，面积1600亩，比杭州西湖玲珑，比扬州瘦西湖逸秀。湖上有堤，堤上有桥，桥旁有亭。东曰明星，是纪念1932年上海明星影片公司名演员胡蝶等来此拍摄电影《盐潮》而建。西曰小宛，是明代末年秦淮名妓董小宛随冒辟疆来此避难葬花的遗址。湖上碧波粼粼，白鹭飞舞，湖周是成片的橘林和桃园，春日桃红柳绿，秋季果实累累，加上白墙黑瓦的民居点缀其中，组成了一幅幅朴素、典雅的农村风光图画。此外，湖周还有“垂虹落雁”“荆陵初晓”“西涧草堂”等风景点，各有特色，都足使游人流连忘返。

过堤西行，名思顾岭，是唐代海盐诗人顾况经常驻足的地方，这里，左侧是山，右侧是湖，景色为之一变。继续西行，则两侧山峰夹峙，路旁一小溪，流水淙淙，小鸟时鸣，峰回路转，引人入胜。顺小径逐渐登高，约半里，一座古城堡在面前耸立，此谈仙岭石城也。

石城占地不多，但因位于崇山峻岭之中，又用大石砌筑，显得特别雄伟险峻，故有“江南八达岭”之称。上得城来，有箭楼一座，举目四望，东属海盐县，南北湖历历在目。西属海宁市，黄弯乡一片平畴。谈仙岭正处在宁、盐两邑交界，故历来为兵家必争之地。明代，抗倭劲旅戚家军曾在此驻防。鸦片战争期间，清政府在此再筑石城，故至今在城内立有抗倭英雄、海宁卫指挥徐行健石雕像。

穿过一片林和茶园，在竹海尽头，千年古刹云岫庵，露出红墙一角。庵内供奉观世音菩萨，有雪窦泉、银杏树、藏经阁、鸟还亭、古戏台、大铁鼎、仙鹤池、小成就塔等“云岫八景”。其中雪窦泉为优质矿泉水，烹茗最佳，故云岫庵素有“海上名山”和“夜普陀”之称。再往南是鹰

窠顶，每年农历十月初一清晨，在此能看到“日月并升”天文奇景。然后下山，即是黄沙坞桔村，这里三面环山，南面向海，故冬暖夏凉，小气候特佳，栽培柑桔已有八百多年历史，所产本山桔，皮色金黄，甜中带鲜，产量占杭嘉湖地区百分之八十。

沿山脊线往北是北木山，满山桂花，花卉四时不断，苗木郁郁葱葱，附近还有金牛洞和茶磨山摩崖石刻等名胜古迹。纵观南北湖风景区的特色为，山有层次、水有曲折、海有奇景，是集雄健与雅秀于一处，故历来为南宋水墨山水的范本、文人画家描绘歌咏之宝地，比杭州西湖，毫不逊色。西湖是浓妆，南北湖是淡妆，是西湖的姐妹行。因此，不看南北湖，就不得西湖浓妆之妙。劝君一游南北湖！

1991年岁末

英译：钱静雨

NOTES ON PRINCE GONG'S MANSION

May 1979, Department of Architecture, Tongji University

It happened a long time ago, yet it seems pretty new. Whenever the Prince Gong's Mansion is mentioned, a mixture of melancholy and excitement would well up in my heart. In winter 1961, I joined He Qifang (1912-1977) [1] , Wang Kunlun (1902-1985) [2] and Zhu Jiajin (1914-2003) [3] in a survey of this mansion, reportedly the former site of the legendary Grand View Garden that appears in the celebrated 18th-century novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* . Today, however, Qifang has been gone for two years, which makes our joint survey more than a decade ago look like a dream. How could I not feel down and blue?

When I returned from overseas last winter to spend some time in Beijing, Feng Qiyong (1924-), whom I regard as my younger brother, asked me to see the mansion again and probe the possibility for a memorial hall to be set up there in honour of Cao Xueqin (*c* . 1715-*c* . 1763), author of the aforementioned novel. Now that springtime had returned to this land and energized my fatigued body, I was naturally thrilled by his invitation, even though I could not but be nostalgic about my first visit with my friends.

I remember seeing photos of Prince Gong's Mansion in the book *Gardens of China* written by Osvald Sirén (1879-1966) [4] and published in Britain in 1949. Its majestic lofts, belvederes, rock formations and ponds, bright and clear vistas of trees and waters looked rather enchanting to me. Later, when I rambled the mansion's garden for the first time in my life during a trip to Beijing, the scenes and sights described in *A Dream of Red*

Mansions kept flashing into my mind despite the fact that though somewhat faded through the years, its former glory was still there. How many changes had happened to the mansion in so many years! "The late poet should recognize me if he was sentient enough", as the Tang-dynasty poet Wen Tingyun (*c* . 812-866) says. If Cao Xueqin could feel it in his grave, my second survey of the mansion would not come in vain.

Sitting south of the Silver Ingot Bridge at the Lake of Ten Temples [5] , Prince Gong's Mansion has, over and above its large garden, the most delicately structured and best laid out architectural complex among all the extant princely mansions in Beijing. A royal-mandated rule has it that the front gate of a princely mansion should face east rather than south, with all the gates inside of it aligned from south to north. Prince Gong's Mansion is no exception, but the pity is that its original plan has been altered. In spite of this, the pomp and pageantry of its bygone years are still there, albeit somewhat vaguely. Its surrounding wall covers an immense circumference, but only its eastern section has retained its simplistic classical shape, characterized by a stocky body tapering off at the top, a shape that is identical to, and a bit more imposing than that of the Shrine of Monarchs of Various Dynasties on Goat Market Street at the Xisi subdistrict. The royal temple was first built on the site of the Peace-Sustaining Temple in 1530, the ninth year of the Jiajing reign of the Ming, and rebuilt in 1729, the seventh year of the Yongzheng reign of the Qing. This very fact testifies to the venerable history of Prince Gong's Mansion.

The buildings in the mansion fall into three columns, but only two gates remain of the central column because its central hall has been destroyed. The horizontal board inscribed with the name "Hall of Auspicious Joy" in the posterior hall is said to have come from the Mansion of Heshen (1750-1799)

[6] during the Qianlong reign, which somewhat indicates when this hall was built. The eastern column is three rows deep, with its first row featuring a smaller five-pillared frame often seen in buildings dating back to the Ming, according to Ji Cheng's *The Craft of Gardens* , but has virtually disappeared in those built after the Qianlong reign of the Qing. The buildings in the other two rows are built of the same materials as those in the first row, whose forms are as tall and graceful as, but in striking contrast to, the thick and sturdy ones dating back to the Qianlong reign. The bricks used on these structures indicate that they were all built during the Kangxi reign. The western column is three rows deep as well, and the horizontal board "Celestial Fragrance Court" hanging on the floral pendant gate of the rear row and another board "Chamber of a Prized Jin Calligraphy Model" [7] in the central suite are both original to Prince Gong's Mansion. The plinths are carved and the interiors partitioned, and the boudoirs and suites, arranged along the four sides of a quadrangle yard, are so wonderfully appointed that they rival the Belvedere in Keeping with an Original Wish in Emperor Qianlong's garden in the Imperial Palace. It was the flowering season when I arrived here, with pear flowers clustered like clouds and falling crabapple flowers drifting like rain, whilst snowy cloves interacted with well-spaced lush bamboos so dramatically that I could not but chant the poem "Gazing Afar after the Spring Rain" by Yang Ning (?-802) [8] :

> The southbound road ends where sky joins ocean,
>
> The outlet for the lovesick exists only in the moon.

The 160-meter-long storied posterior building lying crosswise in this row features slender, straight balustrades and exquisite windows through which the enticing reflections of human figures and the aroma from ladies' apparels make one reluctant to depart. Its stairway used to be where the country's only

wooden artificial mountain was located. This storied structure was built in a later period. Construction of the mansion itself began in the east and gradually extended westward.

Spreading behind this posterior building is the mansion's garden, whose eastern section contains a small court where, gleaming amidst emerald bamboo leaves, the corridor is roomy, the chambers are quiet, curtains are transparent and tea tables spick and span, and the décor is elegant in a subtle way. This small court was a latecomer, but its layout accords with the mansion's old pattern; in front of its floral pendant gate there stand four pagoda trees so weather-beaten that their hollowed trunks stand testimony to this garden's olden age. The small court turns out to be home to the Bamboo Lodge [9] , where a roofed walkway links all the buildings, and pavilions and belvederes spread out amidst green pines, emerald cypresses, ancient pagoda trees and weeping willows.

The presence of water and rock formations brings to life an otherwise arid and lonesome northern Chinese garden like Prince Gong's Mansion. Spreading out at the foot of its northern wall and screened by an artificial mountain is a bat-shaped hall, a three-bay structure whose front portico is designed to let in sunlight from morning till dusk. The only one of its kind in Beijing, the Bat Hall (or Bliss Hall, for in Chinese, "bat" pronounces the same as "bliss") is said to be on the former site of the Happy Red Court [10] . Judging from its architectural style, characterized by a roofed walkway in its left wing that conducts to the western part of the garden, it is original to the Prince Gong's Mansion. The artificial mountain in front of the hall in the western part consists of two sections, but the rear section, built of slates, was added at a later time; its frontal section, built of Lake Tai rocks and therefore original to the mansion, has a belvedere atop it and a cave built into it with a

stone lintel, a technique that was in use prior to the Qianlong reign. The trees planted in the mountain are apparently of old age. The rear section of the artificial mountain are all built of slates, where the trees look as new as those in the nearby Mirror Garden—they should have been built during the lifetime of Prince Gong. The crenulated wall whose name "Elm Pass" is inscribed in a stone tablet and the Green Cloud Mountain with its name engraved in a stone in the front of the western section of the garden were also built at a later time. There used to be a pavilion in the center of the lake in the garden's backyard, but with the lake filled a long time ago, the rippling water surface is no more. The glamorous and commodious theater in the back of the eastern end of the garden is the only one of its kind that has remained intact to this day in the city.

According to Yu Tongkui (1876-1962), father of modern China's chemistry education who also contributed immensely to the restoration of classical Chinese architecture,

> The garden sits at the rear of Prince Gong's Mansion; the mansion itself was Emperor Qianlong's wedding gift for his youngest daughter, Gulun Princess Hexiao (1775-1823), when she was married to Fengshenyinde (1775-1810), the eldest son of the emperor's right-hand man Heshen…. In 1799, the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign, when Heshen's property was confiscated, the garden became Prince Qingxi's mansion. [11] In about 1851, during the Xianfeng reign, it was given to Prince Gong, who had a garden built behind it.

Thus it is apparent that the mansion gained its status as a prince's mansion as early as the Qianlong reign (1736-1796), and was expanded as a result.

This mansion is elaborately documented in "A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion" written by Shan Shiyuan (1907-1998) [12] , which was carried in the *Journal of Fu Jen Catholic University* forty years

ago. This short account of mine is the result of an initial survey of the mansion's buildings and artificial mountains. I cannot come up with a detailed report about its buildings because their frameworks are concealed behind ceilings, which makes it impossible for me to take a close look.

In foreign countries, famous people's former residences are well protected and open for all to see. Prince Gong's Mansion was not really the Grand View Garden described in *A Dream of Red Mansions* , but its author Cao Xueqin must have frequented the mansion of Nalanmingzhu (1635-1708) [13] , which was later procured by Heshen. Furthermore, Cao had lived in south China for some time as a visitor. He must have also visited the famous gardens in the Jiangnan area. This being the case, I share Yu Mingheng's [14] view that the Grand View Garden is but a synthesis of the art of Chinese gardens, and Cao's story about it is just another folk tale being told and retold in the same way as the Golden Hill Temple in Zhenjiang, which was flooded by the White Maiden [15] , and the Sweet Dew Temple, where Liu Bei (161-223) [16] won the heart of the younger sister of Sun Quan (182-252) [17] . I therefore see nothing improper to designate Prince Gong's Mansion as the venue of a memorial hall for Cao Xueqin. In this way, it will become the only princely mansion in Beijing to be opened to the public as a showcase of our motherland's cultural heritage and a repository of Cao's historical records. When this happens, I surmise no one will accuse me of talking nonsense in this article.

恭王府小记

是往事了！提起神伤。却又是新事，令人兴奋。回思1961年冬，我与何其芳、王昆仑、朱家溍等同志相偕调查恭王府（相传的大观园遗迹），匆匆已十余年。何其芳同志下世数载，旧游如梦！怎不令人黯然低徊。去冬海外归来，居停京华，其庸兄要我再行踏勘，说又有可能筹建为曹雪芹纪念馆。春色无边，重来天地，振我疲躯，自然而然产生出两种不同的心境，神伤与兴奋，交并盘旋在我的脑海中。

记得过去看到英国出版的一本Osvald Sirén所著的《中国园林》，刊有恭王府的照片，楼阁山池，水木明瑟，确令人神往。后来我到北京，曾涉足其间，虽小颓风范而丘壑独存，红楼旧梦一时涌现心头。这偌大的一个王府，在悠长的岁月中，它经过了多少变幻。“词客有灵应识我”，如果真的曹雪芹有知的话，那我亦不虚此行了。

恭王府在什刹海银锭桥南，是北京现存诸王府中，结构最精，布置得宜，且拥有大花园的一组建筑群。王府之制，一般其头门不正开，东向，入门则诸门自南往北，当然恭王府亦不例外，可惜其前布局变动了，尽管如此，可是排场与气魄依稀当年。围墙范围极大，唯东侧者，形制极古朴，“收分”（下大上小）显著，做法与西四羊市大街之历代帝王庙者相同，而雄伟则过之。此庙为明嘉靖九年（公元1530年）就保安寺址创建，清雍正七年（公元1729年）重修。于此可证恭王府旧址由来久矣。府建筑共三路，正路今存两门，正堂（厅）已毁，后堂（厅）悬“嘉乐堂”额，传为乾隆时和珅府之物。则此建筑年代自明。东路共三进，前进梁架用小五架梁式。此种做法，见明计成《园冶》一书，明代及清初建筑屡见此制，到乾隆后几成绝响。其后两进，建筑用材与前者同属挺秀，不似乾隆时之肥硕，所砌之砖与乾隆后之规格有别，皆可初步认为康熙时所建。西路亦三进，后进垂花门悬“天香庭院”额，正房有

匾名“锡晋斋”，皆为恭王府旧物。柱础施雕，其内部用装修分隔，洞房曲户，回环四合，精妙绝伦，堪与故宫乾隆花园符望阁相颉颃。我来之时，适值花期，院内梨云、棠雨、丁香雪，与扶疏竹影交响成曲，南归相思，又是天涯。后部横楼长一百六十米，阑干修直，窗影玲珑，人影衣香，令人忘返。其置楼梯处，原堆有木假山，为海内仅见孤例。就年代论此楼较迟。以整个王府来说似是从东向西发展而成。

楼后为花园，其东部小院，翠竹丛生，廊空室静，帘隐几净，多雅淡之趣，虽属后建，而布局似沿旧格，垂花门前四老槐，腹空皮留，可为此院年代之证物。此即所谓潇湘馆。而廊庑周接，亭阁参差，与苍松翠柏，古槐垂杨，掩映成趣。间有水石之胜，北国之园得无枯寂之感。最后亘于北垣下，以山作屏者为“蝠厅”，抱厦三间突出，自早至暮，皆有日照，北京唯此一处而已，传为怡红院所在。以建筑而论，亦属恭王府时代的，左翼以廊，可导之西园。厅前假山分前后二部，后部以云片石叠为后补，主体以土太湖石叠者为旧物，上建阁，下构洞曲，施石过梁，视乾隆时代之做法为旧，山间树木亦苍古。时期固甚分明。其余假山皆云片石所叠，树亦新，与其附近鉴园假山相似，当为恭王时期所添筑。西部前有“榆关”“翠云岭”，亦后筑。湖心亭一区背出之，今水已填没，无涟漪之景矣。园后东首的戏厅，华丽轩敞，为京中现存之完整者。

俞星枢（同奎）先生谓：“花园在恭王府后身，府系乾隆时和珅之子丰绅殷德娶和孝固伦公主赐第。”可证乾隆前已有府第矣。又云：“公元1799年（清嘉庆四年）和珅籍没，另给庆禧亲王为府第。约公元1851年（清咸丰间）改给恭亲王，并在府后添建花园。”此恭王府由来也。足以说明乾隆间早已形成王府格局，后来必有所增建。

四十年前单士元同志曾写过《恭王府考》载《辅仁大学学报》，有过详细的文献考证。我如今仅就建筑与假山作了初步的调查，因为建筑物的梁架全为天花所掩，无从作周密的检查，仅提供一些看法而已。

在国外，名人故居都保存得很好，任人参观凭吊。恭王府虽非确实的大观园，曹氏当年于明珠府第必有所往还。雪芹曾客南中，江左名园亦皆涉足，故我与俞平伯先生同一看法，认为大观园是园林艺术的综合。其与镇江金山寺的白娘娘水斗，甘露寺的刘备招亲，同为民间流传了的故事。如今以恭王府作为《红楼梦》作者曹雪芹的纪念馆，则又有何不可呢？并且北京王府能公开游览者亦唯此一处。用以显扬祖国文化，保存曹氏史迹，想来大家一定不谓此文之妄言了。

1979年5月写成于同济大学建筑系建筑史教研室

SUMMER PALACE, BEIJING

Translated by Duan Huixiang

> I love mounting a tall loft at moonlit night,
>
> To toast long and gentle the hills in the west.

These lines, written by Mi Wanzhong (1570-1628) [1] of the Ming in his garden in the western suburbs of Beijing, are apparently inspired by the following lines by Tao Yuanming (*c* . 365-427) [2] , a poet of the late Eastern Jin and the early Song of the Southern Dynasties:

> While picking asters 'neath Eastern Fence,
>
> My gaze upon the Southern Mountain falls.

Both Mi's "toast" and Tao's "gaze" are in tribute to mountains in the distance. This is what is meant by view borrowing, a Chinese landscape gardening technique. Such borrowing, designed to incorporate a scene faraway and diversify the vista in a garden being built, has been in practice since antiquity. However, the term "view borrowing" was actually coined by Ji Cheng (1582-*c.* 1642) in the late Ming as he enunciates in no uncertain terms in *The Craft of Gardens,*

> To borrow from a view means that although the interior of a garden is distinct from what lies outside it, as long as there is a good view you need not be concerned whether it is close by or far away.

No place is better for garden-making than the western outskirts of Beijing, where the Western Hills rise like a zigzagging screen and clear spring water converges in many a lake or marsh. This explains why the gardens in this city were concentrated in its western outskirts in ancient times, when they

eventually reached their apex during the Ming and the Qing. One of them is the world-famous Garden of Perfect Splendor, nicknamed "Garden of Ten Thousand Gardens." The key to the success of this garden lies in "accommodating scenery to waters, and borrowing views from the Western Hills"—in short, view accommodating and view borrowing, two major concepts in the classical craft of Chinese gardens. For a garden as large as this, the vistas would not have been so sagaciously arranged without acting on such concepts. It shows that landscape gardening is heralded by conception. Both view accommodating and view borrowing ought to be applied more emphatically in gardens in the outskirts of a city surrounded with plenty of idyllic views. Of all the Beijing gardens, the well-preserved Summer Palace is another illustrious case in point.

Pillaged and torched by the allied Anglo-French invaders in 1860 and the allied troops of eight Western powers in 1900, the Garden of Perfect Splendor was reduced utterly to ruins and has remained so to this day. This leaves the Summer Palace as the only large garden in Beijing I can refer to in my delineation of the technique of view borrowing.

The Summer Palace, ten kilometers to the northwest of downtown Beijing, abounds in intriguing sights, where waves in the Kunming Lake lap at the foot of the lush-green Longevity Hill in the north and the picture-perfect Jade Spring Mountain serpentines to the west.

Known as "Jug Hill and Gold Sea" [3] during the Yuan, the Summer Palace was augmented during the Ming and renamed "Garden of Fine Mountains." In 1702, the forty-first year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing, it became the emperor's "Jug Hill Temporary Palace." After undergoing massive reconstructions in 1750, the fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign, it was called "Limpid Ripples Garden." It was destroyed by the allied Anglo-

French invaders in 1860, and restored and renamed "Garden for Nourishing Harmony of Heaven and Earth" (but more popularly known as the Summer Palace) in 1886, only to be torched and damaged once again at the hands of the Eight-Power Alliance invaders in 1900. The Summer Palace as it is today was born of restoration work done in 1903.

The Summer Palace was created by extending an existing body of water in elaborate imitation of the West Lake of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. The West Causeway, the islands, the misty weeping willows, and the painted bridges look like adaptations of the Jiangnan area's "light make-ups" to the northland's "rouged and powdered beauty" of Beijing. Such mock-ups may look like their prototypes, but are apparently different in aesthetic appeals.

The Summer Palace sprawls in an area of less than four square kilometers. With three quarters of its space covered by water, it is a veritable Jiangnan garden in north China. Upon entering the garden from the East Palace Gate, one sees the Benevolence and Longevity Hall, an imposing structure with eaves flying like a giant bird's wings over a massive artificial mountain and rockeries in front of it. As one strolls around the hall and turns south, the vista opens widely upon the sparkling Kunming Lake.

Overlooking the Kunming Lake is the Longevity Hill crowned with the Buddhist Incense Belvedere, a four-storied octagonal edifice that commands the vintage point of the entire garden. Mount the belvedere, and one takes in the Western Hills, evoking a beauty's eyelashes, and the lake, looking like a gigantic mirror. Looking down from the belvedere, one sees a cluster of pavilions and halls hugging the terrain and the Long Corridor meandering its way along the lakeshore like a ribbon, all of which are found on a single garden's premises. The garden's illimitable array of scenic delights, however, is achieved primarily by view borrowing. It is with such borrowings that the

nearby Jade Spring Mountain and its pagoda are seemingly shifted right before the balustrades of the lakeside True-Meaning Lake and Mountain Pavilion, whereas the Western Hills in the distance makes their presence felt as part and parcel of the cityscape of the nation's capital. Indeed, the landscape of the Summer Palace is peerless for its mixture of intricate grace and awesome magnificence.

It seems there is nothing the roofed walkway cannot do to wreak a riot of picturesque changes in the Chinese garden. The Long Corridor in the Summer Palace is an outstanding example in this regard, as it keeps the visitor engrossed while ushering him into what looks like a hand scroll of landscape painting. As the scenery changes with the shift of the visitor's footsteps, he is led by the corridor for a rambling of the royal garden and summering palace of yore without realizing it. The gardens and buildings inside a scenic resort like the Summer Palace, indeed, made an ideal dwelling place for the Qing monarchs away from the Forbidden City.

The Garden of Harmonious Charms is nestled alone at the eastern foot of the Longevity Hill. In it, runoffs converge in a pond encircled by pavilions and verandahs, a tiny bridge is kept so close to the pond's surface that it is perceptibly mistaken for a pontoon, and a roofed walkway winds its way to vistas designed for in-situ viewing in every corner. As a small garden standing on its own inside of a large one, the Garden of Harmonious Charms is a replica of the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi, another mountain-foot garden that, too, has a pool to collect rainwater and exterior views to borrow from.

Water twists and turns in line with embankments and is segmented by dykes. In the Summer Palace, water is divided up by long courseways to bring forth varied scenery, whereas bridges are designed so beautifully that

every one of them is picturesque enough to be patterned after in painting. Sparkling, dustless and gentle is the Jade Belt Bridge, and the Seventeen-Arch Bridge appears like a rainbow descending upon water. When the hills shimmer in ethereally springtime mist, and when lake-side fresh willow trigs start stroking the water, the views presented to those boating on the Kunming Lake are categorically different from what they see ashore, whereas the fact that the Western Hills are always in the picture indicates how thoroughly the view-borrowing technique is executed in the Summer Palace.

颐和园

“更喜高楼明月夜，悠然把酒对西山”，明米万钟在他北京西郊的园林里，写了这两句诗句。一望而知是从晋人陶渊明“采菊东篱下，悠然见南山”脱胎而来的。不管“对”也好，“见”也好，所指的都是远处的山。这就是中国园林设计中的借景。把远景纳为园中一景，增加了该园的景色变化。这在中国古代造园中早已应用，明计成在他所著《园冶》一书中总结出来，有了定名。他说：“借者，园虽别内外，得景则无拘远近。”已阐述得很明白了。

北京的西郊，西山蜿蜒若屏，清泉汇为湖沼，最宜建园，历史上曾为北京园林集中之地。明清两代，蔚为大观，其中圆明园更被称为“万园之园”。这座在历史上驰名中外的名园——圆明园，其于造园之术，可用“因水成景，借景西山”八字来概括。圆明园的成功，在于“因”、“借”二字，是中国古代园林的主要手法的具体表现。偌大的一个园林，如果立意不明，终难成佳构。所以造园要立意在先。尤其是郊园，郊园多野趣，重借景。这两点不论从哪一个园，即今日尚存的颐和园，都能体现出来。

圆明园在1860年英法联军与1900年八国联军入侵北京时已全被焚毁，今仅存断垣残基。如今，只能用另一个大园林——颐和园来谈借景。

颐和园在北京西北郊10公里，万寿山耸翠园北，昆明湖弥漫山前，玉泉山蜿蜒其西，风景洵美。

颐和园在元代名瓮山金海，至明代有所增饰，名好山园。清康熙四十一年（公元1702年）曾就此作瓮山行宫。清乾隆十五年（公元1750年）开始大规模兴建，更名清漪园。1860年为英法联军所毁，1886年修复，易名颐和园。1900年又为八国联军所破坏，1903年又重修，遂成今

状。

颐和园是以杭州西湖为蓝本，精心模拟，故西堤、水岛、烟柳画桥，移江南的淡妆，现北地之胭脂，景虽有相同，趣则各异。

园面积达三四平方公里，水面占四分之三，北国江南因水而成。入东宫门，见仁寿殿，峻宇翚飞，峰石罗前。绕其南豁然开朗，明湖在望。

万寿山面临昆明湖，佛香阁踞其巅，八角四层，俨然为全园之中心。登阁则西山如黛，湖光似镜，跃然眼帘；俯视则亭馆扑地，长廊萦带，景色全囿于一园之内，其所以得无尽之趣，在于借景。小坐湖畔的湖山真意亭，玉泉山山色塔影，移入槛前，而西山不语，直走京畿，明秀中又富雄伟，为他园所不及。

廊在中国园林中极尽变化之能事，颐和园长廊可算显例，其于游者之兴味最浓，印象特深。廊引人随，中国画山水手卷，于此舒展，移步换景，上苑别馆，有别宫禁，宜其清代帝王常作园居。

谐趣园独自成区，倚万寿山之东麓，积水以成池，周以亭榭，小桥浮水，游廊随径，适宜静观。此大园中之小园，自有天地。园仿江南无锡寄畅园，以同属山麓园，故有积水，皆有景可借。

水曲由岸，水隔因堤，故颐和园以长堤分隔，斯景始出，而桥式之多，构图之美，处处画本。若玉带桥之莹洁柔和，十七孔桥之仿佛垂虹，每当山横春霭，新柳拂水，游人泛舟，所得之景与陆上得之景，分明异趣。而处处皆能映西山入园，足证“借景”之妙。

英译：段会香

MOUNTAIN SUMMER RESORT, CHENGDE

The outskirts of Chengde in the northern province of Hebei used to be a hunting ground for monarchs of the Qing. Thoroughbred steeds galloping in the autumn wind is typical of north China's country scene, but the contrary is true with the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort, whose scenery evokes the apricot flowers and vernal rains of the Jiangnan area. It is north China's answer for the Yangtze River Delta's scenic beauty. Visitors to this royal summer palace of yore would invariably wonder, "Who says the northland stands no comparison with the Jiangnan area?"

Siting is pivotal to the making of a garden. The site chosen for this purpose must be endowed with natural beauty in the first place, with man's creative effort playing a secondary role. The selection of scenery is a priority, but the tricky part of the job is how to pinpoint the focus of such scenery. A garden's views become perfect only if a good job is done in both aspects, and this is precisely where the success of the Mountain Summer Resort lies. This resort is hemmed in by mountains. The Wulie River flows northeast before taking a southward track at the resort's palace wall, and its water remains warm in winter thanks to the hot-spring water pouring into it. Hence the river's other name, Rehe, or Warm River, which is also a byname for the city of Chengde.

Emperor Kangxi (in reign 1661-1722) of the Qing started building a summer palace in Chengde in 1703, but it took him six years to have it initially completed. As the new estate was characterized by an unadorned elegance, with all its thirty-six sights brimming with natural delight, he named it "Chengde Mountain Summer Resort." Not wanting to let his

grandfather down, Emperor Qianlong (in reign 1736-1796) began expanding the resort in 1751. Another thirty-six sights were added as a result, along with a cluster of Buddhist monasteries in the mountains. As a result, the precinct of this mountain resort swelled considerably.

With a circumference of twenty kilometers, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is, as its name suggests, mostly mountainous. Its flat land, accounting for one fifth of the total acreage, is strewn with lakes and ponds, with mountains and lakes setting off one another bewitchingly. The front gate of the imperial residential and court quarters that occupy the eastern part of the resort, opens onto a *Phoebe nanmu* hall whose natural elegance is conspicuous in the absence of lavish ornamentation. Sitting on a vintage point, this hall is an epitome in view borrowing—the sparkling lakes in close proximity and the mountain ranges in the distance can all be seen indoors when window curtains are lifted.

The landscape of the summer resort falls into two sections. In the southeast section, all the spring water converges in lakes and ponds; in the northwest section, mountain ranges run up and down like so many floating ribbons, where plenty of birds nest in dense woods, and grazing David's deer bell and rove unhurriedly. The waters are made to twist and turn with embankments, and their surfaces, dotted with isles, are partitioned with dykes in imitation of famous gardens of the Jiangnan area, looking so genuine they are northland's spit images of the Mist and Rain Loft of Jiaxing in Zhejiang province, and the Lion's Grove of Suzhou in Jiangsu province.

Buildings in the mountains are designed for visitors to look afar or take a rest, which is why those in the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort are small and exquisite in design and brimming with changes. They are also interspersed with temples, so that the ear is delighted in the morning by bell

tolls and at dusk by drum beats punctuating chants of Buddhist sutras. The Belvedere of Literary Way is right there, a library in which the *Complete Library of Four Branches of Books* [1] is kept. The Eight Outer Temples, laid out north and east of the mountain resort, offer fabulous scenes and sights for view borrowing, so that the scenic attractions within and without the mountain resort are mingled into an integral whole.

Covering an area of 5.64 million square meters, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is the largest extant garden in this country. Its natural topography encompasses mountains, plains and lakes, and its garden-making scheme is adapted to the topography in many a becoming manner. Immensely variegated, too, is local horticulture. Pines are planted among other trees in the mountains, willows on the water's edges, and lotuses in the lakes. The Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies and the Aromatic Lotuses in a Bending Stream inside of it are two scenic attractions that are named after their respective horticultural themes. The Garden of Ten Thousand Trees turns out to be a forest of elm trees, whose canopy-like foliage obscures the sun while sending forth refreshing breeze to conjure up an otherworldly ambience.

Waters are concentrated in most Chinese gardens, but the lakes and pools in the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort are now clustered, now separated, with water flowing down a host of valleys and exiting through a water gate at the Literate Garden in the southeast corner before joining the Wulie River. The S-Shaped Sceptre Sandbar, the River Murmuring in Moonlight, the Zigzagging Trails on a Cloudy Causeway, the Midstream Gazebos, and other isles and sandbars join bridges and weirs to divide the resort's body of waters into the East Lake, the Lake of S-Shaped Sceptre Sandbar, the Upper Lake Zone and the Lower Lake Zone. These lakes, sparkling amidst pavilions and lofts and encircled by willow-lined low

embankments, set the stage for a landscape at once deep and labyrinthine. Gurgling mountain brooks interact with placid lakes and ponds to yield such scenic attractions as the Warm Stream and Hot Waves, the Clouds' Looks and Water's Postures, the Splashing Spring Far and Near, the Manifold Verdure Reflected in Crystal Waves, the Mirror-like Water and Cloudy Hills, and the Fragrant Islet on a Gurgling Brook. In this resort, indeed, waters may assume a hundred postures, and views may change in a thousand and one ways.

Ubiquitous are pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers, bridges, and waterside gazebos that are adapted to the natural topography of the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort. Accommodating to its tranquil ravines and exotic peaks are also Buddhist and Taoist temples and nunneries, including the Golden Mountain Temple and the Dharma Forest Temple in the East Lake Zone, but more of them are found in the mountainous zone, including such Taoist sanctuaries as the Palace in Honour of a Resourceful Female Immortal and the Belvedere in Honour of the Mother of Big Dipper, and Buddhist domains like the Source of Pearl Waterfall Temple, the Green Peak Temple, the Temple of Sandalwood Forest, the Temple of Herons in Clouds, and the Nunnery of Moon in Water among the Eight Inner Temples. The halls and lofts of these religious establishments are scattered in eye-pleasing disorder, with Buddhist stupas glinting among them. The peace and quiet of the mountain woods are shattered when sutra chants and bell tolls rise at dawn and dusk to turn the place into a divine dreamland. Natural scenery and religious architecture are thus subtly combined to bestow a personality unseen elsewhere on this mountain resort.

Encircled by mountains, the views of the resort are fascinating enough to feast the eye. Looking afar across the Wulie River, one sees the Pestle-Shaped Peak at Sunset. On a stretch that begins north of the Pestle-Shaped

Peak and turns west at the Lion's Gully, religious sanctuaries and royal villas are arrayed in the following order: the Temple of Omnipresent Benevolence, the Temple of Omnipresent Goodwill, the Temple of Universal Happiness, the Temple of Frontier Pacification, the Temple of Universal Blessing, the Temple of Universal Peace, the Temple of Sumeru, Happiness and Longevity, the Temple of Potaraka Doctrine, the Temple of Manjushri's Statue, the Temple of Universal Pacification, the Arhats Hall, and the Lions' Garden. Patterned after the architectural styles of the Uygurs, Tibetans and other ethnic minorities and those of hinterland China, these temples are majestic and splendid enough to rival or match all the royal palaces on the premises. Anyone climbing up the boundary wall of the northern part of the summer resort can take in all these temples, aligned from east to north to form an integral spatial entity with the whole estate while each remaining as the centerpiece of an independent scenic zone.

It suffices to sum up the all-encapsulating beauty of the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort in a single line,

> To move heaven and condense earth—it all depends on how highminded the garden builder is.

In other words, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is a congregation of landscape gardens in southern and northern Chinese styles and buildings of many ethnic architectural backgrounds, a congregation of elements that, instead of being lumped together higgledy-piggledy, set off and complement one another in every becoming way to strike a sentimental chord in the beholder's heart and generate sceneries everywhere in good taste. The Principal Palace and the River Murmuring in Moonlight are actually complexes of quadrangle dwellings not uncommon in north China, whereas the Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies and the Mist and Rain Loft are

flexibly laid out in a Jiangnan landscape gardening style. Thus the grace of the south and the vigour of the north are presented before the eye, enabling one to savor the masterstrokes of this peerless mountain resort's creators.

避暑山庄

河北省承德市附近原为清帝狩猎的地方，骏马秋风，正是典型的北地风情。然而承德避暑山庄这个著名的北方行宫苑囿，却有杏花春雨般的江南景色，令人向往。游人到此总会流露出“谁云北国逊江南”这种感觉。

苑囿之建，首在选址，须得山川之胜，辅以人工。重在选景，妙在点景，二美具而全景出，避暑山庄正得此妙谛。山庄群山环抱，武烈河自东北沿宫墙南下。有泉冬暖，故称热河。

清康熙于1703年始建山庄，经六年时间初步完成，作为离宫之用。朴素无华，饶自然之趣，故以山庄名之，有三十六景。其后，乾隆又于1751年进行扩建，踵事增华，亭榭别馆骤增，遂又增三十六景。同时建寺观，分布山区，规模较前益广。

行宫周约20公里，多山岭，仅五分之一左右为平地，而平地又多水面，山岚水色，相映成趣。居住朝会部分位于山庄之东，正门内为楠木殿，素雅不施彩绘，因所在地势较高，故近处湖光，远处岚影，可卷帘入户，借景绝佳。园区可分为两部，东南之泉汇为湖泊，西北山陵起伏如带，林木茂而禽鸟聚，麋鹿散于丛中，鸣游自得。水曲因岸，水隔因堤，岛列其间，仿江南之烟雨楼、狮子林等，名园分绿，遂移北国。

山区建筑宜眺、宜憩，故以小巧出之而多变化。寺庙间列，晨钟暮鼓，梵音到耳。且建藏书楼文津阁，储《四库全书》【从周案十七】 于此。园外东北两面有外八庙，为极好的借景，融园内外景为一。

山庄占地564万平方米，为现存苑囿中最大。山庄自然地势，有山岳平原与湖沼等，因地制宜，变化多端。而林木栽植，各具特征，山多松，间植，水边宜柳，湖中栽荷，园中“万壑松风”“曲水荷香”，皆因景而得名。而万树园中，榆树成林，浓荫蔽日，清风自来，有隔世之感。

中国苑囿之水，聚者为多，而避暑山庄湖沼，得聚分之妙，其水自各山峪流下，东南经文园水门出，与武烈河相接。湖沼之中，安排如意洲、月色江声、芝径云堤、水心榭等洲、岛、桥、堰，分隔成东湖、如意洲湖及上下湖区域。亭阁掩映，柳岸低迷，景深委婉。而山泉、平湖之水自有动静之分，故山麓有“暖流暄波”“云容水态”“远近泉声”。入湖沼则“澄波叠翠”“镜水云岑”“芳渚临流”。水有百态，景存千变。

山庄按自然形势，广建亭台、楼阁、桥梁、水榭等。并且更就幽峪奇峰，建造寺观庵庙，计东湖沼区域有金山寺、法林寺等。山岳区内，其数尤多，属道教者有广元宫、斗姥阁；属佛教的有珠源寺、碧峰寺、旃檀林、鹭云寺、水月庵等，有内八庙之称。殿阁参差，浮图隐现，朝霞夕月，梵音钟声，破寂静山林，绕神妙幻境。苑囿园林，于自然景物外，复与宗教建筑相结合。

山庄峰峦环抱，秀色可餐，隔武烈河遥望，有“锤峰落照”一景。自锤峰沿山而北，转狮子沟而西，依次建溥仁寺、溥善寺、普乐寺、安远庙、普佑寺、普宁寺、须弥福寿之庙、普陀宗乘之庙、殊像寺、广安寺、罗汉堂、狮子园等寺庙与别园，且分别模仿新疆、西藏等少数民族建筑造型，以及山海关以内各地建筑风格，崇巍瑰丽，与山庄建筑呼应争辉。试登离宫北部界墙之上，自东及北，诸庙尽入眼底，其与离宫几形成一空间整体，蔚为一大风景区。

用“移天缩地在君怀”这句话来概括山庄，可以说体现已尽。其能融南北园林于一处，组各民族建筑在一区，不觉其不协调不顺眼，反觉面面有情，处处生景，实耐人寻味。故若正宫、月色江声等处，实为北方民居四合院之组合方式，而万壑松风、烟雨楼等，运用江南园林手法灵活布局。秀北雄南，目在咫尺，游人当可领略其造园之佳妙。

PART TWO Garden-Making Precepts and Aesthetic

第二部分 造园准则与美学

ON GARDENS 1 [1]

Architecture Edition , Tongji University Journal, Issue No. 2, 1978

With a venerable history and a distinctive character, the craft of Chinese gardens is a school of its own worldwide. Over the years scholars around the world have been studying it in every perspective, and contributed a wealth of eloquent and judicial discourses. Today I would like to spell out my take on the basis of what I have witnessed and learned in my daily involvement in gardens. Hence the title of this essay, "On Gardens."

The first thing to consider before making a landscape garden is that there are vistas for in-situ viewing and those for in-motion viewing, the former pointing to sceneries that people can take in while sitting down, and the latter calling for a tour route of considerable length so that the vista changes with the shift of the visitor's feet. Small gardens should be predicated on sights for insitu viewing and supplemented with those for in-motion viewing, courtyard gardens should be catered entirely to in-situ viewing, but it should be the other way round for large gardens. The Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou is a typical example for small gardens, and the Humble Administrator's Garden of Suzhou is a case in point for large gardens.

Visitors to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are invariably delighted to see a pond surrounded by buildings where they can sit down or hang around. They can lean over a balustrade to count the fish swimming in the water, or stay in a pavilion to await the moon in the breeze. Beyond the balustrade, shadows of flowers sway on the walls, and hills in the distance are framed in the windows to evoke a classical painting that exude serenity and appeal. In

the Humble Administrator's Garden, a footpath encircles a pond and a roofed walkway meanders its way through an agglomeration of scenic attractions to bring along the visitor—which is similar to the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou, where, in the words of Wang Shizhen (1634-1711),

> A painted boat passed 'neath the bridge at noon,
> Gone were her scented dress and figure so soon.

The secret to this ever-changing view lies in the shift of the visitor's footsteps, which is exactly what in-motion viewing is all about. Conception always comes before a garden is made, just as writing is always heralded by conception as well. Only with an exquisite conception can a scenic setting be wondrous enough. Whether scenery should be adapted to in-situ or in-motion viewing depends on a garden's nature and size. The Garden of Miniature Landscapes under construction in Shanghai, for example, makes sense largely because its sights are devoted to in-situ viewing.

The traditional Chinese garden is an artistic synthesis of architecture, rockery, water, and horticulture that emanates idyllic sentiments and picturesque fascinations. Though rockery and water are set out by man, they must look like wrought by nature. What is the relationship between rockery and water? In a nutshell, rather than squeeze an entire landscape into the limited space of a garden, only a part of it should be used, which accords with the principles of painting. (A fabulous example is the way the pond in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is patterned after the White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill in Suzhou.) The value of rockery is borne in its veins, and that of a stream or pond lies in its headwater; only when the veins and the headwater are meshed can the entire garden come to dynamic life. I once illustrated the relationship between rockery and water in a garden with inspirations from real mountains and real streams: firstly, water should follow the contours of

rockery, so that the latter comes alive because of the former; secondly, water should accommodate to the shape of the rockery to carve out a winding course, whereas a mountain trail should follow the lie of the land and stay low and level. Zhang Lian (1587-1673), a prominent rockery architect during the Ming-Qing transition, advocates the use of level ridges, small slopes, and high mounds to bring man's landscaping and gardening efforts close to nature. If we know a smattering of the reason behind it, we will not stray too far from nature and can create, to varying degrees, intriguing scenes in which water and rockery are well meshed.

Trees are planted in the traditional Chinese garden not just for keeping the land green, but more importantly, they are supposed to add picturesque fascination to the landscape. A flowering tree ought to be partially framed in a window to look like a foot-long scroll of Chinese painting with a single bough in it. The combination of a few old trees craning over a clump of bamboos by the side of a boulder invariably draws its inspiration from a landscape painting of withered trees overlooking bamboos and rocks. He who favors the beauty of shape over species can train a potted plant any way he would to evoke a classical painting. The Chinese wingnut trees in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the age-old cypresses in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are both scenic attractions pivotal to the general plan of their respective gardens. Were these picture-perfect old trees taken away, the scenic charms of the entire garden would be irretrievably lost right away. Most of the tree species introduced to the Chinese garden are distinctive in their own ways. Chosen fastidiously, they can bestow a unique personality on a garden, which is exactly what the lacebark pines mean to the Lingering Garden, what the pines and plum trees mean to the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence [2] , and what the broad-leafed indocalamus bamboos mean to the

Dark Blue Waves Pavilion.

Nevertheless, this issue seems to have eluded attention in recent years. Confusion has reigned over the choice of tree species, and some gardens' personalities are tarnished as a result. It seems a lesson ought to be drawn from it. The Northern Song (960-1127) painter Guo Xi (*c* . 1000-*c* . 1080) says a mouthful,

> A mountain takes streams as its arteries, grass and trees as its hair, and the misty clouds above it as its spiritual verve.

Even grass can be so indispensable to landscape, to say nothing about trees. I always believe a garden should be imbued with the botanical character of the place in which it finds itself, not to mention the fact that trees growing in their native places have a high survival rate and grow fast—it may take only a few years for their saplings to grow into a wood. The Chinese garden differs from the arboretum in that its trees, instead of having their diversity in species flaunted, are there to be viewed and appreciated. However, it is by no means easy for a garden to excel with its own scenery and for sceneries to look different from one garden to another. This, without question, is also pertinent to flowers. You have got to seek difference from similarity and vice versa, for only in this way can every garden in this nation stand on their own. Garden-crafters in ancient times did their best to create scenes and sights for every season with the same pavilions, terraces, lofts, rockeries, streams and ponds while keeping them perennially new. This practice conforms to the fact that our nation has developed a discerning eye in appreciation of arts. For example, we are highly demanding of the shapes and postures of flowers and trees to be cultivated, of the melodies of music to be appreciated, and of the intended conceptions for calligraphy and painting to be practiced. Thus to produce a work of art that stands the most stringent scrutiny and has lasting

artistic value, the artist has got to take pains and be attentive to the minute detail. This idea seems to be inspiring for us in exploring the "Chinese form" of landscaping gardening.

The views inside of a garden are to be observed from angles of elevation or depression and, therefore, each view should be handled on its own merits. Accordingly, lofts and pavilions must set off each other, hills and rockeries must be solemn and towering, streams must twist and turn, and bays must be made to encircle the premises.

> By a tiny pavilion, beyond a red bridge,
> Many a cicada warbles in tall willow trees.

> In green willows' shadows,
> By a pavilion amid crabapple flowers,
> Atop red apricot branches.

Through these poetic lines, the depth of field, space and sound in a garden are recreated, while the tall willows and the tips of apricot branches direct the eye to look up. We learn, as we should, from poets, who definitely belong in the most sensible sort.

> A winding trail hides itself in a mount,
> So at measured pace I climb along it.

This reminds us the concealed trail can be discovered only by looking down at the foot of the mount. Therefore, the arrangement of details like rooftops, the foot of a rockery, water inlets, and treetops tolerates no negligence and rashness. Erecting a pavilion up a hill serves to guide the eye upward whereas leaving a crag by a stream or pond directs the eye downward.

Why is it that our country's places of interest and gardens can draw a constant stream of visitors from home and abroad? Why is it that people are

never tired of looking at them? Fabulous landscape is no doubt a major reason behind it, but another important factor is that these tourist attractions are rich repositories of Chinese culture and history. I have pointed out that the presence of cultural artefacts and sites of historical interest enriches the cultural undertones of a scenic resort or garden, adds to their appeals, and gives more food for thought, so that people do not visit them for visit's sake or they just come to eat and drink. A cultural artefact and a tourist resort or garden are not a pair of opposites but a pair of mutually complementing factors. In this pair, the cultural artefact finds an ideal sanctuary whereas the resort or the garden becomes more culturally endowed. Only in this way can the garden in China epitomize traditional and modern Chinese culture.

The beauty of the Chinese garden lies in its implicit undertones. Every hill or rock inside of it is worth contemplating. An artificial peak is an impressionist work of sculpture; the name of the Beauty Peak makes sense only by putting it under close scrutiny, and the same is true with the Nine-Lion Mountain. The front and rear beams in a twin hall come in different forms to imply a couple of loving birds, but nobody can notice it without being prompted. The fear that visitors may not know what they are seeing has compelled many a well-intentioned garden keeper to erect, say, a big artificial fish in a pond, or a clay panda in front of a giant pandas' arena. They want to advertise their "wares," without realizing that their action contravenes the value of implicitness, robs the Chinese garden of its quintessence, and spoils the scenery. But what can we do about it? Fish faintly discernible in the water are the most bewitching to see. A bamboo grove in a giant pandas' world tends to guide the visitor to where the fun is and keep his eyes peeled. From some gardens' old names one can easily figure out what can be seen in them, such as lacebark pines in the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode (*i.e.* , the

Lingering Garden of today),[3] plum trees in the Plum Garden, and water in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden. Better examples in this regard can be found in the ten views of the West Lake in Hangzhou.

The inscription on a board hanging in the front or at the top of a pavilion or hall is illustrative for the curious sightseer. At the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, for instance, the visitor would be caught up in a reverie in the wind even if no scented breeze is drifting from the lotus pond. The wondrous implication and brilliant calligraphy of an antithetical couplet are enough to make the visitor reluctant to go away. The Hut on Another Peak of Jiao's Mountain in Zhenjiang used to be Zheng Xie's studio. The front gate of this small three-room affair in a courtyard of flowers and trees is flanked by a couplet that reads,

> Should a room be large to look elegant?
>
> Flowers needn't be many to be fragrant.

Upon reading these lines, one would forget all worries and immerse himself in the pleasant scenery in no time. The studio would become the talk of the day among visitors, and its good reputation would spread far and wide through their lips. Inscribed name boards may be made of brick or stone; antithetical couplets may be engraved on wooden or bamboo boards, or screens made of stone or marble. Rectangular stone slabs with calligraphic inscriptions are sometimes used as well. These calligraphic works are more implicit and thought-provoking than pictures, whose use is somewhat deliberately avoided on these name boards and couplets. Mounted scrolls are seldom employed, as most garden buildings are left open all the time and, therefore, destructive to anything made of paper under their roofs. The materials used for the name boards and couplets are chosen in light of locales: brick and stone for those left in the open, and bamboo and wood for

those to be kept indoors. Mounted calligraphic work or paintings hanging in a dwelling house helps improve light and acoustic effects indoors, and enhances the sense of peace and quiet on the part of the dwellers. In old days the Xuan paper made for this purpose and the mounted work came in specifications and sizes well adapted to the sizes of building in which it is to be kept.

Curving and straight lines are relevant to each other in the Chinese garden. They should be applied flexibly, with straight lines contained in curves and with every line running its natural course. When drawing a tree, the painter is absolutely right to make sure that none of the lines he draws is straight. The zigzagging bridge, trail and corridor are set from one point to another to serve transport and communication purposes, but in a garden they are invariably flanked by scenic attractions, and made to twist and turn along a line so that its sceneries can meet the visitor's eye as he looks this way and that, while the lengthened route serves to heighten his pleasure as he ambles along. Curving lines are born of straight ones, but most importantly, the use of curves should be measured. A zigzagging bridge should be kept below the shoreline of a brook or pond and set as close to the water surface as possible to induce the feeling as if one was treading waves, and the number of its bends should be decided according to circumstances. However, some bridges are forced to twist and turn for nine times or set high above the water surface —so mechanically are they designed as to make people feel like torture walking on them, most probably because the rule of thumb has been sidetracked. The Nine-Bend Bridge in the Gratification Garden of Shanghai is a bad case in point.

Once a site has been chosen for a garden to be made, its central theme should be decided in the light of the environment, and the anticipated

ambiance fostered to give the garden a distinct character. I see the Garden of Perfect Splendor in Beijing as a classic case of "accommodating scenery to bodies of water and borrowing views from the western hills." In other words, it is celebrated as the "Garden of Gardens" because all the views in it are pivoted to water while sights from the said hills are ushered in. The Solace-Imbued Garden [4] sits at the foot of the Huishan Mountain, with its scenes and sights structured to face the mountain, whose scenery thus becomes part and parcel of the garden. The Master-of-Fishnets Garden is predicated on water, but there is no water at all at its Late-Spring Peony Lodge [5] , which would have been in danger of being "expelled" from the garden. The builders meet the challenge by drilling a fountainhead at its southwest corner and let water run through all the streams in the garden. Thus the Lodge's desperate problem is addressed, and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's reputation as a water-bound garden saved. However, the garden's newly added eastern part is a failure, for it is devoid of water—a dilemma resulting from a thoughtless design adopted in total disregard of the garden's general layout and in violation of its general principle.

An excellent garden calls to mind a well-written quatrain or a short lyric poem whose success hinges on pithy witticism. Though having only a few lines, such a creation is rich in connotations that never cease to resonate like lilting melodies. (Large gardens are not without their failures or oversights, just as a full-length song in a drawn-out tune can hardly be vocalized in a single breath.) This is exactly what I mean by "letting there be gardens beyond a garden and views beyond a view." The secret of a garden that has gardens beyond it lies in "borrowing"; and the key to a view having views beyond it lies in its "timeline" that governs the never-ending shift of the four seasons. The shadows of flowers, trees, clouds or reflections in water, the

rustling of wind, the gurgling of water, the chirping of birds, and the aroma of flowers…all these intangible views mix with tangible ones to stage a symphony in which poetic beauty overflows and picturesque appeal flourishes.

A garden of ten thousand *qing* (one *qing* equals 6.6667 hectares) can hardly be compact, nor can a garden of a few *mu* (one *mu* equals one fifteenth of one hectare) be extensive enough. What really matters is to make sure that the visitor does not mind the largeness of a garden because he is not fatigued by its compact dispositions, and that he does not mind the smallness of a garden because its spaciousness contains something of everything for his appreciation. This is why gardens should provide for both in-situ and in-motion viewing, which helps make a large place look small and a small place large. To put it in traditional Chinese painting parlance, it is essential to be "bold enough to set the brush to paper and cautious enough to bring it to a finish." In the words of a calligrapher, a garden should be roomy enough somewhere for a horse to gallop through, and close-knit enough in other places so that not a single needle can be inserted in it. Thus in the Summer Palace of Beijing we have both the ethereally vast Kunming Lake and the exquisite Garden of Harmonious Charms—a hill-rimmed small courtyard patterned after the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi, Jiangsu province. There are principles but no hard and fast rules for the making of scenic gardens—it all depends on whether or not the principles can be applied with felicity. What Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642) means by "melting into the existing lie of the land" and "borrowing from available scenery" are two of the garden-making principles, but he sets no stereotypes in his *The Craft of Gardens* . All that matters is to distinguish large gardens from small ones, in-situ viewing from in-motion viewing, and rural gardens from urban ones—only then can you

make the most of each of them and do something proper and fitting.

Simple as the orchid and bamboo are in traditional Chinese painting, every painter can depict them in a distinct way. The reason why the theatergoer never tires of watching the performance of a classical opera episode is because every performer can act it out with originality. The same is true with garden-making. If hard-and-fast rules are needed for scholars, like the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings* for painters and the "eight-legged essay" for essayists, small-garden builders ought to draw something to go by from the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, recognized as a consummate example of "being small in quantity but exquisite in quality" and "beating the many with the few"—simple rules that call for mutual relevance and substitution between artificial mountains and buildings in a small garden where there is no land boat, large bridge or artificial mountain, and where buildings are small and few but methodically spaced. Virtually all the gardens in Suzhou have followed these rules, but the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's newly added eastern section is a complete flop because such rules are violated. Another negative example in this regard is the Lion's Grove, where a newly added boat is too bulky for its water surface and, therefore, is nondescript and off-key. Wang Weilin (1763-1822) of the Qing says in his note "Refurbishing the Literary Garden":

> I replaced flowery hedge and stone railing repaired,
> It is more difficult to modify a garden than poetry.
> If only I could use every word to the point, and build
> A pavilion or deck that, though tiny, stands scrutiny.

These thorough and succinct lines still sound sincere and resonant to garden-makers today.

The size of what is contained in a garden is relative rather than absolute.

There is no smallness without largeness, and vice versa. The more the space is partitioned, the larger and the more changeable the garden is felt, so that limitless space can be created on a limited lot, and a large garden can contain several small ones. (The Three Pools Mirroring the Moon in the West Lake is a fitting example of how a large lake can embrace a number of small pools.) Actually more examples can be cited, for this principle has become a critical garden-making rule. The Loquat Courtyard and the Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Garden of Harmonious Charms in the Summer Palace are marked for their sublime artistic attainments. If a visitor is daunted by a garden's hollow and insipid interior and sheer size the moment he sets foot in it, or if he calls it quits before he reaches all its recesses, this garden is a complete mistake because it cannot stoke the visitor's appetite for a thoroughgoing visit. If the scenery in a garden looks special, richly variegated, and euphemistically laid out, people tend to visit them time and again. Is there anything wrong to make sure that the attractions inside of a scenic resort or garden cannot be exhausted through a single visit, with ample room reserved to accommodate repeated visits? It is a pity that quite a few scenic resorts are given to expansions in hopes that they are large enough for one-day or half-day tours and that one can finish seeing it all on a single visit and need not come back again. For this purpose they tear down walls in their precincts, but contrary to their intentions, they harvest emptiness instead. This is exactly what has happened to the Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake and the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake, where the newly built seven-storied Xiling Hotel [6] also dwarfs the nearby scenic Geling Mountain by half.

By contrast, the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou owes its beauty partially to its slenderness and partially to local planners' far-sighted decision

to ban tall buildings on its shorelines. The Slender West Lake Scenic Resort is actually a cluster of private gardens that reach out to the outside world through waterways (another cluster of private gardens at Garden Lane in Yangzhou's city proper is predicated on roads), where every garden is water-bound and stays on its own inside of a courtyard. The houses, decks, and red apricot boughs stretching over neighboring walls all throw their reflections into the lake, presenting one divine picture after another. Slender though the lake is, it never looks shabby for its manifold demure elegance. There, everything is fine save for a single defect: the total layout seems to be less than compact. What is more, more landmark buildings are needed, and the space should have been segmented more elaborately. No matter what, however, the character of the Slender West Lake should be preserved in future refurbishing efforts. The Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou has gained size by annexing what becomes its eastern part, but the new addition makes the garden's original layout look rather cramped, whereas its vast eastern part is virtually reduced to a passageway for the garden proper because of its lack of scenic attractions. Indeed, annexation did no good to either scenic spot—it would have been nice to keep them separated.

Chinese wooden structures have both individuality and liabilities in form and size. Every one of them, be it a hall or a pavilion, must conform to prescribed specifications that cannot be bypassed—rules must be followed even if such structures are merely enlarged or scaled down. Otherwise, "You want to draw a tiger but end up with what looks like a dog," as the saying goes. The lack of floor space can be amended by putting several buildings together. The Islamic mosque, for example, gains enough room by way of continuous-span construction or by surrounding itself with colonnades. The enlargement of a pavilion in the eastern part of the Humble Administrator's

Garden has raised quite a few eyebrows because it has ended up being neither a pavilion nor a belvedere. The Five-Pavilion Bridge and the White Pagoda at the Slender West Lake are replicas of the Beihai Bridge, the Five Pavilions Arranged to Assimilate a Dragon, and the White Pagoda of Beijing, but to make up for the lack of space, the Five-Pavilion Bridge was constructed by putting these pavilions on a single bridge and downscaling the White Pagoda, resulting in an assembly that fits the water surface to a T and brings the character of the Slender West Lake into bold relief. The entire layout is so well conceived that, sans a close look, nobody could tell that the scenery as a whole is just a microcosm of the pavilions and pagoda of the Beihai Lake in Beijing.

"Let there be no foot in a distant mountain, no root in a distant tree, and no hull in a distant boat save for its sail." This rule of thumb for traditional Chinese painting also applies to landscape gardening. Every scenic spot in a garden should look like a singular painting with rich depth and multi-layered graduation in light and color.

> [Of Kou Zhun (961-1023) at the Autumn Wind Pavilion,
> which was built when he was magistrate of Badong county,]
> He often leans upon a railing to gaze at water in greed,
> With no wall built around it lest the views be clogged.

If this line by Lu You (1125-1210) can be well understood, then we know what is to be hidden, screened, left wide open, or separated in a garden being made. The idea is that rather than present a vista in its entirety, only a fragment of it ought to be kept in sight, so that there seems to be pictures beyond pictures and that the scenery close at hand looks like extending for miles on end—in this way the charms of the vista are made to linger infinitely. To put it more specifically, a pavilion should be kept slightly

below a mountaintop; a tree should not be planted atop a mountain; a mountain should reveal its foot if its top is hidden and hide it if its top is revealed; a big tree should show off its crest if its root is concealed, and vice versa; and so on. To apply these rules, however, takes a lot of hammering out, with attention to the minute detail. Seemingly niggling details like pruning a tree or moving a small rock, if mishandled, can mar the whole thing. Indeed, a misplaced tree twig can spoil the beauty of an entire garden. In the Humble Administrator's Garden, a dead old tree was replaced with a new one in the back of the Yulan Magnolia Hall, but the scene lost its classical allure in no time; the same mishap also happened in front of the Sinuous Gully Loft in the Lingering Garden. These lessons indicate that it is hard to lay out a garden, but even harder to manage it. To be a good garden manager, one has got to be well-versed in a garden's history, and more importantly, he has got to have all the artistic characteristics of the garden at his fingertips, just like a well-trained nurse must know her patients well enough to take good care of them. This is particularly the case with governmentprotected heritage sites and cultural artefacts, where rashness and impetuosity must be guarded against. Such sites and artefacts must not be changed without the consent of the authorities. Otherwise, not only the "personality" of such a garden or relic will be blemished, but it also runs the risk of violating relevant government law.

Suburban gardens should be steeped in rural charms, and gardens attached to residences are valued for being refreshingly neat and cosy. Country charms are born of affinity to nature, while the quest for neatness and cosiness ought not fall into old rut. The Memorial Garden of Fan Li [7] in Wuxi is a typical failure for its vulgarity and awkwardness in taste and lack of idyllic beauty, whereas the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is typically tidy and

comfortable. The former is big but seldom draws raves; the latter is small but is flooded with praises. This comparison justifies the idea that the beauty of a garden lies not in size but in exquisiteness, for only with exquisiteness can a garden become a classic objet d'art. The difference lies not only in style but also in interior decoration and furnishing. In a garden's interior decoration, everything must be done by bearing its circumstances in mind. Open structures hinge on dainty lines and delicate contours, but hanging fascias should not be used for they are susceptible to damage; furnishings such as stools and tables fashioned out of stone or brick should be chosen mainly from among simple and unadorned ones. Halls, verandahs, rooms and all those structures with doors and windows should be appointed elaborately. Furniture should be made of mahogany, red sandalwood, *Phoebe nanmu* , or rosewood. To cope with seasonal changes, chairs should be covered with rattan-plaited cushions in summer and upholstered in winter. The furniture for pompous buildings should be made of mahogany or red sandalwood and thoroughly carved; those for simple buildings should be made of *Phoebe nanmu* and rosewood and come in good taste. The importance of furniture is self-evident, as it is commonly referred to as a house's "innards." A sparsely furnished room evokes someone who does not know how to read and write; an adequately furnished room can be graded by the quality and style of its furniture. In old days the Masterof-Fishnets Garden was furnished painstakingly and appointed gorgeously so that the visitor could learn a great deal about this aspect of the craft of gardens in our country.

In days of yore, hanging out lanterns for display was frequently portrayed in poetry and prose as a big evening event for every garden. Garden keepers would put valuable lanterns away immediately after the show was over. Being part and parcel of a garden, the lanterns, like the

aforementioned name boards and couplets, are also fashioned in compliance with prescribed specifications and come in varied styles and sizes. Nowadays, however, some gardens have electric lamps fixed on their premises to draw visitors at night, which invariably spoils a garden's looks. A case in point is the Shan Juan's Hermitage Cave [8] of Yixing, whose grottoes should have been returned to nature, but the reality is that when night falls, a myriad of electric bulbs were switched on, turning the place into a bizarre world of kaleidoscopic colors that is easily mistaken for a busy restaurant. At the Lion's Grove, too, lamps have been conspicuously installed upon the ends of every pavilion's roof ridges. I would like to suggest caution when handling ancient structures, traditional gardens, and places of historical interest, and we should also guard against imposing incongruous fixtures on them. In my opinion, lamps for illuminating purposes should be kept out of sight, and only ornamental lamps can be displayed in ways congruous to the building and environment. Open or closed structures ought to be fixed with different kinds of lamps. Lamps should not be left to dangle under the roofs of a walkway, for they tend to break easily when they sway and tinkle in the wind. Electric wires and poles must be handled with uttermost caution, for they molest the scenery and block the view, and are eyesores for photographers.

This discourse of mine, replete with clichés and platitude, is about trivialities that are of not much account, but I have delivered it here anyway in hopes that it will help bring our work to perfection and promote cultural prosperity. This foolish man will be elated if you can derive some useful reference from my words.

说园【从周案十八】

我国造园具有悠久的历史，在世界园林中树立着独特风格，自来学者从各方面进行分析研究，各抒高见。如今就我在接触园林中所见闻掇拾到的，提出来谈谈，姑名《说园》。

园有静观、动观之分，这一点我们在造园之先，首要考虑。何谓静观？就是园中予游者多驻足的观赏点。动观就是要有较长的游览线。二者说来，小园应以静观为主，动观为辅。庭院专主静观。大园则以动观为主，静观为辅。前者如苏州“网师园”，后者则苏州“拙政园”差可似之。人们进入网师园宜坐宜留之建筑多，绕池一周，有槛前细数游鱼，有亭中待月迎风，而轩外花影移墙，峰峦当窗，宛然如画，静中生趣。至于拙政园径缘池转，廊引人随，与“日午画船桥下过，衣香人影太匆匆”的瘦西湖相仿佛，妙在移步换影，这是动观。立意在先，文循意出。动静之分，有关园林性质与园林面积大小。像上海正在建造的盆景园，则宜以静观为主，即为一例。

中国园林是由建筑、山水、花木等组合而成的一个综合艺术品，富有诗情画意。叠山理水要造成“虽由人作，宛自天开”的境界。山与水的关系究竟如何呢？简言之，范山模水，用局部之景而非缩小（网师园水池仿虎丘白莲池，极妙），处理原则悉符画本。山贵有脉，水贵有源，脉源贯通，全园生动。我曾经用“水随山转，山因水活”与“溪水因山成曲折，山蹊（路）随地作低平”来说明山水之间的关系，也就是从真山真水中所得到的启示。明末清初叠山家张南垣主张用平冈小陂、陵阜陂阪，也就是要使园林山水接近自然。如果我们能初步理解这个道理：就不至于离自然太远，多少能呈现水石交融的美妙境界。

中国园林的树木栽植，不仅为了绿化，且要具有画意。窗外花树一角，即折枝尺幅；山间古树三五，幽篁一丛，乃模拟枯木竹石图。重姿

态，不讲品种，和盆栽一样，能“入画”。拙政园的枫杨、网师园的古柏，都是一园之胜，左右大局，如果这些饶有画意的古木去了，一园景色顿减。树木品种又多有特色，如苏州留园原多白皮松，怡园多松、梅，沧浪亭满种箬竹，各具风貌。可是近年来没有注意这个问题，品种搞乱了，各园个性渐少，似要引以为戒。宋人郭熙说得好：“山以水为血脉，以草木为毛发，以烟云为神采。”草尚如此，何况树木呢！我总觉得一个地方的园林应该有那个地方的植物特色，并且土生土长的树木存活率大成长得快，几年可茂然成林。它与植物园有别，是以观赏为主，而非以种多斗奇。要能做到“园以景胜，景因园异”，那真是不容易。这当然也包括花卉在内。同中求不同，不同中求同，我国园林是各具风格的。古代园林在这方面下过功夫，虽亭台楼阁，山石水池，而能做到风花雪月，光景常新。我们民族在欣赏艺术上存乎一种特性，花木重姿态，音乐重旋律，书画重笔意等，都表现了要用水磨功夫，才能达到耐看耐听，经得起细细的推敲，蕴藉有余味。在民族形式的探讨上，这些似乎对我们有所启发。

园林景物有仰观、俯观之别，在处理上亦应区别对待。楼阁掩映，山石森严，曲水湾环，都存乎此理。“小红桥外小红亭，小红亭畔，高柳万蝉声。”“绿杨影里，海棠亭畔，红杏梢头。”这些词句不但写出园景层次，有空间感和声感，同时高柳、杏梢，又都把人们视线引向仰观。文学家最敏感，我们造园者应向他们学习。至于“一丘藏曲折，缓步有跻攀”，则又皆留心俯视所致。因此园林建筑物的顶、假山的脚、水口、树梢，都不能草率从事，要着意安排。山际安亭，水边留矶，是能引人仰观、俯观的方法。

我国名胜也好，园林也好，为什么能这样勾引无数中外游人百看不厌呢？风景洵美，固然是重要原因，但还有个重要因素，即其中有文化、有历史。我曾提过风景区或园林有文物古迹，可丰富其文化内容，使游人产生更多的兴会、联想，不仅仅是到此一游，吃饭喝水而已。文

物与风景区园林相结合，文物赖以保存，园林借以丰富多彩，两者相辅相成，不矛盾而统一。这样才能体现出一个有古今文化的社会主义中国园林。

中国园林妙在含蓄，一山一石耐人寻味。立峰是一种抽象雕刻品，美人峰细看才像美人，九狮山亦然。鸳鸯厅的前后梁架，形式不同，不说不明白，一说才恍然大悟，竟寓鸳鸯之意。奈何今天有许多好心肠的人，唯恐游者不了解，水池中装了人工大鱼，熊猫馆前站着泥塑熊猫，如做着大广告，与含蓄两字背道而驰，失去了中国园林的精神所在，真太煞风景。鱼要隐现方妙，熊猫馆以竹林引胜，渐入佳境，游者反多增趣味。过去有些园名如寒碧山庄（留园）【从周案十九】、梅园、网师园，都可顾名思义，园内的特色是白皮松、梅、水。尽人皆知的西湖十景，更是佳例。

亭榭之额真是赏景的说明书，拙政园的荷风四面亭，人临其境，即无荷风，亦觉风在其中，发人遐思。而联对文辞之隽永，书法之美妙，更令人一唱三叹，徘徊不已。镇江焦山顶的“别峰庵”，为郑板桥读书处，小斋三间，一庭花树，门联写着“室雅何须大，花香不在多”，游者见到，顿觉心怀舒畅，亲切地感到景物宜人，博得人人称好，游罢个个传诵。至于匾额，有砖刻、石刻，联屏有板对、竹对、板屏、大理石屏，外加石刻书条石，皆少用画，比具体的形象来得曲折耐味。其所以不用装裱的屏联，因园林建筑多敞口，有损纸质，额对露天者用砖石，室内者用竹木，皆因地制宜而安排。住宅之厅堂斋室，悬挂装裱字画，可增加内部光线及音响效果，使居者有明朗清静之感，有与无，情况大不相同。当时宣纸规格、装裱大小皆有一定，乃根据建筑尺度而定。

园林中曲与直是相对的，要曲中寓直，灵活应用，曲直自如。画家讲画树，要无一笔不曲，斯理至当。曲桥、曲径、曲廊，本来在交通意义上，是由一点到另一点而设置的。园林中两侧都有风景，随直曲折一下，使行者左右顾盼有景，信步其间使距程延长，趣味加深。由此可

见，曲本直生，重在曲折有度。有些曲桥，定要九曲，既（疑衍。——编者注）不临水面（园林桥一般要低于两岸，有凌波之意），生硬屈曲，行桥宛若受刑，其因在于不明此理（上海豫园前九曲桥即坏例）。

造园在选地后，就要因地制宜，突出重点，作为此园之特征，表达出预想的境界。北京圆明园，我说它是“因水成景，借景西山”，园内景物皆因水而筑，招西山入园，终成“万园之园”。无锡寄畅园为山麓园，景物皆面山而构，纳园外山景于园内。网师园以水为中心，殿春簃一院虽无水，西南角凿冷泉，贯通全园水脉，有此一眼，绝处逢生，终不脱题。新建东部，设计上既背固有设计原则，且复无水，遂成僵局，是事先对全园未作周密的分析，不假思索而造成的。

园之佳者如诗之绝句，词之小令，皆以少胜多，有不尽之意，寥寥几句，弦外之音犹绕梁间（大园总有不周之处，正如长歌慢调，难以一气呵成）。我说园外有园，景外有景，即包括在此意之内。园外有景妙在“借”，景外有景在于“时”，花影、树影、云影、水影、风声、水声、鸟语、花香，无形之景，有形之景，交响成曲。所谓诗情画意盎然而生，与此有密切关系。

万顷之园难以紧凑，数亩之园难以宽绰。紧凑不觉其大，游无倦意，宽绰不觉局促，览之有物，故以静、动观园，有缩地扩基之妙。而大胆落墨，小心收拾（画家语），更为要谛，使宽处可容走马，密处难以藏针（书家语）。故颐和园有烟波浩渺之昆明湖，复有深居山间的谐趣园，于此可悟消息。造园有法而无式，在于人们的巧妙运用其规律。计成所说的“因借”（因地制宜，借景），就是法。《园冶》一书终未列式。能做到园有大小之分，有静观动观之别，有郊园市园之异等等，各臻其妙，方称“得体”（体宜）。中国画的兰竹看来极简单，画家能各具一格；古典折子戏，亦复喜看，每个演员演来不同，就是各有独到之处。造园之理与此理相通。如果定一式，使学者死守之，奉为经典，则如画谱之有《芥子园》，文章之有“八股”一样。苏州网师园是公认为小

园极则，所谓“少而精，以少胜多”。其设计原则很简单，运用了假山与建筑相对而互相更换的一个原则（苏州园林基本上用此法。网师园东部新建反其道，终于未能成功），无旱船、大桥、大山，建筑物尺度略小，数量适可而止，亭亭当当，像个小园格局。反之，狮子林增添了大船，与水面不称，不伦不类，就是不“得体”。清代汪春田重葺文园有诗：“换却花篱补石阑，改园更比改诗难；果能字字吟来稳，小有亭台亦耐看。”说得透彻极了，到今天读起此诗，对造园工作者来说，还是十分亲切的。

园林中的大小是相对的，不是绝对的，无大便无小，无小也无大。园林空间越分隔，感到越大，越有变化，以有限面积，造无限的空间，因此大园包小园，即基此理（大湖包小湖，如西湖三潭印月）。此例极多，几成为造园的重要处理方法。佳者如拙政园之枇杷园、海棠坞，颐和园的谐趣园等，都能达到很高的艺术效果。如果入门便觉是个大园，内部空旷平淡，令人望而生畏，即入园亦未能游遍全园，故园林不起游兴是失败的。如果景物有特点，委婉多姿，游之不足，下次再来。风景区也好，园林也好，不要使人一次游尽，留待多次有何不好呢？我很惋惜很多名胜地点，为了扩大空间，更希望能一览无余，甚至于希望能一日游或半日游，一次观完，下次莫来，将许多古名胜园林的围墙拆去，大是大了，得到的是空，西湖平湖秋月、西泠印社都有这样的后果。西泠饭店造了高层，葛岭矮小了一半。扬州瘦西湖妙在瘦字，今后不准备在其旁建造高层建筑，是有远见的。本来瘦西湖风景区是一个私家园林群（扬州城内的花园巷，同为私家园林群，一用水路交通，一用陆上交通），其妙在各园依水而筑，独立成园，既分又合，隔院楼台，红杏出墙，历历倒影，宛若图画。虽瘦而不觉寒酸，反窈窕多姿。今天感到美中不足的，似觉不够紧凑，主要建筑物少一些，分隔不够。在以后的修建中，这个原来瘦西湖的特征，还应该保留下来。拙政园将东园与之合并，大则大矣，原来部分益现局促，而东园辽阔，游人无兴，几成为过

道。分之两利，合之两伤。

本来中国木构建筑，在体形上有其个性与局限性，殿是殿，厅是厅，亭是亭，各具体例，皆有一定的尺度，不能超越，画虎不成反类犬，放大缩小各有范畴。平面使用不够，可几个建筑相连，如清真寺礼拜殿用勾连搭的方法相连，或几座建筑缀以廊庑，成为一组。拙政园东部将亭子放大了，既非阁，又不像亭，人们看不惯，有很多意见。相反，瘦西湖五亭桥与白塔是模仿北京北海大桥、五龙亭及白塔，因为地位不够大，将桥与亭合为一体，形成五亭桥，白塔体形亦相应缩小，这样与湖面相称了，形成了瘦西湖的特征，不能不称佳构。如果不加分析，难以辨出它是一个北海景物的缩影，做得十分“得体”。

远山无脚，远树无根，远舟无身（只见帆），这是画理，亦造园之理。园林的每个观赏点，看来皆一幅幅不同的画，要深远而有层次。“常倚曲阑贪看水，不安四壁怕遮山。”如能懂得这些道理，宜掩者掩之，宜屏者屏之，宜敞者敞之，宜隔者隔之，宜分者分之，等等，见其片断，不逞全形，图外有画，咫尺千里，余味无穷。再具体点说：建亭须略低山巅，植树不宜峰尖，山露脚而不露顶，露顶而不露脚，大树见梢不见根，见根不见梢之类。但是运用上却细致而费推敲，小至一树的修剪，片石的移动，都要影响风景的构图。真是一枝之差，全园败景。拙政园玉兰堂后的古树枯死，今虽补植，终失旧貌。留园曲谿楼前有同样的遭遇。至此深深体会到，造园困难，管园亦不易，一个好的园林管理者，他不但要考察园的历史，更应知道园的艺术特征，等于一个优秀的护士对病人作周密细致的了解。尤其重点文物保护单位，更不能鲁莽从事，非经文物主管单位同意，须照原样修复，不得擅自更改，否则不但破坏园林风格，且有损文物，关系到党的文物政策问题。

郊园多野趣，宅园贵清新。野趣接近自然，清新不落常套。无锡蠡园为庸俗无野趣之例，网师园属清新典范。前者虽大，好评无多；后者虽小，赞辞不已。至此可证园不在大而在精，方称艺术上品。此点不仅

在风格上有轩轾，就是细至装修陈设皆有异同。园林装修同样强调因地制宜，敞口建筑重线条轮廓，玲珑出之，不用精细的挂落装修，因易损伤；家具以石凳、石桌、砖面桌之类，以古朴为主。厅堂轩斋有门窗者，则配精细的装修。其家具亦为红木、紫檀、楠木、花梨所制，配套陈设，夏用藤棚椅面，冬加椅披椅垫，以应不同季节的需要。但亦须根据建筑物的华丽与雅素，分别作不同的处理，华丽者用红木、紫檀，雅素者用楠木、花梨；其雕刻之繁简亦同样对待。家具俗称“屋肚肠”，其重要可知，园缺家具，即胸无点墨，水平高下自在其中。过去网师园的家具陈设下过大功夫，确实做到相当高的水平，使游者更全面地领会我国园林艺术。

古代园林张灯夜游是一件大事，屡见诗文，但张灯是盛会，许多名贵之灯是临时悬挂的，张后即移藏，非永久固定于一地。灯也是园林一部分，其品类与悬挂亦如屏联一样，皆有定格，大小形式各具特征。现在有些园林为了适应夜游，都装上电灯，往往破坏园林风格，正如宜兴善卷洞一样，五色缤纷，宛若餐厅，几不知其为洞穴。要还我自然。苏州狮子林在亭的戗角头装灯，甚是触目。对古代建筑也好，园林也好，名胜也好，应该审慎一些，不协调的东西少强加于它。我以为照明灯应隐，装饰灯宜显，形式要与建筑协调。至于装挂地位，敞口建筑与封闭建筑有别，有些灯玲珑精巧不适用于空廊者，挂上去随风摇曳，有如塔铃，灯且易损，不可妄挂。而电线电杆更应注意，既有害园景，且阻视线，对拍照人来说，真是有苦说不出。凡兹琐琐，虽多陈音俗套，难免絮聒之讥，似无关大局，然精益求精，繁荣文化，愚者之得，聊资参考！

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ON GARDENS 2

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The term "garden-making" may also be put as "garden-structuring," with stress on "structuring," a word that points to incisiveness of thought and delicacy of aesthetics. Incisiveness of thought calls for artistic conception, and delicacy of aesthetics depends on temperament and interest that give resonance to life, for "garden-structuring" is not merely about construction and horticulture. In "Visiting General He's Wooded Mountains as Escort to Academician Zheng [1] : Ten Stanzas" and "He's Garden Revisited: Five Stanzas," the great poet Du Fu (712-770) portrays what he sees and thinks of as he goes along on his itineraries. What he sees includes views in the garden, people belonging in a scenic setting, people and scenery combined in one, as well as vistas that change with people. All the while his verse is intimately associated with garden-structuring. Some of his lines depict views in the garden:

The famed garden snuggles up to water green,
While wild bamboos soar into blue empyrean.

Broken by wind, a green bamboo shoot bows;
Nourished by rain, the plum tree scarlet turns.

Some portray people belonging in fabulous scenes:

Distracted by scenery, the yard we quit wiping;
Sitting on green moss, liquor we keep imbibing.

> Leaning on stone railing, I dip my brush in ink;
>
> Sitting down, on a parasol leaf I improvise lyric.

Only when one finds himself in such scenic settings can one make sense of the divine philosophy implied in landscape gardening.

Wind, flowers, snow and moon are in objective existence, but when the garden designer dishes up his trump card, he puts them at his beck and call, and the desired vista materializes on its own accord. In the Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou there is the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, which faces west by the side of a pond, with a white-washed wall providing a nice backdrop to it. This scenery is captured exactly by the pavilion's name, in which the moon and the wind seem to be on call in case the pavilion beckons. At the West Lake, the presence of the Three Pools Mirroring the Moon would be out of the question without these pools, which is a typical example of view highlighting, with the pools adding the finishing touch to a perfect man-made scene. "View highlighting" is analogous to a Chinese idiom, that is, to "bring a painted dragon to life by putting the pupils into its eyes." At times, one falls in love with a scenic sight but does not know why; this is where a fitting inscription board comes handy. In *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Chapter Seventeen), "Literary Talent Is Tested by Composing Inscriptions," Jia Zheng says of the poetic lines to be inscribed on the boards in the Grand View Garden,

> All those prospects and pavilions—even the rocks and trees and flowers will seem somehow incomplete without that touch of poetry which only the written word can lend a scene.

Such an inscription implies another approach to view highlighting. Before an inscription is composed for a scenic view, one has got to spend time on it and carefully fathom out what is special about it. This is what is termed "view

finding." The poet Jiang Shi (1818-1866) [2] has this to say,

> I am a fool if I go and seek poetry out, but
> When poetry finds me it's hard to reject.
> Now poetry has once more sought me out,
> As I, alone, get an eyeful of hill and rivulet.

Only when "view finding" reaches such a realm can one hit upon a fitting inscription in a stroke of genius.

In ancient times the creation of a Chinese garden began in most cases with architecture. In a private garden, a parlor should be completed before trees and rockeries were arranged. Such a garden was often done over repeatedly until every requirement was met. Shen Yuanlu (*fl* . 18th century) says in his "Notes on the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos":

> Nothing sets a garden's momentum better than a hall;
> Nothing defines a garden's scenery better than a hill.

This is why in days of yore a garden was predicated on architectural construction, with trees and rockeries serving as ornamental supplements. This, however, has been changed nowadays, with ponds dug and roads paved before principal buildings come under construction. Thus a whopping sum of money has been spent when a garden being made is barely half way through, with little space available for visitors to set foot in. Such mix-up of priorities tends to give rise to "ghost gardens."

Some gardens, scenic resorts and places of historical interest are treated like tree nurseries, where old trees are hacked and new saplings transplanted under the nonsensical excuse to "make a garden earn its own upkeep."

"View finding" and "view ushering" are essential to the making of the Chinese garden. What is entailed in "view ushering"? It is to give prominence to a certain view in order to engage the visitor. The entire landscape of the

South Hill of the West Lake lost its appeal with the collapse of the Lei's Peak Pagoda. A scenic vista becomes inviting only after it is invested with sentiment, and sentiment originates in humanity. Just as a poem has it,

> Sentient is grass exuding aroma,
> But speechless is the sun setting;
> Wild geese fly across the South River
> While a lady leans upon a west baluster.

Indeed, where there is no chamber there will be no lady to be seen; where no lady is present there will be no sentiment; where there is no sentiment there will be no scenery. In the scenery depicted in this poem, it is the west baluster that holds the key. The importance of buildings to a garden or scenic resort is there for all to see.

Our forebears made a point of arranging scenery in a garden according to a prescribed plan, so that masterstrokes could spring up at the onset to avoid scenes and sights being detached from their environment. In the Perfect Enlightenment Gully at the West Lake of Hangzhou, a trail meandering its way into the deepest recesses used to be lined with clusters of sweet-scented osmanthus, whose flowers stayed longer than usual as they were nourished by babbling creeks and refreshing mountain air, and whose aroma was detained longer than usual because the gully is hemmed in by high mountains. When autumn set in, visitors would flock in to savor the flowers and their fragrance and be immersed for a while in the sights of the picturesque gully. Nevertheless, with automobiles kicking up clouds of choking dust along a newly built highway that pushes its way into the gully, this infatuating scene is no more.

Insofar as trees and plants in small gardens are concerned, those with fragrant flowers ought to be walled in. Plantains, whose giant leaves provide

delightful verdure but break easily in the wind, should be planted at the foot of a wall or the corner of a house. The peony, whose beautiful aromatic flowers thrive in sunshine, ought to be planted south of a garden's main hall. These examples indicate that some trees and plants must be well concealed, while the others can be displayed in the open.

The merit of a potted plant is that it provides a "microlens" through which to see a big picture. This ingenuous conception of potted trees or miniature landscapes is well depicted in the line,

> A pot leaps to life with a dwarf tree grown in it;
> A pedestal greens with hills into its turf packed.

Potted plants and miniature landscapes are meant to be itsybitsy, but unfortunately, they are ballooning in size nowadays, a malpractice no different from squeezing an elephant into a canary's cage. Potted trees or miniature landscapes depend on three factors: plant, pot and trellis, none of which can be dispensed with. A miniature landscape is made for in-situ viewing, and should be viewed in solitude.

Most classical gardens in China are shut behind closed doors, as they are designed to create limitless immensity in a limited space. Thus it is essential to make such a garden physically spacious and spiritually resonating. A chosen flowering plant or tree should strike a good pose, and a rock to be erected is prized for its "knolls" and "valleys." Their numbers should be kept sparse and their designs highly compact. As an antithetical couplet on a theater stage claims,

> In three or five steps one traverses the world;
> With six or seven men a mighty foe is breasted.

This performing art principle, too, pertains to landscape gardening.

The lacebark pines dominate the Chinese garden with their graceful

shapes and knotted, ancient-looking trunks. Even a mere sapling of it can appear as wrinkled as an old tree. As is much extolled in classic verse, willows are another choice species for garden decoration, so much so that some gardens have made a name for themselves on account of their vast possessions of such trees. However, willows are ill fit for tiny gardens in the Jiangnan area because they are supposed to stand by a pond or a stream in rows of threes and fives that take a lot of space, and because their foliage is so thick they can rarely be seen through. In the north, nevertheless, most gardens are large enough for willows to reach out to the cloudy skies while their long, pliant trigs bow low to flirt with waters, thereby adding substantially to the appeals of these gardens. However, a concrete issue like this calls for concrete analysis—arbitrary unanimity goes nowhere. If it stands reason to say willows should be barred from southern gardens for they wither in early autumn and are therefore ill omens, then why is it that the Humble Administrator's Garden can still pride itself with its "Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway"?

The trees planted in a scenic resort are marked for their local distinction. Take pine trees for instance. There are Mount Tianmu Pine, Mount Huangshan Pine, Mount Tai Pine, and so on, all of which are so well attuned to local circumstances as to become natural landmarks for their respective mountain sanctuaries. Today, however, there are quite a few "fashion-savvy" garden-makers who take great pains to beautify our homeland by "making things foreign serve China." In their eyes, snow cedars from alien lands are to Chinese gardens what penicillin is to the treatment of a hundred diseases. As a result, such cedars are ubiquitous in virtually every garden across the land.

Dense enough are weeping willows to hide crows
At the White Gate of Nanjing.

The city that has all its walls greened with willows

Is none other than Yangzhou.

Both lines describe views gone for ever today. Snow cedars have usurped virtually all the gardens where willow trees have so aged that they can no longer set catkins flying everywhere. Having had showcased itself to the world with its Mount Tai Pine for so long, Mount Tai has not but to let snow cedars be planted at the Mount Tai Temple. Even a venerated Chinese structure like this can be decked with such a "foreign coat"! I have no alternative but to call it "nondescript."

In the Chinese garden, pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers are arranged along with rockeries, brooks and ponds in distinctly local styles that are also rich and varied. Old gardens in the Lingnan area (comprising Guangdong, Guangxi and Hainan provinces) are surrounded with storied buildings. When the wind rises from waterside buildings and the cool air generated in the thick foliage of trees towering over deep ponds begins to drift, the heat waves of a smothering summer day will vanish in no time, while the orchids' seasonal aroma accumulated in bamboos' shades penetrates visitors'sleeves. It is with such unique fascinations that the Lingnan gardens stand proudly among all counterparts in the Divine Land.

A garden cannot look colorful merely with tangible colors. Gardens in north China obtain multiple hues by setting off green pines and vermillion corridors against white clouds and blue skies. As to gardens in the south, they can pull off myriad changes in color and image by mingling tiny riverside belvederes with whitewashed parapets and low branches. Colorless is white, but color is engendered therein; colorless, too, is a pool of water, yet its color is at its richest. This being the case, we have got to seek color in

colorlessness, rather than look for color in colors. The same is true with gardens: scenery ought to be found where there is no scenery, sound where there is no sound, and motion where there is no motion. To capture sceneries where there is no scenery, nothing beats a giant mirror or a big pond, so that scenery can be found where there is no scenery at all.

It is proper to plant plenty of deciduous trees in small gardens, but such trees should be sparsely scattered to leave the space open and ventilated; in large gardens more evergreen trees should be added where the space is wide so as to avoid crowdedness in small space through sparse planting, whereas empty space ought to be filled with a commensurate number of trees. Deciduous trees enable people to visually experience substitution of the four seasons; evergreen trees keep a place verdant even after winter sets in. Winter arrives early in the north, so more pines and cypresses are planted there.

Rocks come in unpredictable shapes, but construction of artificial mountains calls for predictable rules. Such rules are the same as those governing painting in that they are both about veins and momentum. However, poetry dies when stereotypes are imposed on it; lyrics deteriorate when music scores are set for them. Of all genres of verse, be it classical-style poems of the Han (206 BC-220 AD) and Wei (220-265), or short lyrics of the Northern Song (960-1127), the finest pieces are never born of stereotyped tonal patterns and rhyme schemes. When it comes to gerund-grinders chanting verse, or a bookworm filling in a poem to a stylized tune, his composition is bound to lack ingenuity and resonance, let alone sublimity of mood. The same is true with the craft of gardens.

When building an artificial mountain with rocks, heights are brought about on level ground, and twists and turns are derived from straight lines. One must keep the overall picture in mind while proceeding from the minute

detail. It is easy to lay down the base for an artificial mountain of yellow stones and hard to bring its top to completion, but the opposite is true with artificial mountains built of Lake Tai stones. Artificial mountains of yellow stones are supposed to look solid and simple, with enough holes and cavities in them, while those of Lake Tai stones are intricately hollowed out but still look solid and strong. In short, the former type tends to lack diversity, and the latter tends to look petty and trivial. Stones differ from one another in shape, quality, veins, and texture, and therefore cannot be measured by the same standard. This is where the cardinal law of dialectics comes handy. It is rare, and therefore commendable, for artificial mountains built of yellow stones to look vivacious with plenty of twists and turns in them, and for those built of Lake Tai stones to appear naturally graceful and intriguing in multiple natural ways.

It is hard to pile up stones and build a hefty and rugged mountain and still harder to produce a peak with a solid and primitive look, but it is the hardest to bring into shape a mountain against a wall. In the sketches by the Yuan-dynasty (1206-1368) painter and poet Ni Zan (1301-1374), what looks like a nonchalant and effortless brush stroke often rivets the closest attention. However, such "nonchalance" can be attained only with great pains, elaborate deliberation and a complete mastery of the entire picture. Only thus can the master painter set his dexterous brushstroke to work; only thus can the mere addition of, say, three hairs to the cheek can bring a human figure to vivid life. [3] In the same token, the minutest detail in a garden often merits the utmost attention, be it a single boulder protruding from a water surface, a stone slope, a stone stair, or a stepping stone. The artificial mountains built during the Ming (1368-1644) stand the most intense scrutiny exactly for their casual, but massive and weighty looks.

Artificial-mountain builders during the Tongzhi (1862-1874) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns of the Qing pinned their hopes for success on exquisiteness, but they ended up with works that look too thin or too weak. The truth is that none of the best artificial mountains comes from those looking heavy and crude. The beauty of yellow stones lies, as per a rule of nature, in their hefty mass and simplistic appearance. Indeed, where there are no solidity and weightiness there will be no fabulously structured artificial mountains.

The artificial mountains dating back to the Ming could not be simpler in layout. They are composed of stairs, terrace, main peak, cave and nothing else, yet they can conjure up innumerous changes. Their secret rests with well-coordinated openness and closeness. Why? To be open, a mountain must have some outlets in the form of a valley or dale, and the grand artificial mountain of Shanghai's Gratification Garden is a fine example. To be close, it must have a protruding main peak and its slopes must appear in conspicuous graduation. Its foothills and rocks must be scattered to enhance its openness. The same purpose for openness can also be served with the foothills and rocks of an artificial mountain on land, or by rocks on land and in water about a water-bound artificial mountain. The impact of the concise landscape painting style of the Ming and the over-elaborate style of the Qing are keenly felt on the artificial mountains born of their respective ages.

The Ming essayist Zhang Dai (1597-1689) [4] says of the three peak-shaped rocks in Wang's Garden of Yizheng, Jiangsu, in his *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an* ,

> While there I espied an upended white stone ten feet long and twenty feet wide, which looked eccentric in an inviting way. I also came across a black stone eight feet in width and fifteen feet in length, looking lean but rather enchanting.

By characterizing stones as "eccentric in an inviting way" and "lean but rather enchanting," Zhang Dai invested his sentiment in his discoveries. Gong Zizhen (1792-1841) [5] of the Qing often describes people as being "ugly in a lovable way," a term which is also apt for evaluation of stones. The fine-grained chrismatite (known as "yellow wax stone" in Chinese) recently added to gardens in Guangzhou looks rather mischievous, a description I believe can make up for what is lacking in the two terms coined by Zhang Dai.

An artificial mountain can be made to look like water-bound in a landlocked garden, such as the one in the back of the Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden in Jiading, Shanghai, and the rockery in front of the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight [6] in Yangzhou. An undulating mountain and a piece of low-lying land can be set in mutual contrast to bring about a make-belief pond in a garden that has no water at all. But it is absurd to assert that a water-bound artificial mountain can be wrought in the same way as a landlocked one or vice versa, because the foot of a landlocked mountain and the outlet of a water-bound mountain need be treated differently. The stone trail, boulder and dock belonging to a water-bound mountain cannot be used upon a landlocked one; the stones strewn at the foot of a landlocked mountain would be utterly misplaced if applied on a water-bound one. It is even more obvious that yellow stones cannot be heaped up the way Lake Tai stones are, and the same is true the other way round. To sum up, success is guaranteed if we keep observing the natural landscape, consulting the principles of traditional Chinese painting, learning from Mother Nature the creator, cultivating our thought and temperament, and learning by analogy.

A large garden can contain small gardens. A large lake can contain small lakes, and the Three Pools Mirroring the Moon at the West Lake of Hangzhou is a good example in this regard. Zhong Xing (1574-1624) [7] says

in his "Notes on the Plum Flower Villa":

> Herein lies a water-bound garden. Observed above and below the water, and left and right of it, its height is embodied by a terrace, its depth by a hall, its intangibles by a pavilion, and its circumambience by a roofed walkway; what lies horizontally is a ferry crossing, and what stands vertically is a rockery; its fauna and flora are represented by birds and flowers, and its passers-by are visitors. All these are what belong to the garden. Why should every man own his own garden? Oftentimes a man stays in a garden without realizing it. It is only natural if it takes a long time before a man realizes that the garden he knows so well is actually a combination of some small gardens.

In garden-making there is no lack of philosophies and principles to be referred to.

If the scenic sights within and without a garden can contrast and complement each other in pleasant ways, it shows the builder's dexterous mastery of siting as a garden-making technique. In his "Notes on the Plum Flower Villa," Zhong Xing goes on,

> The river running through the precincts of the three former Wu counties [8] begins to flow smoothly only after it reaches Fuli [9] . It is nowhere to be seen a few steps from the Plum Flower Villa, yet it is right there inside the villa. It turns out that an underground canal is diverting water from the river to the villa's garden. As I open the door, a straight path conducts me past the Wolfberry and Aster Chamber….When I mount a belvedere, I do not see water at the first sight, but water is always there—at the foot of a pavilion, ahead of a roofed walkway, underneath a bridge, by the side of a rockery standing or reclining, and under the thick foliage of drooping willows and slender bamboos…. As I take another look around from atop the building, I find that the roofed walkway is encircled by water, with a wall running parallel to the walkway, and there seems to be a

> pavilion standing upright beyond the wall. Trees and duckweed turn the whole body of water into a carpet of verdure that dyes people's clothes green. Hereabouts water is all-encapsulating and close at hand, yet it seems beyond reach.... I then walk through a tiny stone grotto and take a break in the comfort of the Beckoning for Cosiness Pavilion, where rocks draped in mosses and lichens seem to be gnawing at the waves in what is known as "Gurgling Brocade Shoal." The long roofed walkway runs by the side of a stream lined with cloves of bamboos and trees that share the breeze but scramble for sunshine amid babbling water, while sunshine streaks right before my eyes. As it is impossible to locate a place in such haste, I could not but settle with this roofed walkway.

The aforementioned garden is based on water. There, water appears at one moment and disappears at another, and exists inside and outside of the garden; when it flows it now rises and falls, now twists and turns. To make water serve people's needs, it is flanked with pavilions, belvederes and corridors, because only buildings like these can generate spatial changes between water and land. Hence the saying, "A garden must be segmented; a body of water must be made to bend." Of all the waterside roofed walkways extant today, the one in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden is the most celebrated, and the one in the Plum Flower Villa seems to be a replica of it. It is not unfounded to say that all the gardens in the former kingdom of Wu, that is, the Jiangnan area, can be traced back to the same root.

The venerable Tong Jun (1900-1983) [10] says of the Humble Administrator's Garden,

> The roads are concealed beneath mosses and lichens, whereas the mountains and ponds look like born of nature. Even the faded color and peeled lacquer of the buildings fill the garden with a cornucopia of delights.

Indeed, a traditional garden's slightly worn-out appearance can in no way spoil the integrity of its hill and dale—its natural rustic looks, indeed, beat tons of tawdry ornamentation. By contrast, like a seven-treasure terraced pavilion having been torn apart, the scenery of Suzhou's fabulous Lingering Garden has become fragmentary, which means damages, however minor, still spell doom for scenic wonders. In some well-known gardens today, everything is fine when no refurbishment is going on, but once refurbishment comes under way, it is often overdone. In the Humble Administrator's Garden, pond embankments used to be lined by interlocking earth and rock in a jigsaw fashion, but today not an iota of earth can be found there, so that the pond looks like a man flashing gold teeth in his mouth. When the Eight-Tone Gully in the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi lost its tones, the garden is robbed of its former glory right away. We should be careful about all this, shouldn't we?

Scenery is brought into bold relief when its outline is drawn. Not long ago I was invited to Changzhou, Jiangsu province, for discussions about the design of a so-called "Red Plum Belvedere-Garden." Now that the garden was named after the Red Plum Belvedere on the premises, I suggested that red plums be its theme. But to my dismay, plum trees had been planted all over that garden—instead of "Red Plum Belvedere," it should be renamed "Plum Tree Nursery." In that way, nobody could turn such a place into a garden overnight. I remember that during the discussion session I suggested to run a corridor across the garden, with plum trees judiciously spread out on both sides. In this way, the trees could toss their slanting shadows to the scene, while the delicate aroma of plum flowers could waft along with the visitor's swinging sleeves. The presence of the red plum could be easily felt even if the garden were not named after it. The corridor could also serve to

outline the garden's shape, with the scenery evolving into a montage of pictures wherever the visitor finds himself. Thus "the few can prevail over the many," and "from the minute detail one can see the big picture."

It is harder to make a garden look commodious by keeping its scenery well scattered than to crowd it with scenes and sights. In the same token, it is easy to be ornate and flashy but difficult to stay simple and in good taste—scenic vistas ought to be well scattered to prevent a garden from losing its spaciousness, and gardens should be kept simple and tasteful to avoid looking humble and shabby. The reason why the middle section of the Humble Administrator's Garden has been celebrated all over the Jiangnan area from the Ming to this day is exactly because it has maintained its simplicity and good taste through well-diffused attractions. Unfortunately, such reasoning seems to be lost on the gardener-makers of today.

Our forbears made a point of naming the gardens they had just built, but such names were invariably well-conceived rather than jumbled together. Yang Zhaolu (*fl* . 17th century) [11] writes of the Approximate Garden in Changzhou,

> Upon returning to my hometown on sick leave, I bought six to seven *mu* of wasteland behind the Sutra Annotation Hall. After five years of painstaking labour, I produced something that approximates to a garden. So I call it "Approximate Garden."

From this terse account of the origin of a garden's name, we come to know it was a product of a man's modesty and self-restraint. I remember seeing a poorly designed pavilion in the Rainy Lake Park in Ma'anshan, Anhui, a few years ago. At my host's request, I named it "Temporary Pavilion," a name that speaks for itself, that everyone understands, and that stands contrary to such big names as "Grand View Garden" and "Hall with Ten Thousand Willows."

The gardens of Suzhou have considerably influenced the stage design and decoration of the traditional Chinese theater. Of course, natural scenery cannot be mentioned in the same breath as stage property, but it is not uncommon to see garden buildings imitating stage settings, some looking like the intricately crafted paper models on sale in the City God's Temple of Shanghai, and some looking like facsimiles of old paintings, in the same way as a woman stroking her coiffure in coquettish provocation.

Latticed windows play an apparent part in "view diverting" and "view ushering." A large garden can have its views diverted, but for small gardens, scenery can only be ushered in. The Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden is actually a courtyard whose latticed windows help usher in views from the large garden beyond its walls. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence of Suzhou is small, but the large lattice windows that flank its front gate are instant failures in that, aside from their ill-fitting size, they expose all the garden's views to the outside world, so that it has no implicit beauty whatsoever to speak of. The newly built front gateway of the Humble Administrator's Garden is another awkward structure, for its monastic design could likely lead visitors to mistake the garden for a temple. Another tendency that flies in the face of garden-making precepts is the erection of a grand building that overshadows or dwarfs the scenic resort or place of historic interest next to it. Examples like this are too many to be counted. As modesty is a celebrated virtue in this nation, only when a new structure is built to supplement a traditional garden can it draw rave reviews.

> Having found ponds and chambers altered wilfully, and cultural heritages gone down the drain, my eyes brim with tears as I mount the tower.

This line is quoted from my poem dedicated to the late Liang Sicheng (1901-1972) [12] and Liu Dunzhen. I wrote it a few years ago after I saw the damages

done to some gardens that I had happened upon on a return visit to Yangzhou. Today, however, I am in a different mood as I finish writing this essay, "On Gardens 2."

续说园

造园一名构园，重在构字，含意至深。深在思致，妙在情趣，非仅土木绿化之事。杜甫《陪郑广文游何将军山林十首》《重过何氏五首》，一路写来，园中有景，景中有人，人与景合，景因人异。吟得与构园息息相通，“名园依绿水，野竹上青霄”，“绿垂风折笋，红绽雨肥梅”，园中景也。“兴移无洒扫，随意坐莓苔”，“石阑斜点笔，桐叶坐题诗”，景中人也。有此境界，方可悟构园神理。

风花雪月，客观存在，构园者能招之即来，听我驱使，则境界自出。苏州网师园，有亭名“月到风来”，临池西向，有粉墙若屏，正撷此景精华，风月为我所有矣。西湖三潭印月，如无潭则景不存，谓之点景。画龙点睛，破壁而出，其理自同。有时一景“相看好处无一言”，必藉之以题辞，辞出而景生。《红楼梦》“大观园试才题对额”一回（第十七回），描写大观园工程告竣，各处亭台楼阁要题对额，说：“若大景致，若干亭榭，无字标题，任是花柳山水，也断不能生色。”由此可见题辞是起“点景”之作用。题辞必须流连光景，细心揣摩，谓之“寻景”。清人江弢叔有诗云：“我要寻诗定是痴，诗来寻我却难辞；今朝又被诗寻着，满眼溪山独去时。”“寻景”达到这一境界，题辞才显神来之笔。

我国古代造园，大都以建筑物为开路。私家园林，必先造花厅，然后布置树石，往往边筑边拆，边拆边改，翻工多次，而后妥帖。沈元禄记古猗园谓：“奠一园之体势者，莫如堂；据一园之形胜者，莫如山。”盖园以建筑为主，树石为辅，树石为建筑之连缀物也。今则不然，往往先凿池铺路，主体建筑反落其后，一园未成，辄动万金，而游人尚无栖身之处，主次倒置，遂成空园。至于绿化，有些园林、风景区、名胜古迹，砍老木，栽新树，俨若苗圃，美其名为“以园养园”，亦悖常理。

园既有“寻景”，又有“引景”。何谓“引景”？即点景引人。西湖雷峰塔圮后，南山之景全虚。景有情则显，情之源来于人。“芳草有情，夕阳无语，雁横南浦，人倚西楼。”无楼便无人，无人即无情，无情亦无景，此景关键在楼。证此可见建筑物之于园林及风景区的重要性了。

前人安排景色，皆有设想，其与具体环境不能分隔，始有独到之笔。西湖满觉陇一径通幽，数峰环抱，故配以桂丛，香溢不散，而泉流淙淙，山气霏霏，花滋而馥郁，宜其秋日赏桂，游人信步盘桓，流连忘返。闻今已开公路，宽道扬尘，此景顿败。至于小园植树，其具芬芳者，皆宜围墙。而芭蕉分翠，忌风碎叶，故栽于墙根屋角；牡丹香花，向阳斯盛，须植于主厅之南。此说明植物种植，有藏有露之别。

盆栽之妙在小中见大。“栽来小树连盆活，缩得群峰入座青”，乃见巧虑。今则越放越大，无异置大象于金丝鸟笼。盆栽三要：一本，二盆，三架，缺一不可。宜静观，须孤赏。

我国古代园林多封闭，以有限面积，造无限空间，故“空灵”二字，为造园之要谛。花木重姿态，山石贵丘壑，以少胜多，须概括、提炼。曾记一戏台联：“三五步，行遍天下；六七人，雄会万师。”演剧如此，造园亦然。

白皮松独步中国园林，因其体形松秀，株干古拙，虽少年已是成人之概。杨柳亦宜装点园林，古人诗词中屡见不鲜，且有以万柳名园者。但江南园林则罕见之，因柳宜濒水，植之宜三五成行，叶重枝密，如帷如幄，少透漏之致，一般小园，不能相称。而北国园林，面积较大，高柳侵云，长条拂水，柔情万千，别饶风姿，为园林生色不少。故具体事物必具体分析，不能强求一律。有谓南方园林不植杨柳，因蒲柳早衰，为不吉之兆。果若是，则拙政园何来“柳荫路曲”一景呢？

风景区树木，皆有其地方特色。即以松而论，有天目山松、黄山松、泰山松等，因地制宜，以标识各座名山的天然秀色。如今有不少“摩登”园林家，以“洋为中用”来美化祖国河山，用心极苦。即以雪松

而论，几如药中之有青霉素，可治百病，全国园林几将遍植。“白门（南京）杨柳可藏鸦”，“绿杨城郭是扬州”，今皆柳老不飞絮，户户有雪松了。泰山原以泰山松独步天下，今在岱庙中也种上雪松，古建筑居然西装革履，无以名之，名之曰“不伦不类”。

园林中亭台楼阁，山石水池，其布局亦各有地方风格，差异特甚。旧时岭南园林，每周以楼，高树深池，阴翳生凉，水殿风来，溽暑顿消，而竹影兰香，时盈客袖，此唯岭南园林得之，故能与他处园林分庭抗衡。

园林中求色，不能以实求之。北国园林，以翠松朱廊衬以蓝天白云，以有色胜。江南园林，小阁临流，粉墙低桠，得万千形象之变。白本非色，而色自生；池水无色，而色最丰。色中求色，不如无色中求色。故园林当于无景处求景，无声处求声，动中求动，不如静中求动。景中有景，园林之大镜、大池也，皆于无景中得之。

小园树宜多落叶，以疏植之，取其空透；大园树宜适当补常绿，则旷处有物。此为以疏救塞，以密补旷之法。落叶树能见四季，常绿树能守岁寒，北国早寒，故多植松柏。

石无定形，山有定法。所谓法者，脉络气势之谓，与画理一也。诗有律而诗亡，词有谱而词衰，汉魏古风、北宋小令，其卓绝处不能以格律绳之者。至于学究咏诗，经生填词，了无性灵，遑论境界。造园之道，消息相通。

假山平处见高低，直中求曲折，大处着眼，小处入手。黄石山起脚易，收顶难；湖石山起脚难，收顶易。黄石山要浑厚中见空灵，湖石山要空灵中寓浑厚。简言之，黄石山失之少变化，湖石山失之太琐碎。石形、石质、石纹、石理，皆有不同，不能一律视之，中存辩证之理。叠黄石山能做到面面有情，多转折；叠湖石山能达到宛转多姿，少做作，此难能者。

叠石重拙难，树古朴之峰尤难，森严石壁更非易致。而石矶、石

坡、石磴、石步，正如云林小品，其不经意处，亦即全神最贯注处，非用极大心思，反复推敲，对全景作彻底之分析解剖，然后以轻灵之笔，随意着墨，正如颊上三毛，全神飞动。不经意之处，要格外经意。明代假山，其厚重处，耐人寻味者正在此。清代同光时期假山，欲以巧取胜，反趋纤弱，实则巧夺天工之假山，未有不从重拙中来。黄石之美在于重拙，自然之理也。没其质性，必无佳构。

明代假山，其布局至简，磴道、平台、主峰、洞壑，数事而已，千变万化，其妙在于开合。何以言之？开者山必有分，以涧谷出之，上海豫园大假山佳例也。合者必主峰突兀，层次分明，而山之余脉，石之散点，皆开之法也。故旱假山之山根、散石，水假山之石矶、石濑，其用意一也。明人山水画多简洁，清人山水画多繁琐，其影响两代叠山，不无关系。

明张岱《陶庵梦忆》中评仪征汪园三峰石云："余观其弃地下一白石，高一丈、阔二丈而痴，痴妙。一黑石阔八尺、高丈五而瘦，瘦妙。"痴妙，瘦妙，张岱以"痴"字、"瘦"字品石，盖寓情在石。清龚自珍品人用"清丑"一辞，移以品石极善。广州园林新点黄蜡石，甚顽。指出，"顽"字，可补张岱二妙之不足。

假山有旱园水做之法，如上海嘉定秋霞圃之后部，扬州二分明月楼前部之叠石，皆此例也。园中无水，而利用假山之起伏，平地之低降，两者对比，无水而有池意，故云水做。至于水假山以旱假山法出之，旱假山以水假山法出之，则谬矣。因旱假山之脚与水假山之水口两事也。他若水假山用崖道、石矶、湾头，旱假山不能用；反之旱假山之石根，散点又与水假山者异趣。至于黄石不能以湖石法叠，湖石不能运黄石法，其理更明。总之，观天然之山水，参画理之所示，外师造化，中发心源，举一反三，无往而不胜。

园林有大园包小园，风景有大湖包小湖，西湖三潭印月为后者佳例。明人钟伯敬既撰《梅花墅记》："园于水。水之上下左右，高者为

台，深者为室；虚者为亭，曲者为廊；横者为渡，竖者为石；动植者为花鸟，往来者为游人，无非园者。然则人何必各有其园也。身处园中，不知其为园。园之中各有园，而后知其为园，此人情也。”造园之学，有通哲理，可参证。

园外之景与园内之景，对比成趣，互相呼应，相地之妙，技见于斯。钟伯敬《梅花墅记》又云：“大要三吴之水，至甫里（用直）始畅。墅外数武反不见水，水反在户以内。盖别为暗窦，引水入园。开扉坦步，过杞菊斋……登阁所见，不尽为水。然亭之所跨，廊之所往，桥之所踞，石所卧立，垂杨修竹之所冒荫，则皆水也。……从阁上缀目新眺，见廊周于水，墙周于廊，又若有阁亭亭处墙外者。林木荇藻，竟川含绿，染人衣裾，如可承揽，然不可得即至也。……又穿小酉洞，憩招爽亭，苔石啮波，曰锦淙滩。诣修廊，中隔水外者，竹树表里之，流响交光，分风争日，往往可即，而仓卒莫定其处，姑以廊标之。”文中所述之园，以水为主，而用水有隐有显，有内有外，有抑扬、曲折。而使水归我所用，则以亭阁廊等左右之，其造成水旱二层之空间变化者，唯建筑能之。故“园必隔，水必曲”。今日所存水廊，盛称拙政园西部者，而此梅花墅之水犹仿佛似之。知吴中园林渊源相承，固有所自也。

童寯老人曾谓，拙政园“藓苔蔽路，而山池天然，丹青淡剥，反觉逸趣横生”。真小颓风范，丘壑独存，此言园林苍古之境，有胜藻饰。而苏州留园华瞻，如七宝楼台拆下不成片段，故稍损易见败状。近时名胜园林，不修则已，一修便过了头。苏州拙政园水池驳岸，本土石相错，如今无寸土可见，宛若满口金牙。无锡寄畅园八音涧失调，顿逊前观，可不慎乎？可不慎乎？

景之显在于“勾勒”。最近应常州之约，共商红梅阁园之布局。我认为园既名红梅阁，当以红梅出之，奈数顷之地遍植红梅，名为梅圃可矣，称园林则不当，且非朝夕所能得之者。我建议园贯以廊，廊外参差植梅，疏影横斜，人行其间，暗香随衣，不以红梅名园，而游者自得梅

矣。其景物之妙，在于以廊“勾勒”，处处成图，所谓少可以胜多，小可以见大。

园林密易疏难，绮丽易雅淡难，疏而不失旷，雅淡不流寒酸。拙政园中部两者兼而得之，宜乎自明迄今，誉满江南，但今日修园林未明此理。

古人构园成必题名，皆有托意，非泛泛为之者。清初杨兆鲁营常州近园，其记云：“自抱疴归来，于注经堂后买废地六七亩，经营相度，历五年于兹，近似乎园，故题曰近园。”知园名之所自，谦仰称之。忆前年于马鞍山市雨湖公园，见一亭甚劣，尚无名。属我命之，我题为“暂亭”，意在不言中，而人自得之。其与“大观园”“万柳堂”之类者，适反笔出之。

苏州园林，古典剧之舞台装饰，颇受其影响，但实物与布景不能相提并论。今则见园林建筑又仿舞台装饰者，玲珑剔透，轻巧可举，活像上海城隍庙之“巧玲珑”（纸扎物）。又如画之临摹本，搔首弄姿，无异东施效颦。

漏窗在园林中起“泄景”“引景”作用，大园景可泄，小园景，则宜引不宜泄。拙政园“海棠春坞”，庭院也，其漏窗能引大园之景。反之，苏州怡园不大，园门旁开两大漏窗，顿成败笔，形既不称，景终外暴，无含蓄之美矣。拙政园新建大门，庙堂气太甚，颇近祠宇，其于园林不得体者有若此。同为违反园林设计之原则，如于风景区及名胜古迹之旁，新建建筑往往喧宾夺主，其例甚多。谦虚为美德，尚望甘当配角，博得大家的好评。

“池馆已随人意改，遗篇犹逐水东流，漫盈清泪上高楼。”这是我前几年重到扬州，看到园林被破坏的情景，并怀念已故的梁思成、刘敦桢二前辈而写的几句词句，当时是有感触的。今续为说园，亦有所感而发，但心境各异。

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ON GARDENS 3

Written in May 1980 in a guesthouse in Zhenjiang

Having finished the first two instalments of this discourse on the Chinese garden, I found I was so sentimentally attached to this field of endeavour that I could not call it quits any time soon. Sitting by the window of my studio on a sunny day, I set pen to paper once again to go on with this long and jumbled presentation in hopes to seek counsel and correction. Hence the title of this instalment, "On Gardens 3."

Tao Yuanming (*c* . 365-427), active during the interregnum between the Eastern Jin (317-420) and the Song (420-479) of the Southern Dynasties (420-589), writes in his essay "The Peach Blossom Spring":

> There are no other species of trees [but peaches];
>
> Fresh and lovely are aromatic grass and flowers.

These lines on the planting of flowers and trees in a scenic resort have become one of two unrivalled poetic gems along with his following lines,

> Picking chrysanthemums by East Fence,
>
> I gaze pensively on the south mountains.

The former line indicates that peach trees ought to be planted in groves and watched at a distance, so that their thick clusters of flowers, set daintily against greensward, arrest the eye spontaneously with the vista thus created. The latter line says nothing of the craft of gardens, but its implication on "view borrowing" is self-evident.

Watching mountains is like flipping over the pages of an album of paintings, which brings one view after another into focus; touring a mountain

is like unfolding a long hand scroll of painting, which shows the continuity of a scenic scene. Sights for in-situ or in-motion viewing conjure up different aesthetic appeals. The point is that the observer "I" is always seen in the picture like in the following lines,

Alluring is the green mountain that I see;
I hope it'll stay this way when it sees me.

Where do such appeals stem from? From the poetic colophon on a painting or an inscription dedicated to a scenic sight. A painting without a colophon is uncouth; a view lacking a stone inscription (an inscribed board, or a couplet for that matter) looks perplexing. Literature and art are, indeed, inseparable. In his verse "Homeward Bound I Go!" Tao Yuanming portrays motion and sound beyond a view:

Purposeless, clouds idle away from mountain recess;
Tired of travels, it's time to go home the bird knows.

Upon arriving at the Slender West Lake in Yangzhou for a short visit one day, I got off the boat and went ashore to stop at the Moon Platform on the Lesser Golden Hill. While there, I went in-motion viewing by sauntering about to marvel at the moon, and did some in-situ viewing when I paused to get a personal touch with the sight. All the while the aroma of orchids kept wafting in and the shadows of bamboos quivered, the birds chirped to echo the creaking oars, and the setting sun tossed slanting rays on the windows. In this interplay of aroma, shadow, light and sound, one discovers motion through stillness, and finds stillness ensconced in motion. The law of dialectics is obviously at work in this typical example of garden-making.

When a garden is being made, scenery is created intentionally or happened upon unintentionally. This is particularly the case with private gardens, where the designer often feels helpless with the lack of space.

However, such helplessness is oftentimes rescued with a desperate stroke that saves the entire garden. At the corner of the "Tiny Lodge at Floral Wharf" in the Lingering Garden, a long, narrow trail is segmented by a brick gate in a wall so that the visitor is enticed to explore how deep this otherwise teeny-weeny courtyard can be.

Things present cannot prove things past, nor can things foreign bear out things Chinese. The present and the past have their respective systems, and so have China and other nations. Therefore, no one is allowed to resurrect a ghost in someone else's corpse. It is equally absurd to impose one's opinion upon an ancient architect without knowing his philosophy and the functions of the buildings he designed. Take, for example, the shortcut passageway along the eastern wall of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou. Serving the same purpose as the "avoidance alleyway" in a mansion to keep women folk and servants off the male guests and masters of an estate, this passageway is set in striking contrast to a corridor straying up a mountain opposite it. Indeed,

> No road is more convenient than a shortcut, but only a circuitous trail can ensure a wonderfest for the visitor.

What I am driving at here is that, to make convincing comments on a garden, one must delve into its history and, more than anything else, become well acquainted with the lifestyle of its day. Every garden provides an integral sightseeing route that cannot be put upside down. This is like a piece of writing that must have a beginning, development, transition and a conclusion, or you may also compare it to a hand scroll of painting that must have a frontispiece at the right side, the painting itself in the middle, and a margin at the left side for colophons. Today, however, the Humble Administrator's Garden has shifted its entrance to a side gate in its eastern section, and the

Master-of-Fishnets Garden is entered from the back door of its northern part —both arrangements fly in the face of common sense and bring to mind the fun-spoiling things listed in *Yishan's Records of Miscellaneous Things* by Li Shangyin (813-858) [1] :

> Shooing passers-by away in a pine forest; shedding tears while watching flowers; laying out a mat on mosses and lichens; sunning one's underwear on a flowering tree's branch; carrying heavy luggage on a springtime pleasure trip; tethering a horse to a stalagmite; holding a torch under the moon; building a storied house behind a mountain; growing vegetables in an orchard; and breeding poultry under a flower trellis.

To this list I would add one more item, that is, "Opening a back door to let in visitors." I wonder what our garden managers will think of it. There is a saying in Suzhou that the city's four renowned gardens—the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, the Lion's Grove, the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the Lingering Garden—belong respectively to the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. The fact is, however, the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden were both built in the Ming and rebuilt in the Qing, which makes people wonder why each of them should be dated back to a different dynasty. In my opinion, they would not have become Suzhou's "Big Four" without different personalities: the Masterof-Fishnets Garden is made for in-situ viewing and the Humble Administrator's Garden for in-motion viewing, while the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is known for its ancient looks and the Lingering Garden for its sumptuous decoration. In this way, visitors can easily know what the "Big Four" really stand for.

Garden-making is comparable to creative writing that allows for a wealth of changes. Can anyone come up with a good composition who, instead of seeking forcefulness of articulation and soundness of conception,

depends solely on play of words? The key to literature lies in style and momentum, which can be masculinely virile or femininely gentle. Can landscape gardening stay different? Jumbled logic and incoherence never yield a fluent and coherent piece of writing. A garden-maker bent on making a name for himself with a single pavilion or verandah goes nowhere, because structures like these, though much extolled today as dainty garden-making "sketches," can hardly reflect the essence of Chinese culture, let alone foster a riveting aura in a garden to be laid out.

Buildings in the south are represented by the hut that is mostly open, and those in the north are typified by the cabin that is mostly closed, with the former originating from bird nests and the latter from animal dens. That is why in the south open structures are supplemented with luxuriant trees and slender bamboos, a combination that was exactly the embryo of south China's gardens. Roominess and airiness are as essential to gardens as they are to buildings. This is where northern gardens compare unfavorably with their southern and central China counterparts, because northern buildings are commended mostly for their profusion of doors and windows, as seclusion gets in the way of ventilation and blocks the view. As to dwelling houses, they must evince an endearing human touch, which is best illustrated in this remark of Tao Yuanming:

> Birds are lucky having nests to lay back on.
>
> In my case, I do have a home I can dote on.

Small gardens, like a tiny room with one or two famous paintings hanging in it, are suitable for in-situ viewing. Large gardens, evocative of a big art gallery, are appropriate for in-motion viewing. The former should be implicit and thought-provoking; the latter would look insipid and bland if they lack highlight scenery. A garden's function changes with the times, so does the

creation of scenic attractions.

The way gardens are named is changing as well. It worked in pre-1949 years to call every garden "park," so that they could be told apart from private gardens, but this practice seems questionable nowadays. I once questioned the wisdom of turning every garden into a "park." Today, the city of Nantong in Jiangsu province has renamed its Wolf Hill Park "Northern Foothill Garden," Suzhou has renamed its East City Park "East Garden," and Kaifeng's Bianjing Park has become "Bianyuan Garden"—it seems the three cities have become national trendsetters in this regard. Different categories of gardens, such as city gardens, suburban gardens, flatland gardens and piedmont gardens, differ from one another in environment and topography, and therefore should not be designed identically.

The trouble with refurbishing gardens handed down by our forebears is that, in most cases, we are not clear about their original conceptions. I suggest such gardens be handled in two ways, that is, either to restore them or to change them. Before a famous garden is restored, relevant literature and pictures must be canvassed; otherwise, we run the risk of changing it arbitrarily. This is like mounting an old painting, in which a missing brush stroke must be restored to its original style and coloration, for only thus can the integrity of the painting stay intact. If we employ the artificial-mountain construction expertise of Ge Yuliang (1764-1830) to refurbish a rockery of the Ming (1368-1644), it is like grafting the orthodox brushwork techniques of the Four Wangs of the early Qing [2] onto Shitao's landscape painting of an untrammeled style—the work will be robbed of its originality. By damaging such a cultural artefact, we are doing our ancestors a monstrous disservice. If a garden has fallen into total decay but what remains of its artificial mountains and waters can still be used, I see nothing wrong to rebuild it with

a modern design. This is what I mean by "changing a garden."

The advent of potted plants and miniature landscapes in our country was closely related to architecture. In ancient times, dwellings lacked space and sunshine for they were mostly a combination of courtyards and atriums encircled by a wall or a storied walkway for rain-collecting and ventilating purposes. Residents in the Jiangnan area, which belonged to the fiefdom of Wu during the late Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC), are in the habit of arranging small rocks and plants into miniature landscapes to decorate their dwellings. For the potted plants or miniature landscapes to be enjoyable, the species chosen should be able to live on the sunshine and warmth that were allowed only briefly in such dwellings. The philosophy behind the potted plants is best portrayed in the poem of Su Shi (1037-1101),

> Beyond a tiny window the drizzle off and on goes,
> Yet even more enticing are the dimmed vistas.
> Though the empty yard sunshine lacks,
> Its grasses and trees still look lustrous.

All delightful things are probably born of life's everyday needs, for when one comes to a dead end, he thinks of changing his course, and only through such a change can he find his way out. This is what is meant by "survival of the fittest." Today, however, big and spacious gardens often display potted plants by the hundred, or transplant trees three meters tall in huge pots—they are going big for unwarranted reasons. Subject to excess evaporation resulting from high wind and the scorching sun, these miniature landscapes, made in violation of the principles for potted plants, have little chance of survival.

A sumptuous garden can hardly look simple and delicate, and a garden with subdued elegance can hardly achieve depth. Simplicity saves a garden from vulgarity, and depth makes up for the lack of taste. A few simple brush

strokes can be pregnant with meaning, and a mere sketch can ooze heroic verve. As Yan Shu (991-1055) [3] puts it,

The moonlight floods a yard full of pear flowers;

A breeze wafts over a pond amid willow catkins.

A brilliant piece of art tends to look colorful without vulgarity and become tasteful in simplicity. A garden belonging to royalty is likely to look too elaborate whereas a private garden, for the owner's limited resources, tends to be humble and shabby. The best way to avoid going too far or falling too short is to go fifty-fifty between the two extremes. To part with what one loves one must endure the pain, and to make up for what is lacking one must not be stingy. In painting, every brush stroke counts, so that one must think it over before committing brush to paper. Only thus can a young lady's painting be free from pretentious femininity; only thus can a Buddhist or Taoist painting shed chilliness and desolation. Nevertheless, fine examples are few and far between nowadays. Forcefulness ought to be modulated with grace while gracefulness ought to look forceful. An actor must not appear humble and pedantic when playing an inexperienced young scholar's role, and he must look upright and magnanimous when acting in the role of a general or a marshal, but in either case excellence is hard to come by. The craft of gardens is intimately associated with other branches of art. That is why I say that the gardens of the Ming, their differences in form notwithstanding, were born of the same ideas and sentiments as the literature, art and theater of their day.

Only those who appreciate gardens can craft gardens; only those who aim high can muster their abilities to measure up to it. A man who cannot tell tastes apart can never come up with a cookbook. In the same token, those in charge of making gardens ought to be a cut above field workers in education and cultural endowment. Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642) says,

> Thirty percent of the success of a garden created is attributed to the builder, and seventy percent of it is owed to its designer.

This old saying is in no way meant to belittle field workers, for it is meant merely to emphasize the importance of garden designers. The reason why the saying has become an excuse to put Ji Cheng under fire today is because those who read his *The Craft of Gardens* , the world's first ever monograph dedicated to landscaping and garden architecture, don't really understand an iota of it. To impose a political hat on academic discussion—this trend should never be made to last!

Truth becomes falsehood when falsehood usurps truth; real becomes surreal where surreal becomes real. In the Grand View Garden portrayed in *A Dream of Red Mansions* , there is truth in falsehood and falsehood in truth, and there are things that the author sees with his own eyes as well as things that he fabricates. This is why readers find the novel intriguing. In the same token, an artificial mountain is fantastic if it looks real, but a real mountain becomes weird if it looks unreal. A real person may look like a wax figure, and a wax figure may look real, herein lies the trick. The key to successful garden-making lies in grasping its quintessence, but it is really disappointing that quite a few people have dedicated their careers to this craft but never learned how to grasp it! It is, indeed, challenging to craft a garden. To erect an artificial mountain peak in a garden is an undertaking that conceals illusion in reality—meaning that the designer should approach the rockery with his heart and go further to bring his creation to life by imparting a personality to it.

Conception, which Wang Guowei (1877-1927) puts as "envisioned setting" in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World* , is as pivotal to literature and art as it is to landscape gardening. This term can be interpreted

and expressed differently on different subjects, so that there is poetic conception in poetry, lyrical conception in lyrics, and musical conception in music. Poetic conception can be perceived in Chang Jian's [4] "An Inscription Dedicated to the Posterior Meditation Chamber of the Cleaved Mountain Temple":

A path leads to a quiet realm of bough and flower,
In whose recess is hidden a meditation chamber.

Lyrical conception can be perceived in Yan Jidao's "Riverside Narcissus":

Inebriated, I dreamed of a shut-up terraced tower,
Sobering up, I saw curtains hanging a lot lower.

And musical conception can be perceived in "Autumn Reverie" by the master playwright Ma Zhiyuan (*c* . 1250-*c* . 1324) [5] :

Dry vines, crows nesting in old tree at sunset;
A small bridge on a rivulet rippling by a hut.

Conception changes with the setting, and the same happens to garden-making as well. A garden's poetic sentiment and pictorial imagination find expression in actual scenes and sights known collectively as "envisioned setting."

Imagined aura fades in a vista too revealing;
It enhances if such vista is concealed subtly.

Water ought to be brought in along the lie of land;
Never should pine trees be transplanted in rows.

Where there's kiosk or terrace there is water;
Thou' houses are many, hills can't be blocked.

The number of lofts and decks may be limited,

Their fascinations can be limitless;

There may be just a single brook,

It can still tangle and entangle by itself.

These quotations were written by our forebears while sight-seeing or appreciating a particular painting, but all the conceptions implied in them are compatible to garden-making. If a garden can look like what one of these quotes describes, then it speaks volumes for the aura its creator has conceived for it.

In garden-making the relationship between mountain and water cannot be severed, nor can they be handled separately or in stereotyped ways, because they supplement each other and can be put together in many a combination. A waterless mountain can look like having a creek or pool at its foot, and a rock-less body of water can have rocks implied in it—in both scenarios mountain and water are mutually containing in a natural high-and-low relationship that, however, can be achieved only with a well-conceived plan. This is exactly the case with the vistas in front of the Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's estate at Suzhou's Iron Bottle Lane.

Artificial mountains in Jiangnan gardens are often accentuated with a white-washed wall that serves as a "sketch pad" on which a compact assembly of steep rockeries is "sketched." Without such a wall, an artificial mountain would look like a pell-mell of rocks. This is why well-structured artificial mountains are such a rarity in big gardens built nowadays. The mountain and water brought into a garden are like the bone and flesh of a living creature or the brush and ink in a Chinese painting. Only with both "bone" and "flesh" and both brush and ink can a painting or artificial mountain come to life, which is why the paintings of the Qing-dynasty master Shitao can stay peerless through the ages. Zheng Xie was a professional

calligrapher, but his paintings, like a garden constructed by an engineer rather than a garden crafter, fall short of lasting appeal because, owing to his stress on brushwork and neglect of nuance in ink application, his paintings have plenty of bones but little flesh.

In a scenic resort or garden, buildings should be positioned in light of the terrain or topography, but the main building should always face one direction squarely and extend at right angles. The reasons are obvious, but they are lost on quite a few unobservant scholars. The temples up the Golden Hill, the Jiao's Mountain, and the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze in Zhenjiang differ in layout and style. The Golden Hill is encircled by temple buildings connected up and down the slopes by a three-dimensional road system; the Jiao's Mountain encircles all the temple buildings arranged in several courtyards in its embrace; and the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze is crowned with a temple that overlooks its surroundings. All the three mountains rise over the same river, the Yangtze, but they look bewitching in different ways. The scenic beauty of the Golden Hill is best enjoyed at a distance; that of the Jiao's Mountain, by keeping the eyesight parallel to the ground; and that of the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze, by looking down from its top. The designers of this trio kept their respective observational vintage points in mind when they took great pains on the layout of buildings until perfection was achieved; sublime, indeed, are both their knowledge and expertise.

A mountain need not be tall to look lofty; it is its topographical gradation that matters. A body of water need not be deep; it is its twists and turns that count. The beauty of a towering mountain lies in the scenes and sights deeply seated in it. The reason why the Yushan Mountain of Changshu, the Huishan Mountain of Wuxi, the Shangfang Mountain of

Suzhou, and the mountains on the southern outskirts of Zhenjiang can become the apples in tourists' eyes in the Jiangnan area is because they are richly imbued with these features. Mount Tai leads the Five Holy Mountains because it has both mountains and waters. Despite its beautiful peaks, Mount Huangshan is handicapped by its lack of dashing cascades; it would not have become so renowned without its ocean of misty clouds that flow and ebb constantly in magical ways.

In a scenic resort, roads should be zigzagging rather than straight, and narrow trails ought to outnumber main roads, so that the scenery can be concealed bewitchingly in nooks and crannies. In this way visitors are well scattered and have plenty of views to explore and marvel at, gurgling springs to listen to and rockeries to hang about, and there would be enough settings to rhapsodize or contemplate on. Just as the saying goes, "Mountaineers dread mountains lacking depth; forest lovers dread woods falling short of density." In ancient times, stone stairs were built for mountain climbers to stop for respites and look around every now and then, an arrangement that accords with the physique of us Homo erectus. Today, however, quite a few mountain stairways have been changed into sloping roads that imperil the wayfarers and violate the law governing mountaineering. Worse, some mountain trails have been converted into highways that ruin the natural gullies and peaks and enshroud mountains in choking traffic dust, while the tourists, instead of having a good time sightseeing, are compelled to scramble with automobiles for the right of the road. In old days, the Twilight Mist Cave at the West Lake could only be reached by a few mountain tracks, but people today can virtually "descend" on it directly by automobiles; thus an otherwise fun-filled outing into the mountains is reduced to what looks like a flatland journey to the Peak Flown In from Afar at the Soul's Retreat Temple. You may applaud

the convenience the highway brings to the journey, but where on earth are the spectacular morning mist and sunset glow that are part and parcel of the fun?

I learned that bus routes are being pencilled out for all the mountain resorts around the West Lake to cater to those who want to see it all on a single-day tour. I personally doubt the wisdom of such a plan, for once it comes under way, the size of the whole scenic zone will start shrinking with each passing day, while the principle that sight-seeing routes ought to be lengthened is violated. Being a tourist differs in purpose from being a hasty wayfarer. Sightseeing takes time, whereas traveling stresses speediness, but today these two things seem to have been put upside down. A highway spiralling up a solitary mountain makes it difficult to see fabulous sights in its deep recesses; like a snake coiling around someone's neck, such a road also dismembers the mountain and robs it of its lush verdure and breathtaking loftiness. The merits or demerits of it are evidenced by the roads already built on the Jade Emperor Mountain at the West Lake and the Drum Mountain of Fuzhou, but in the latter case, the ugliness of the road is fortunately covered up by multiple layers of mountain slopes. Absolute discretion ought to be applied before roads are paved in famous mountains because their legendary scenery can disappear forever once the demolition commences, even though the good or ill wrought by our garden creators can only be judged by future generations. It is imperative that old paths leading into mountains be properly preserved, at least for the sake of those willing to make unhurried journeys up there. Fountainheads are a mountain's eyes, but the bad news is that in a number of celebrated scenic resorts, such "eyes" have been damaged beyond repair. The Spouting Spring in Jinan, Shandong province, has lost its musical gurgles, and the Nine Creeks Gully in the mountains west of the West Lake are drying out—such happenings can on no account be overlooked.

Destroying natural veins when reclaiming mountains, and digging wells to draw water from fountainheads—engineering projects undertaken in contradiction to landscaping plans can only jeopardize local interests and dismay landscape gardeners. Storied buildings, those in gardens in particular, should be roomy and airy, so that, as the poem goes,

> Morn, painted beams "fly" over south bank into stratus;
>
> Dusk, a pearled veil unfurls raindrops from west peaks.

Pine trees ought to be well spaced; their graceful shapes can shine forth only if they have fewer boughs and leaves. Only with both sturdiness and grace can a tree look impressive. Such unity of opposites always brings good effects. Burgeoning willows must have ancient-looking trunks, and bamboo groves must show off their tips with tender leaves. However, on the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi on the West Lake, all the old willows have been replaced with new saplings, and the place is robbed of its classical spectacle as a result. How can government reshuffling methods be applied to garden management?

Scenic resorts today are invariably equipped with many tea houses and toilets. Toilets should be concealed for obvious reasons but in our gardens, virtually all of them are ornamented with see-through lattice windows that are intended to evoke "dainty scenic sketches." But in reality they are not. I think perhaps it is my fault to publicize such windows in my 1953 book *Lattice Windows* , in which I wrote this doggerel:

> I cry unfair for lattice windows misplaced,
>
> To grace toilets all of them are being forced.

Lattice windows are designed to "divulge" views. Are there any views that a toilet is supposed to "divulge"? I remember seeing a newly built toilet whose walls were bristled with lattice windows, with a stone erected to its left

inscribed with the words, "Fragrant Spring," while the inscription on another stone to its right says, "Flying Dragons and Dancing Phoenixes." People cannot but laugh out loud upon seeing them.

Tea houses, in my opinion, are suitable for sizeable scenic resorts, so that visitors can come to quench their thirst, but they are unnecessary in small scenic spots like the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, which do not have enough space to spare for such facilities in the first place. The bad news is that most tea houses built in large scenic resorts look like a hotel or restaurant—seldom have I seen an appropriate one among them. The rub here is that what is primary and what is secondary are confounded, and that the incidental is taken for the fundamental. It seems commercialism is taking over our scenic resorts and gardens, with sightseeing tours being converted into shopping tours. Thus a venerated Buddhist temple becomes the venue of a temple fair, and wherever there is a famous garden there is a market. Indeed,

> Now that the East Fence has become a fair,
>
> Isn't it a shame for many a yellow aster?

Following this line of logic, one may ask, should the Chamber of Gardens be renamed Chamber of Commerce? It is, indeed, a typical case of dereliction of duty on the part of our garden administrators.

Among artificial-mountain builders in central Zhejiang province, technicality overweighs artistry, and cave construction becomes their forte, with the result that the mountains they have built often stand in isolation. The best artificial mountains in Hangzhou are found in the Hu's Estate at Shoe-shaped Ingot Street, the Wu's Estate at School Official Lane, and the Literary Waves Belvedere at the Gushan Mountain for the single reason that all of them are supplemented with bodies of water. A new type of artificial

mountains emerged in more recent years, which were built on level ground, with a grotto inside of them and a terrace at the top. Being the crudest of all artificial mountains, they were invented by artisans of Dongyang, Zhejiang province, who were by no means experts in this field but bricklayers or, in the words of folks in Hangzhou, "sewer builders" out to hoodwink laymen by palming off fakery for the real thing. By the Republican years (1912-1949) the grottos had been replaced with tiny hills topped with a flower deck under the pretext that "caves are, in most cases, ill omens."

In ancient times, artificial mountain crafters belonged geographically to the Suzhou, Nanjing, Yangzhou, Jinhua and Shanghai schools, with the Shanghai school being a hybrid of the Nanjing and Suzhou schools. After the Southern Song, the best known artificial mountain experts, hailed from Wuxing, where they were referred to as "mountain smiths," and from Suzhou, locally known as "garden men." They were called "mountain craftsmen" in central Zhejiang province, "stone masons" in Yangzhou, and "mountain artisans" in Shanghai, the former Songjiang prefecture. The "Stone Masons Zhang and Son"—Zhang Lian (1587-1673) and his son Zhang Ran (*fl* . 17th century) from Songjiang—were so popular among the rich and powerful for their unrivalled expertise that they were eventually summoned to Peking, where their business was handed down to family members collectively known as "Mountain-making Zhangs."

To sum up, the artificial mountains built in the Lake Tai basin are a school of their own. Those in Nanjing and Yangzhou became the "North Jiangsu School," and their counterparts in east Zhejiang belonged in another school. As was the case with any profession or trade, there were always skilled and less skilled artificial mountain builders. The less skilled knew no more than rocks and compiling skills *per se* , and it was beyond them to

examine and select suitable rocks, let alone stone textures and veins. What they were interested in was to "finish a grotto in five days and an artificial mountain in ten days." They went about their business like a children's game, that is, copying and downsizing real mountains without realizing that building a good artificial mountain is nothing short of an art.

To tell whether an artificial mountain is original or a rehashed one, the foot of the mountain and the bottom of its grotto should be examined carefully, because both are the least susceptible to damage and therefore easy to tell if they were rebuilt or rehashed. Close examination of mortar joints, seams and stone veins and texture always yields tell-tale evidence because the seams between rocks can be old or new, the glues or mortar used to put the rocks together come of different formulas, and the patina on stones and the marks of axing and chiselling can be easily discerned. When refurbishing the Lingering Garden in Suzhou during the Jiaqing reign (1796-1820) of the Qing, the then owner, Liu Shu (1759-1816), had a Lake Tai stone fixed on a yellow stone rockery, and the difference is still there for all to see. Old artificial mountains were mostly built by putting many mountain rocks together in compact combinations, and wedges and mortar were applied profusely on the joints to keep the whole thing in balance. Once some of the rocks are moved or torn down, it would be difficult to leave such an artificial mountain's old appearance intact. A well-built artificial mountain must look natural through clever rockwork; its lines should be arranged like tactful brush strokes in a painting, and the space should be "contracted" skilfully by taking individual parts and the whole scene into full account—only by repeatedly weighing over all these factors can a satisfactory work be hammered out.

People are extolling the Gratification Garden in Shanghai lately, but

they are often reticent about a structure that the garden used to be a part of—the Pan's Mansion across a lane to the east on Phoenix Tree Road at Anren Street, known as Anren Cove in old times. As Ye Mengzhu (1623-?) [6] says in *A Compendium on Living in the World* ,

> This is the largest estate in Shanghai. With its front gate opening onto an engraved screen wall, it looks tall and majestic. With row upon row of buildings connected by a double-floor roofed walkway, it is nearly comparable to a prince's vermillion mansion. Its posterior building is built entirely of *Phoebe nanmu* , and all the floors upstairs are paved with bricks so that they feel like level ground. Its structures are gilded or painted red and white, and carved in a most elaborate fashion.

This phenomenal complex stood testimony to the impressive scale of the Gratification Garden in its heyday. The pity is that nothing has been left of it today.

In *A Compendium of Fragrant Cup Studio* (Book Twelve), the early-Qing painter Yun Ge (1633-1690) [7] puts it this way,

> In the eighth month of a *ren-xu* year [1682], I was lodged as a guest in the Humble Administrator's Garden at Wumen [in Suzhou]. Long lines of trees were sodden with refreshing autumn rain when I sat, alone, in the Southern Verandah, and saw an artificial mountain rising high and steep above a pool of clear water from a transverse plateau on the other side of a rippling brook. Following a footpath that winds its way up the mountain, I spotted a grove of scholar trees, tamarisks, willows, junipers and cypresses whose tangled branches reached out into the skies, whereas the lotuses around the pond's embankment sported crimson flowers and emerald leaves. Looking down at the pool, I could count the fish swimming in the limpid water, which enabled me to indulge a little bit in Zhuangzi's fun of strolling along the Hao and Pu rivers. [8] Departing from the

> Southern Verandah, I sauntered past the Bright Snow Pavilion, crossed the Red Bridge, and took a rockeryflanked road that conducted me northward across the transverse plateau to the artificial mountain, where a dyke led me to a small knoll hidden under the rich foliage of trees. There, the Pure Luster Loft sat on the pond opposite the roofed walkway on the other side of the brook, which offered the best vista on the premises.

The highlight of the Humble Administrator's Garden is the aforementioned Southern Verandah, known as the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah today. The Bright Snow Pavilion seems to be the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, and the Red Bridge should be the Zigzagging Bridge. Judging from its location, the Pure Luster Loft should be the Mountain-in-View Loft. Yun Ge's description of the roofed walkway beyond the creek basically tallies with the view of the Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway of today. Yun Ge was actually writing about what he personally saw in this renowned garden from a painter's point of view. If those engaged in garden restoration can gain from his descriptions some insight into the garden's conception, they must belong in the erudite category. "How many people can really catch this song?" in the words of the famed monk-painter Guanxiu (823-912) [9] , but what can we do about it! It is hard to preserve a garden, and even harder to repair it. If you are repairing a garden, you have got to pull off a surprise. I would like to conclude this essay by reiterating the importance of garden history research. Many years ago, the late Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968) wrote me a couplet that says,

> Famous Gardens of Luoyang, Painted Pleasure
> Boats of Yangzhou;
> Old Tales of Wulin [Hangzhou], Archives of
> the Imperial Capital.

In it he lists, by way of exhorting me, the titles of four books on gardens and places of historical interest. Reviewing this couplet again today, I have the feeling that what I have written down in this essay was probably not a waste of time.

说园（三）

余既为《说园》《续说园》，然情之所钟，终难自已，晴窗展纸，再抒鄙见，芜驳之辞，存商求正，以《说园》（三）名之。

晋陶渊明（潜）《桃花源记》："中无杂树，芳草鲜美。"此亦风景区花树栽植之卓见，匠心独具。与"采菊东篱下，悠然见南山"句，同为千古绝唱。前者说明桃花宜群植远观，绿茵衬繁花，其景自出；而后者暗示"借景"。虽不言造园，而理自存。

看山如玩册页，游山如展手卷；一在景之突出，一在景之连续。所谓静动不同，情趣因异，要之必有我存在，所谓"我见青山多妩媚，料青山见我应如是"。何以得之？有赖于题咏。故画不加题则显俗，景无摩崖（或匾对）则难明，文与艺未能分割也。"云无心以出岫，鸟倦飞而知还"，景之外兼及动态声响。余小游扬州瘦西湖，舍舟登岸，止于小金山"月观"，信动观以赏月，赖静观以小体，兰香竹影，鸟语桨声，而一抹夕阳，斜照窗棂，香、影、光、声相交织，静中见动，动中寓静，极辩证之理于造园览景之中。

园林造景，有有意得之者，亦有无意得之者，尤以私家小园，地甚局促，往往于无可奈何之处，而以无可奈何之笔化险为夷，终挽全局。苏州留园之"华步小筑"一角，用砖砌地穴门洞，分隔成狭长小径，得"庭院深深深几许"之趣。

今不能证古，洋不能证中，古今中外自成体系，绝不容借尸还魂，不明当时建筑之功能，与设计者之主导思想，以今人之见强与古人相合，谬矣。试观苏州网师园之东墙下，备仆从出入留此便道，如住宅之设"避弄"。与其对面之径山游廊，具极明显之对比，所谓"径莫便于捷，而又莫妙于迂"，可证。因此，评园必究园史，更须熟悉当时之生活，方言之成理。园有一定之观赏路线，正如文章之有起承转合，手卷

之有引首、卷本、拖尾，有其不可颠倒之整体性。今苏州拙政园入口处为东部边门，网师园入口处为北部后门，大悖常理。记得《义山杂纂》列人间煞风景事有：“松下喝道。看花泪下。苔上铺席。花下晒裈。游春载重。石笋系马。月下把火。背山起楼。果园种菜。花架下养鸡鸭。”等等，今余为之增补一条曰：“开后门以延游客”。质诸园林管理者以为如何？至于苏州以沧浪亭、狮子林、拙政园、留园号称宋、元、明、清四大名园。留园与拙政园同建于明而同重修于清者，何分列于两代，此又令人不解者。余谓以静观为主之网师园，动观为主之拙政园，苍古之沧浪亭，华瞻之留园，合称苏州四大名园，则予游者以易领会园林特征也。

造园如缀文，千变万化，不究全文气势立意，而仅务词汇叠砌者，能有佳构乎？文贵乎气，气有阳刚阴柔之分，行文如是，造园又何独不然。割裂分散，不成文理，藉一亭一榭以斗胜，正今日所乐道之园林小品也。盖不通乎我国文化之特征，难以言造园之气息也。

南方建筑为棚，多敞口；北方建筑为窝，多封闭。前者原出巢居，后者来自穴处。故以敞口之建筑，配茂林修竹之景。园林之始，于此萌芽。园林以空灵为主，建筑亦起同样作用，故北国园林终逊南中。盖建筑以多门窗为胜，以封闭出之，少透漏之妙。而居人之室，更须有亲切之感，“众鸟欣有托，吾亦爱吾庐”，正咏此也。

小园若斗室之悬一二名画，宜静观。大园则如美术展览会之集大成，宜动观。故前者必含蓄耐人寻味，而后者设无吸引人之重点，必平淡无奇。园之功能因时代而变，造景亦有所异，名称亦随之不同，故以小公园、大公园（公园之“公”，系指私园而言）名之，解放前则可，今似多商榷，我曾建议是否皆须冠“公”字。今南通易狼山公园为北麓园，苏州易城东公园为东园，开封易汴京公园为汴园，似得风气之先。至于市园、郊园、平地园、山麓园，各具环境地势之特征，亦不能以等同之法设计之。

整修前人园林，每多不明立意。余谓对旧园有“复园”与“改园”二议。设若名园，必细征文献图集，使之复原，否则以己意为之，等于改园。正如装裱古画，其缺笔处，必以原画之笔法与设色续之，以成全璧。如用戈裕良之叠山法续明人之假山，与以四王之笔法接石涛之山水，顿异旧观，真愧对古人，有损文物矣。若一般园林，颓败已极，残山剩水，犹可资用，以今人之意修改，亦无不可，姑名之曰“改园”。

我国盆栽之产生，与建筑具有密切之关系，古代住宅以院落天井组合而成，周以楼廊或墙垣，空间狭小，阳光较少，故吴下人家每以寸石尺树布置小景，点缀其间，往往见天不见日，或初阳煦照，一瞬即过，要皆能适植物之性，保持一定之温度与阳光，物赖以生，景供人观，东坡诗所谓：“微雨止还作，小窗幽更妍。空庭不受日，草木自苍然。”最能得此神理。盖生活所需之必然产物，亦穷则思变，变则能通。所谓“适者生存”。今以开畅大园，置数以百计之盆栽，或置盈丈之乔木于巨盆中，此之谓大而无当。而风大日烈，蒸发过大，难保存活，亦未深究盆景之道而盲为也。

华丽之园难简，雅淡之园难深。简以救俗，深以补淡，笔简意浓，画少气壮。如晏殊诗：“梨花院落溶溶月，柳絮池塘淡淡风。”艳而不俗，淡而有味，是为上品。皇家园林，过于繁缛，私家园林，往往寒俭，物质条件所限也。无过无不及，得乎其中。须割爱者能忍痛，须添补者无吝色。即下笔千钧反复推敲，闺秀之画能脱脂粉气，释道之画能脱蔬笋气，少见者。刚以柔出，柔以刚现。扮书生而无穷酸相，演将帅而具台阁气，皆难能也。造园之理，与一切艺术，无不息息相通。故余曾谓明代之园林，与当时之文学、艺术、戏曲，同一思想感情，而以不同形式出现之。

能品园，方能造园，眼高手随之而高，未有不辨乎味能著食谱者。故造园一端，主其事者，学养之功，必超乎实际工作者。计成云：“三分匠，七分主人。”言主其事者之重要，非诬蔑工人之谓。今以此而批

判计氏，实尚未读通计氏《园冶》也。讨论学术，扣以政治帽子，此风当不致再长矣。

假假真真，真真假假。《红楼梦》大观园假中有真，真中有假，是虚构，亦有作者曾见之实物，又参有作者之虚构。其所以迷惑读者正在此。故假山如真方妙，真山似假便奇；真人如造像，造像似真人，其捉弄人者又在此。造园之道，要在能“悟”，有终身事其业，而不解斯理者正多，甚矣！造园之难哉。园中立峰，亦存假中寓真之理，在品题欣赏上以感情悟物，且进而达人格化。

文学艺术作品言意境，造园亦言意境。王国维《人间词话》所谓境界也。对象不同，表达之方法亦异，故诗有诗境，词有词境，曲有曲境。“曲径通幽处，禅房花木深”，诗境也。“梦后楼台高锁，酒醒帘幕低垂”，词境也。“枯藤老树昏鸦，小桥流水人家”，曲境也。意境因情景不同而异，其与园林所现意境亦然。园林之诗情画意即诗与画之境界在实际景物中出现之，统名之曰意境。“景露则境界小，景隐则境界大。”“引水须随势，栽松不趁行。”“亭台到处皆临水，屋宇虽多不碍山。”“几个楼台游不尽，一条流水乱相缠。”此虽古人咏景说画之辞，造园之法适同，能为此，则意境自出。

园林叠山理水，不能分割言之，亦不可以定式论之，山与水相辅相成，变化万方。山无泉而若有，水无石而意存，自然高下，山水仿佛其中。昔苏州铁瓶巷顾宅艮庵前一区，得此消息。江南园林叠山，每以粉墙衬托，益觉山石紧凑峥嵘，此粉墙画本也。若墙不存，则如一丘乱石，故今日以大园叠山，未见佳构者正在此。画中之笔墨，即造园之水石，有骨有肉，方称上品。石涛（道济）画之所以冠世，在于有骨有肉。笔墨俱备。板桥（郑燮）学石涛，有骨而无肉，重笔而少墨。盖板桥以书家作画，正如工程家构园，终少韵味。

建筑物在风景区或园林之布置，皆因地制宜，但主体建筑始终维持其南北东西平直方向。斯理甚简，而学者未明者正多。镇江金山、焦

山、北固山三处之寺，布局各殊，风格终异。金山以寺包山，立体交通。焦山以山包寺，院落区分。北固山以寺镇山，雄踞其巅。故同临长江，取景亦各览其胜。金山宜远眺，焦山在平览，而北固山在俯瞰。皆能对观上着眼，于建筑物布置上用力，各臻其美，学见乎斯。

山不在高，贵有层次。水不在深，妙于曲折。峰岭之胜，在于深秀。江南常熟虞山，无锡惠山，苏州上方山，镇江南郊诸山，皆多此特征。泰山之能为五岳之首者，就山水言之，以其有山有水。黄山非不美，终鲜巨瀑，设无烟云之出没，此山亦未能有今日之盛名。

风景区之路，宜曲不宜直，小径多于主道，则景幽而客散，使有景可寻、可游。有泉可听，有石可留，吟想其间，所谓“入山唯恐不深，入林唯恐不密”。山须登，可小立顾盼，故古时皆用磴道，亦符人类两足直立之本意，今易以斜坡，行路自危，与登之理相背。更以筑公路之法而修游山道，致使丘壑破坏，漫山扬尘，而游者集于道与飚轮争途，拥挤可知，难言山屐之雅兴。西湖烟霞洞本由小径登山，今汽车达巅，其情无异平地之灵隐飞来峰前，真是“豁然开朗”，拍手叫好，从何处话烟霞矣。闻西湖诸山拟一日之汽车游程可毕，如是，西湖将越来越小。此与风景区延长游览线之主旨相背，似欠明智。游与赶程，含义不同，游览宜缓，赶程宜速，今则适正倒置。孤立之山筑登山盘旋道，难见佳境，极易似毒蛇之绕颈，将整个之山数段分割，无耸翠之姿，峻高之态。证以西湖玉皇山与福州鼓山二道，可见轩轾。后者因山势重叠，故能掩拙。名山筑路，千万慎重，如经破坏，景物一去不复返矣。千古功罪，待人评定。至于入山旧道，切宜保存，缓步登临，自有游客。泉者，山眼也。今若干著名风景地，泉眼已破，终难再活。趵突无声，九溪渐涸，此事非可等闲视之。开山断脉，打井汲泉，工程建设未与风景规划相配合，元气大伤，徒唤奈何。楼者，透也。园林造楼必空透。“画栋朝飞南浦云，珠帘暮卷西山雨。”境界可见。松者，鬆也。枝不能多，叶不能密，才见姿态。而刚柔互用，方见效果，杨柳必存老

干，竹林必露嫩梢，皆反笔出之。今西湖白堤之柳，尽易新苗，老树无一存者，顿失前观。“全部肃清，彻底换班”，岂可用于治园耶？

风景区多茶室，必多厕所，后者实难处理，宜隐蔽之。今厕所皆饰以漏窗，宛若“园林小品”。余曾戏为打油诗“我为漏窗频叫屈，而今花样上茅房”（我1953年刊《漏窗》一书，其罪在我）之句。漏窗功能泄景，厕所有何景可泄？曾见某处新建厕所，漏窗盈壁，其左刻石为“香泉”，其右刻石为“龙飞凤舞”，见者失笑。鄙意游览大风景区宜设茶室，以解游人之渴。至于范围小之游览区，若西湖西泠印社、苏州网师园，似可不必设置茶室，占用楼堂空间。而大型园林茶室，有如宾馆餐厅，亦未见有佳构者，主次未分，本末倒置。如今风景区以园林倾向商店化，似乎游人游览就是采购物品。宜乎古刹成庙会，名园皆市肆，则“东篱为市井，有辱黄花矣”。园林局将成为商业局，此名之曰“不务正业”。

浙中叠山重技而少艺，以洞见长，山类皆孤立，其佳者有杭州元宝街胡宅，学官巷吴宅，孤山文澜阁等处，皆尚能以水佐之。降及晚近，以平地叠山，中置一洞，上覆一平台，极简陋。此浙之东阳匠师所为。彼等非专攻叠山，原为水作之工，杭人称为阴沟匠者，鱼目混珠，以诈不识者。后因“洞多不吉”，遂易为小山花台。此入民国后之状也。从前叠山，有苏帮、宁（南京）帮、扬帮、金华帮、上海帮（后出，为宁苏之混合体）。而南宋以后著名叠山师，则来自吴兴、苏州。吴兴称山匠，苏州称花园子。浙中又称假山师或叠山师，扬州称石匠，上海（旧松江府）称山师，名称不一。云间（松江）名手张涟、张然父子，人称张石匠，名动公卿间，张涟父子流寓京师，其后人承其业，即山子张也。要之，太湖流域所叠山，自成体系，而宁扬又自一格，所谓苏北系统，其与浙东匠师皆各立门户，但总有高下之分。其下者就石论石，必存叠字，遑论相石选石，更不谈石之纹理，专攻“五日一洞，十日一山”。摹拟真状，以大缩小，一实假戏真做，有类儿戏矣。故云叠山

者，艺术也。

鉴定假山，何者为原构，何者为重修，应注意留山之脚、洞之底，因低处不易毁坏，如一经重叠，新旧判然。再细审灰缝，详审石理，必渐能分晓，盖石缝有新旧，胶合品成分亦各异，石之包浆，斧凿痕迹，在在可佐证也。苏州留园，清嘉庆间刘氏重补者，以湖石接黄石，更判然明矣。而旧假山类多山石紧凑相挤，重在垫塞，功在平衡，一经拆动，涣然难收陈局。佳作必拼合自然，曲具画理，缩地有法，观其局部，复察全局，反复推敲，结论遂出。

近人但言上海豫园之盛，却未言明代潘氏宅之情况，宅与园仅隔一巷耳。潘宅在今园东安仁街梧桐路一带，旧时称安仁里。据叶梦珠《阅世编》所记：“建第规模甲于海上，面照雕墙，宏开俊宇，重轩复道，几于朱邸，后楼悉以楠木为之，楼上皆施砖砌，登楼与平地无异。涂金染丹垩，雕刻极工之巧。”以此建筑结构，证豫园当日之规模，甚相称也。惜今已荡然无存。

清初画家恽寿平（南田）《瓯香馆集》卷十二：“壬戌八月，客吴门拙政园，秋雨长林，致有爽气，独坐南轩，望隔岸横冈，叠石崚嶒，下临清池，涧路盘纡，上多高槐、柽、柳、桧、柏，虬枝挺然，迴出林表，绕堤皆芙蓉，红翠相间，俯视澄明，游鳞可数，使人悠然有濠濮间趣。自南轩过艳雪亭，渡红桥而北，傍横冈循石间道，山麓尽处有堤通小阜，林木翳如，池上为湛华楼，与隔水回廊相望，此一园最胜地也。”南轩为倚玉轩，艳雪亭似为荷风四面亭，红桥即曲桥。湛华楼以地位观之，即见山楼所在，隔水回廊，与柳荫路曲一带，出入亦不大。以画人之笔，记名园之景，修复者能悟此境界，固属高手。但“此歌能有几人知”，徒唤奈何！保园不易，修园更难。不修则已，一修惊人。余再重申研究园史之重要，以为此篇殿焉。曩岁叶恭绰先生赠余一联：“洛阳名园（记），扬州画舫（录）；武林遗事，日下旧闻（考）。”以四部园林古迹之书目相勉，则余今日之所作，又岂徒然

哉！

1980年5月完稿于镇江宾舍

ON GARDENS 4

Department of Architecture, Tongji University, October 10, 1981

A year of rambling has brought me in intimate touch with quite a few scenic sights across the land. As my feelings keep changing with what I have seen, I have the urge to share my humble opinions even though they might be interpreted in different ways to meet different needs. Like an armchair strategist's prattle about the art of war, my views can probably do little to remedy what has gone wrong today. After all, I am just offering some food for thought and discussion. I title this article "On Gardens 4," as a sequel to the three previous instalments of this ongoing discourse.

As a discipline of learning, the craft of gardens is predicated on the crafter's own intentions. On this basis, he sets a conception and comes up with an intricate layout. He will be extolled if his garden is a success, and derogated if it flops. Be it a success or a flop, a garden without a personality is devoid of life.

Waters are the eyes of land. A garden having lots of land should keep water behind its walls; a garden having a lot of water should have it scattered. If water is pivotal to a garden's views, it should also be made to ameliorate environment and climate. Rivers, lakes and ponds in the countryside, lotus ponds and water-caltrop marshes, crab-catching weirs and fishing villages—these bodies of water, no less productive than fertile land once they are devoted to aquiculture, not only augment local earnings but also beautify local landscape. Just as Wang Shizhen (1634-1711) puts it,

On the river many a fishermen's abode

Is clustered around a caltrop pond
Or scattered by a path willow-lined.
When the sun slants and the wind settles,
Perches are hawked under red maples
Halfway down the river shoals.

Nothing endears itself to man more than the divine verve of this everyday natural scene.

In days of yore there was a city where the paths were fringed with weeping willows, the riverside patches of pollia ran for miles on end, the jagged city-wall ramparts were faintly visible in the distance, and architecture and nature were meshed to present a picture-perfect cityscape. But what city is it anyway? Wang Shizhen lets the cat out of the bag in the following line,

> The city with its walls lost in the green foliage of willows is none other than Yangzhou.

Alas! This picturesque view has gone for ever since Yangzhou lost its city wall to demolition. A topography complete with scenic mountains and rivers can be a city's salient feature, but it is the flowers and trees that often hog the limelight. This shows why visitors are impressed indelibly by what they see in Chengdu, the "City of Hibiscus Flowers," and in Fuzhou, the "City of Banyan Trees."

Yun Ge (1633-1690) says of coloration in painting,

> Blue and green are heavy colors. They gain richness easily, but are difficult to achieve lightness, and even more difficult to attain richness upon hard-to-come-by lightness.

This observation is particularly pertinent with the craft of gardens. To search for intangibles from tangibles and vice versa, and for colors to be light without being flimsy, and rich without being stiff—this rule of the thumb, if

followed to the letter, can yield natural fascinations. Today, however, there is no lack of garden-makers out to abandon nature and embrace forgery. They destroy real mountains and rush to pile up artificial ones, and block up placid brooks to make room for artificial fountains. Natural springs and rocks of top-notch quality are often changed whimsically as a result. In their eyes, a garden without a spurting fountain cannot be counted as a famous one. In his notes on the Cork Tree Mountain Abode on the Dragon-Sleeping Mountain in Tongcheng county, Anhui province, Qian Chengzhi (1612-1693) [1] writes,

> People from the former state of Wu love making artificial mountains. They flatter each other on their creations while jeering at the gardens and pavilions in our rural areas for being shabby. To this phenomenon I retort, "Given all the real mountains and waters in the country, why should we need artificial ones? Because we believe in things real and do little about it, our gardens and pavilions look a bit too simple. Indeed, we are no better than the Wu people when it comes to fakery."

About the Cork Tree Mountain Abode, Qian says,

> The views are not patterned after each other, so that every one of them is a study of perfection and exudes the essence of real mountain and water.

The merit of this comment boils down to a single word, "essence."

A wooded mountain looks good on account of its affinity to nature. To keep it natural is to preserve what is real in it. Buildings play a role in "view highlighting," a role that somehow sets them apart from gardens. This is like "adding a flower to a piece of brocade," but the flower can never steal the show from the brocade. A hotel is designed for guests to stop over and take a break. It should guarantee the needed peace and quiet, and provide a scenic setting in which the guest can loiter for a look around. There should also be ample space within and without, with the interiors and exteriors echoing and

connected to each other, so that the guest can bask in the morning sun while having breakfast, and lay his head on the pillow while luxuriating in evening glow and get a feel of nature's immensity from inside a tiny room. If a mountain is weighed down by a tall building, and drowned in road traffic and the din of honking automobiles, even the bravest of all birds could be startled away. Observed from the top floor of the building, people on the ground are reduced to tiny beans and houses shrink to a few cubic inches—to discover smallness in a large world like this, what meets the eye is too small to be of any account. To erect buildings that otherwise belong to cities on a wooded mountain can do nothing but rob it of its idyllic appeal, mar the beauty of the landscape, and discourage the travelers. Ravines and hillocks that are levelled to look as flat as a whetstone, and tall buildings that jam the space between sky and earth are commonplace in scenic resorts today. It is reported that some planners are going so far as to remove every indigenous dwelling from the mountains, heedless to the fact that these dwellings are essential to a scenic spot—dwellings that are picturesquely scattered can always make a mountainous area look charming, which is why they are often spotted in landscape paintings handed down from antiquity. During my sojourn in Geneva, I saw every visitor fall in love with the bright and clean homes that adorn local mountains. I believe the buildings in a scenic resort should be low-key rather than high-profiled, scattered rather than clustered, low rather than tall, on foothills rather than on mountaintops, and in rich and varied designs, with adorable delights camouflaged in unaffected ruggedness. They should also be laid out in conformity to topography and "borrow" vistas cleverly, but at the same time their identity as indigenous dwellings should not be compromised, so that the eye can be delighted by the sight of their tiny courtyards gleaming bewitchingly amidst whitewashed walls and flowers'

shadows. Visitors can be pampered in the convenience afforded by such a "wooded urban mountain"—where they can either come to lose themselves for a while in solitude or entertain guests. In *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an* , Zhang Dai (1597-1689) describes Fan Yunlin's [2] Garden at the Tianping Mountain, Suzhou,

> Winding on the lake beyond the garden is a dyke bordered with peach and willow trees, which conducts to the garden at the other end of a zigzagging bridge. The garden's front gate, set deliberately low and narrow at the bridgehead, opens onto a long roofed causeway by the side of a double wall that meanders its way to the foot of the mountain, where painted lofts and curtained pavilions, secret chambers and obscure rooms are all hidden lest they be seen by outsiders.

In *Gleanings from Female Scribes' Records of Daily Lives Inside Imperial Chambers* , Mao Qiling (1623-1716) [3] talks of a Yangzhou native who was the Ming emperor Chongzhen's favorite concubine,

> [She] was so tired of the lofty living quarters reserved for the empress and imperial concubines locked behind heavy door bars and large windows that she made do in a side chamber fixed with a low threshold and curving balustrades, screened with wide latticed windows, and furnished with a motley of utensils, beds and mats procured from Yangzhou.

The royal concubine's preference for simple buildings echoes my penchant for hotels in wooded urban mountains.

For obvious reasons, the space in gardens and buildings can look deep with partitions and shallow if left unimpeded. Artificial mountains, roofed walkways, bridges, latticed walls, screens, curtains, latticed windows, and shelves for books or curios can all serve partitioning purposes, and so can mosquito nets and green-gauze floor-length latticed windows in bedrooms that were common in old days. The Japanese sleep on the floor in tiny rooms

segmented with small paper screens. At the West Lake today, newly built hotels and restaurants are often as grand as palaces, so much so that the freshly built Louwailou (Loft-Beyond-Loft) Restaurant [4] at the Gushan Mountain ought to be renamed "Tower of Supreme Harmony" because it is already larger than the Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds [5] in the Summer Palace of Beijing. Even the interior of the Palace of Supreme Harmony in Beijing's Former Imperial City is segmented with screens and pillars, but our large restaurants nowadays are easily mistaken for gymnasiums. In a scenic resort, stones were quarried and a mountain was levelled as if to make room for new barracks, but all the fuss was actually about making room for a grand banquet hall to be erected on the spot. Huge amounts of money and manpower went down the drain like this, not to mention the threat such construction spree poses on nature's scenic beauty. There may be eastern and western parlors in old gardens, but grand parlors are unheard of. However, grand hotels, grand restaurants, grand murals, grand miniature landscapes, grand vases, and so on are everywhere nowadays, and the tendency to go big and grand seems to have become the fad. If this is allowed to run unbridled, all I can say is, "Well done! Well done!"

I have not been to Suzhou for well over a year now, but I am so haunted by its celebrated gardens and scenic attractions that I often dream of them. However, my friend Wang Xiye (1914-1997) [6] has this to say in a recent letter to me,

> A "miniature landscape garden" of an unrivalled size is being laid out on the ruins of the East Hill Shrine at the eastern corner of the Tiger Hill. Dedicated to the memory of Wang Xun (350-401) [7] , the shrine was also called "Memorial Temple for the Short Magistrate" on account of the man's short stature and

official title, "assistant magistrate." Wang Wan (1624-1691) [8] , "[His] home was in the Long Isle Garden beside an emerald river, but his person was in the Short Magistrate's Temple beside a green hill." Chen Pengnian (1663-1723) [9] , "A spring breeze wafted across Daosheng's Stone Terrace again, yet the setting sun still clung to the Short Magistrate's Temple." Both lines are still very much on the lips today for their nostalgia for a man long gone and their vivid depictions of the scenery in that part of the Tiger Hill. Today, however, the celebrated natural wonder is thoroughly erased with the completion of a giant mountain built of yellow stones. A tiny mound though it is, the Tiger Hill could still rival all the famed mountains under heaven, and for good reasons: firstly, it is hidden in the Tiger Hill Temple where visitors can see grand views from this tiny mount; secondly, the inscription-bearing cliffs of the Sword Pool [10] are constructed in such a way that one can perceive depth in their shallowness; thirdly, numerous poetic inscriptions contributed by celebrities through the ages have added to the luster of the scene. Today, however, a sham mountain is being piled up in front of the real one—indeed, a typical case of "making a mountain out of a molehill" or "going for wool but coming home shorn." When you have a chance to see it, I am sure you will wring your wrists in despair and cry out loud over this futile undertaking.

I cannot agree more with my friend's comments. I am afraid that because of their ignorance of literature and history, those responsible for the project in question have overlooked the historical factors in that famous scenic spot, while their minds are possessed with the desire to "go big."

The constructor of a scenic resort must learn to woo visitors not only with fabulous scenery and but also with comfortable climate. In many cases nowadays, however, scenery is favored over the need to preserve the microclimate, so much so that by the time such a resort is completed the local

climate has already turned nasty. In July this year, when I was visiting the West Lake of Hangzhou, the municipal garden administration invited me for a tour of the Golden Sand Harbour. It was late afternoon of an early summer day, and the heat wave was not gone yet when I arrived. As I strolled leisurely into the woods, however, the humid heat instantly gave way to a gentle breeze generated by the lake's vast body of water, making me wonder if I were rambling a celestial world. Everywhere I went, water kept gurgling and green bamboos presented an ocean of lush green, while on the opposite side of the lake the southern hills took on a dark green hue as they shimmered in misty clouds so pale and light that they evoke an ink and wash painting wrought ever so gently with the brush. This scenery is recaptured in the lines,

> I jeer at fuming south wind for being too clamant,
> Forcing Xi Shi [11] to dance "Rainbow-Feather Raiment."

I came from a family living on a lake, but never had a chance to enjoy the leisure and bliss of such a lifestyle. If its unusually cosy environment can be made to last, the Golden Sand Harbour will live up to the conception of its original creators. Were this environment allowed to fall apart, the harbour would become nothing but an empty shell even with the ostensible presence of a storied building within every five steps and a pavilion within every ten steps—the original conception would be brutally blasphemed. In a water-bound environment like this, buildings and bridges ought to snuggle up to the water surface and be silhouetted in it, so that the breeze from the nearby woods and bamboo groves can keep the place cool and refreshing. In the midst of swaying verdure, the air will be filled with lotus-flower aroma, and the entire place will be brimmed with idyllic appeal.

> With tanglehead-thatched pavilion, tiny room, deck,
> Pains should be taken to mesh mountain and brook.

The lotus flowers would look exceptionally graceful if mat sheds and bamboo pavilions can be added to the fold like the subtle makeup the legendary stunning beauty Xi Shi is wearing. If this summer resort on the West Lake can be made to last, then when I come to rove it with a walking stick in hand some day, I can really take my time for a blissful rest.

The town of Tongli in Wujiang county is an outstanding example of the idyllic beauty of water-bound country in the Jiangnan area. It is surrounded in all directions by five lakes, with houses facing each other across water surfaces. Everything in town, be it a street, a market or a garden, comes into being on account of the waters. Ren Lansheng (1837-1888) [12] and his family blazed a new garden-making trail, and the Retreat and Reflection Garden they built beat all its counterparts in the area to become a unique water-bound garden. With artificial mountains, chambers, corridors, verandahs and waterside pavilions hovering just a few inches above water surface, the garden looks as if it had sprung up from water's depth. The Retreat and Reflection Garden of Wujiang and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou are both water-bound, but one has water in its embrace and the other snuggles up against it. Both have artificial mountains and buildings set around water, but at a close look, they can be told apart by their different vertical and horizontal distances from water's surface. Both are laid out in snug proximity to water, but each follows a different conception and plan and offers good lessons to be emulated. In my opinion, large gardens had better be nestled against water, and small ones should in the main be made to hug water. In both cases, the water level holds the key. What is used most often in the Chinese garden is still water. This is why Xu Zongyan (1768-1818) [13] called the library he had built in Hangzhou "Studio of Tranquil Mirror-like Water," a name that stems from Chinese philosophy and gives expression to the

dialectical viewpoint of "staying still to comprehend motion."

Water is made to twist and turn by embankments. It is segmented by dykes. Flowers are moved to attract butterflies. Fantastic rocks are bought and fixed for cloud and mist to hang around them. If used to their best advantage, ornamentations like flowers and rockery can yield bewitching views. The appearances of mountains and the hues of water can be put to best use if handled with facility. It would be wonderful if a medium-sized or small city can turn every mountain in its precincts into a garden and every body of water into a scenic attraction. It would be wonderful, too, if cities can look different from each other in cityscape and scenery.

The Pearl Spring of Jinan, Shandong province, is known under heaven for its sparkling, crystal clear water. I had, during a visit to the place, basked in morning sunlight as I drank dew drops and marvelled at the gurgling spring, feeling most relaxed and energized in its bright and tranquil atmosphere. But during a second visit I was utterly dismayed to see the place changed beyond recognition—a mammoth artificial mountain built of yellow stones looks ferocious and terrifying, and the spring itself is overwhelmed by tall buildings around it. Unexpectedly, the lines in Du Fu's poem "Gazing Mount Tai" flashed into my mind,

> I am certain to mount the tallest cliff,
> For a glimpse of the hills it will dwarf.

In this part of the world today, mountains are small and low while buildings are massive and lofty, and streams are small and shallow while bridges are big and tall, all the while automobiles running by the mountains kick up clouds of choking dust—such a vista is neither ancient nor modern, neither Chinese nor Western. Nondescript, that is what they really are. Can caution be tossed into thin air when creating gardens?

By contrast, the Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets in Weifang, Shandong province, is a small affair. This is probably why it is named after the scepters held in the hands of ministers when attending the emperor's court in the country's dynastic past. However, the only pond existing in this garden is encircled with a roofed corridor, with verandahs and gazebos seemingly floating on its rippling water. I was so touched by this lithe and delicate scenery that I improvised these lines then and there,

My love for landscape dies hard tho' I am ageing fast,
I can't help showering praises on the garden at its sight.
Though tiny, its pavilion and deck have charms limitless,
As they linger touchingly between waters and rocks.

Of all the small gardens in north China, the Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets is the most successful in combining water and rockery into an integral whole.

At Mount Tai a road conducts all the way to the Southern Heavenly Gateway at the mountaintop, where mountain after mountain lies under the visitor's feet while the vast land of QiLu [14] extends magnificently for miles on end. Known as the Eighteen-Bend Road, with every bend offering a dainty scenery that changes with the shift of one's footstep, the road was built for emperors to be carried up the mountain for the holiest of all imperial sacrificial services. If the road were replaced with cable-cars that come and go at hastened intervals, the sightseers would be treated like commodities whisked up and down the mountain, not to mention the result that the mountain vista would be utterly spoiled. It is really beyond them why our ancestors should mount the Jade Emperor's Summit by way of the Eighteen-Bend Road simply to "dwarf the world." As to the relationship between travel and sightseeing, they are categorically opposed to each other—the former should be speedy and therefore defeats the purpose of a visit to the holy

mountain, and the latter should definitely be kept at a slow pace. I do not mean cable cars are useless—they are suitable for travelers, but not for sightseers.

On no account should the foothills of a holy mountain be encircled with buildings or factories, which can do nothing but sever the mountain's natural veins. Such flagrant constructions, however, are not uncommon nowadays. During a recent visit to the scenic zone of the Swallow-Shaped Boulder [15] and the Evening Glow's Dwelling Temple in Nanjing, it turned out that people could not see the zone before they reached the Boulder or the Temple—the original "prelude" to the entire scene is gone forever, leaving the "protagonist" to put on a solo show amidst a cacophony of automobile din and traffic. Worse, sightseers to the scene find it impossible to take their time for a look around. At the Swallow-Shaped Boulder, only its waterside could be seen; the other sides were smothered in black smoke that threatened to swallow the entire Yangtze River. When I sat down on the boulder I came up with this doggerel,

Swallow, swallow, why don't you fly away?
You are courting death if too long you stay.

People hate to miss a scenic attraction like this, but once you've seen it you may never return for another visit. Now that it is a no-no to build tall buildings and factories at foothills, low buildings, however, cannot be dispensed with. When such low buildings are well scattered in a scenic resort, the vista appears to be deep and remote in multiple ways; far-off mountains that have no foothills can also be handled this way.

Recent years have witnessed scenic resorts locked in sharpening clashes with the mining industry. Incidents of "killing the hen to obtain the egg" are a dime a dozen. In Nanjing, iron ore is being mined at the Grand Secretariat

Mountain, and silver ore exacted at the Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain. Thus smoke-belching factories are erected at the expense of "smokeless factories," and exhaustible resources are being tapped while exhaustless resources are scrambled for in a tug-of-war in which both parties are losers. It is imperative to take a long-term view, and weigh up one thing against another—I would suggest that authorities should absolutely not take this lightly. The ancient looks of places of historical interests should be conserved. Ill-fitting buildings should never be built into them. The Northern Peak behind the Soul's Retreat Temple of Hangzhou and the television tower at the Drum Tower of Nanjing are dreadful eyesores. In this regard, it is necessary to stress that scenic resorts should live on dainty views, places of historical interest should live on cultural relics, and irrelevant things should never be imposed on them. Otherwise, the cultural heritages of our motherland shall be completely ruined.

When Bai Juyi (772-846) was prefect of Hangzhou, he dredged the West Lake and piled up mud to build the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi. In the course of it, he never built dykes to reclaim land from the lake. His legacies were inherited by Su Shi (1037-1101), who built another dyke in the same fashion during his stint as prefect of Hangzhou. Ruan Yuan (1764-1849) [16] followed suit and built the islet known as "Ruan's Mound" on the same lake. Later generations built shrines south of the Gushan Mountain to commemorate Bai and Su's good deeds. The three names have been revered through the ages, which prompted the celebrated modern Chinese poet Yu Dafu (1896-1945) [17] to chant,

> The willows lining the causeway are still surnamed Su today.

Matters concerning life and death for a city should be handled with uttermost discretion. The West Lake is the life blood to Hangzhou. Once the lake

disappears, the city shall go downhill. It is on its account that Hangzhou is designated a tourist and scenic city. Scenic views in a city cannot be treated individually. Mountain and water should be coordinated to contrast and augment each other. The mountains along the Qiantang River need be done up, for the most illustrious part of Hangzhou lies in mountains that are belted by the Yangtze and girdled by the lake. When planting trees on an ancient site, the word "ancient" must be borne in mind. The lintel of the front doorway of the Cool and Refreshing Mountain is inscribed with the words, "Former Site of the Six Dynasties," [18] but the road leading into it are flanked by cedars—was this species already there as early as those dynasties? The use of an alien tree species like this on a venerated Chinese site can do nothing but to satiate someone's curiosity.

The restoration of an ancient site should not be limited to buildings only—due attention should be paid to what is recorded in history books, such as its environment, ambience, and furnishing. Without these, there would be no "ancient site" to speak of; rather, we had better call such a place "scenic site."

None is more unfeeling than willows by palace walls;
Enshrouded in green mist the ten-*li* causeway stays.

Whoever can fathom out the connotations of these two lines, written by Wei Zhuang (836-910) [19] on scenery around the imperial palaces in Nanjing? There is no lack of people today who are given to imposing their own will on our forefathers. The former residence of Pu Songling (1640-1715) [20] was decked off like a landed gentry's manor. Were this celebrated author of *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* still around, he would have a hard time recognizing his own humble cottage. The good news is that his residence is gradually being restored to its former looks.

Traditional gardens should be conserved rather than renovated; old trees

should be pruned and maintained rather than have new ones added. Mountains must stay ancient, and waters must be scattered, so that grass and trees can be well nourished and birds' lovable warbling can be heard all the time. In this way the sceneries can look lovely in all four seasons. It is inappropriate to set up a market in a garden, where what is principal and what is secondary should be clearly distinguished. Garden buildings' functions should be commensurate with their characters. When our ancients built gardens, every pavilion or verandah, even the number of bends in a roofed walkway, was adapted to actual needs, and unnecessary structures were avoided. This is like composing poetry or verse, which tolerates neither wordiness nor laborious sentences. The ways of learning, be it creative writing or landscape gardening, are closely relevant to each other. An ill-conceived garden design is like a composition that lacks hammering out. A garden should be made to encourage sightseeing, and a composition is supposed to get its argument across. For the same reason, it is as painstaking to compose a five- or seven-character quatrain as to conceive a small garden.

In the "Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights," Wang Shimin (1592-1680) records,

> It happened that Zhang Lian the supernatural garden crafter from Yunjian [present-day Songjiang county, Shanghai] arrived to promote construction of artificial mountains… Thus a pond was dug here, trees were planted there, rockeries erected and artificial mountains built. The plan was revised four times beginning from a year of *geng-shen* [1680, or the nineteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1661-1722) of the Qing] until the garden was completed years later.

He describes the same garden in another note recorded in *Chronicle of the Respected Flagbearer* [21] :

> It looked like nature itself, with a winding stone trail and a placid, mirror-like big

> pond tucked away amidst thick foliage of bamboos and trees, whereas summering rooms and deep-set belvederes were laid out on account of the terrain, with flowers and trees framed in windows that set off each other delightfully—the entire vista partakes of the allure of woods and ravines graced with terraces and verandahs.

The fact that, even with Zhang Lian's unparalleled craftsmanship, the plan of the said garden went through four rounds of revisions bears out the importance of construction work to garden-making and the necessity to leave enough leeway for reconstructions and revisions. When we observe a famous garden, we have got to study its divine charms before looking into the period in which the garden was made, in the same way as we would a cultural artefact. However, none of the surviving traditional gardens could do without repairs in the intervening years. For this reason the overall vista of such a garden must first be examined before its individual segments are perused. To plunge headlong into details to the neglect of a garden's overall picture is to be penny wise and pound foolish—a convincing conclusion is hard to come by this way.

Divine charm is what matters for mammoth mountains, giant rivers, ancient sites, and celebrated gardens. The Five Holy Mountains [22] establish themselves worldwide precisely with their respective divine charms. Any landscaping plan mapped out for a mountain with no consideration to its divine charms invariably ends up in vulgarity and lowliness; if put into practice, it will be a blasphemy against the Mountain God. In the grottoes of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, however, natural and impressionist mountain rocks are often distorted to assume images so disgusting and ugly as to prompt me to cry out loud, "Give nature back to me!" Problems like this can still be addressed with relative ease, but utmost caution must be applied when it

comes to construction of huge buildings, wide highways, mid-air cableways, and high-voltage electricity towers, because every one of them, if mishandled or misplaced, can become an "arch foe" to the divine charms of our landscape. A casual oversight may compromise the "perpetrator" to angry condemnations by posterity.

Gardens differ in character because of their differences in locality and microclimate. Every garden's character stems from the peculiarities of its location, which gives rise to diverse garden styles. There can be urban gardens, suburban gardens, level-land gardens and hillside gardens in the same place, and, therefore, uniformity is out of the question for gardens. Local culture and art, folkways, tree species, and landscapes can all be employed to make gardens look different from one another in myriad ways. Whether these elements can be used to best advantage depends on the designer's ingenuity and conception. For those engaged in the art of landscape gardening, knowledge cannot but be comprehensive, and conception cannot but be profound.

Yun Ge (1633-1690) says again of painting,

> Charm lies in natural grace and elegance,
>
> Delight stems from wonderful variations.

This saying not only applies to painting, but can also be referred to in garden-making and scenery arrangement. If someone is insatiable for view highlighting in a garden, the garden thus created will invariably be devoid of charms; if he is insatiable for bigness, his garden tends to be lackluster. Charms may be derived from books, but luster can only be perceived through a garden's distinctive personality. So much for my comments and appraisals on the gardens and scenic attractions that I have encountered during my year-long rambling of the land.

说园（四）

一年漫游，触景殊多，情随事迁，遂有所感，试以管见论之，见仁见智，各取所需。书生谈兵，容无补于事实，存商而已。因续前三篇，故以《说园》（四）名之。

造园之学，主其事者须自出己见，以坚定之立意，出宛转之构思。成者誉之，败者贬之。无我之园，即无生命之园。

水为陆之眼，陆多之地要保水；水多之区要疏水。因水成景，复利用水以改善环境与气候。江村湖泽，荷塘菱沼，蟹簖渔庄，水上产物不减良田，既增收入，又可点景。王渔洋诗云："江干多是钓人居，柳陌菱塘一带疏。好是日斜风定后，半江红树卖鲈鱼。"神韵天然，最自依人。

旧时城墙，垂杨夹道，杜若连汀，雉堞参差，隐约在望，建筑之美与天然之美交响成曲。王士祯诗又云"绿杨城郭是扬州"，今已拆，此景不可再得矣。故城市特征，首在山川地貌，而花木特色，实占一地风光。成都之为蓉城，福州之为榕城，皆予游者以深刻之印象。

恽寿平论画："青绿重色，为浓厚易，为浅淡难，为浅淡矣，而愈见浓厚为尤难。"造园之道正亦如斯，所谓实处求虚，虚中得实，淡而不薄，厚而不滞，存天趣也。今经营风景区园事者，破坏真山，乱堆假山，堵却清流，另置喷泉，抛却天然而好作伪。大好泉石，随意改观。如无喷泉，未是名园者。明末钱澄之记黄檗山居（在桐城之龙眠山），论及"吴中人好堆假山以相夸诩，而笑吾乡园亭之陋。予应之曰：吾乡有真山水，何以假为？唯任真，故失诸陋。洵不若吴人之工于作伪耳"。又论此园："彼此位置，各不相师，而各臻其妙，则有真山水为之质耳。"此论妙在拈出一个"质"字。

山林之美，贵于自然，自然者存真而已。建筑物起"点景"作用，其

与园林似有所别，所谓锦上添花，花终不能压锦也。宾馆之作，在于栖息小休，宜着眼于周围有幽静之境，能信步盘桓，游目骋怀，故室内外空间并互相呼应，以资流通，晨餐朝晖，夕枕落霞，坐卧其间，小中可以见大。反之高楼镇山，汽车环居，喇叭彻耳，好鸟惊飞。俯视下界，豆人寸屋，大中见小，渺不足观，以城市之建筑夺山林之野趣，徒令景色受损，游者扫兴而已。丘壑平如砥，高楼塞天地，此几成为目前旅游风景区所习见者，闻更有欲消灭山间民居之举，诚不知民居为风景区之组成部分，点缀其间，楚楚可人，古代山水画中每多见之。余客瑞士，日内瓦山间民居，窗明几净，予游客以难忘之情。我认为风景区之建筑，宜隐不宜显，宜散不宜聚，宜低不宜高，宜麓（山麓）不宜顶（山顶），须变化多，朴素中有情趣，要随宜安排，巧于因借，存民居之风格，则小院曲户，粉墙花影，自多情趣。游者生活其间，可以独处，可以留客，“城市山林”，两得其宜。明末张岱在《陶庵梦忆》中记范长白园（即苏州天平山之高义园）云：“园外有长堤，桃柳曲桥，蟠屈湖面，桥尽抵园，园门故作低小，进门则长廊复壁，直达山麓。其绘楼幔阁、秘室曲房，故故匿之，不使人见也。”又毛大可《彤史拾遗记》记崇祯所宠之贵妃，扬州人，“尝厌宫闱过高迥，崇杠大牖，所居不适意，乃就廊房为低槛曲楯，蔽以敞槅，杂采扬州诸什器、床罩供设其中。”以证余创山居宾舍之议不谬。

园林与建筑之空间，隔则深，畅则浅，斯理甚明，故假山、廊、桥、花墙、屏、幕、槅扇、书架、博古架等，皆起隔之作用。旧时卧室用帐，碧纱橱，亦起同样效果。日本居住之室小，席地而卧，以纸槅小屏分之，皆属此理。今西湖宾馆、餐厅，往往高大如宫殿，近建孤山楼外楼，体量且超颐和园之排云殿，不如易名太和楼则更名副其实矣。太和殿尚有屏隔之，有柱分之，而今日之大餐厅几等体育馆。风景区往往因建造一大宴会厅，开石劈山，有如兴建营房，真劳民伤财，遑论风景之存不存矣。旧时园林，有东西花厅之设，未闻有大花厅之举。大宾

馆，大餐厅，大壁画，大盆景，大花瓶，大……以大为尚，真是如是如是，善哉善哉！

不到苏州，一年有奇，名园胜迹，时萦梦寐。近得友人王西野先生来信。谓：“虎丘东麓就东山庙遗址，正在营建‘盆景园’，规模之大，无与伦比。按东山庙为王珣祠堂，亦称短簿祠，因珣身材短小，曾为主簿，后人戏称‘短簿’。清汪琬诗：‘家临绿水长洲苑，人在青山短簿祠。’陈鹏年诗：‘春风再扫生公石，落照仍衔短簿祠。’怀古情深，写景入画，传诵于世，今堆叠黄石大假山一座，天然景色，破坏无余。盖虎丘一小阜耳，能与天下名山争胜，以其寺里藏山，小中见大，剑池石壁，浅中见深，历代名流题咏殆遍，为之增色。今在真山面前堆假山，小题大做，弄巧成拙，足下见之，亦当扼腕太息，徒呼负工也。”此说与鄙见合，恐主其事者，不征文献，不谙古迹名胜之史实，并有一“大”字在脑中作怪也。

风景区之经营，不仅安排景色宜人，而气候亦须宜人。今则往往重景观，而忽视局部小气候之保持，景成而气候变矣。七月间到西湖，园林局邀游金沙港，初夏傍晚，余热未消，信步入林，溽暑全无，水佩风来，几入仙境，而流水淙淙，绿竹猗猗，隔湖南山如黛，烟波出没，浅淡如水墨轻描，正有“独笑熏风更多事，强教西子舞霓裳”之概。我本湖上人家，却从未享此清福，若能保持此与外界气候不同之清凉世界，即该景区规划设计之立意所在。一旦破坏，虽五步一楼，十步一阁，亦属虚设，盖悖造园之理也。金沙港应属水泽园，故建筑、桥梁等均宜贴水、依水、映带左右，而茂林修竹，清风自引，气候凉爽，绿云摇曳，荷香轻溢，野趣横生。“黄茅亭子小楼台，料理溪山煞费才。”能配以凉馆竹阁，益显西子淡妆之美，保此湖上消夏一地，他日待我杖履其境，从容可作小休。

吴江同里镇，江南水乡之著者，镇环五湖，户户相望，家家隔河，因水成街，因水成市，因水成园。任氏退思园于江南园林中独辟蹊径，

具贴水园之特例。山、亭、馆、廊、轩、榭等皆紧贴水面，园如出水上。其与苏州网师园诸景依水而筑者，予人以不同景观。前者贴水，后者依水。所谓依水者，因假山与建筑物等皆环水而筑，唯与水之关系尚有高下远近之别，遂成贴水园与依水园两种格局。皆以因水制宜，其巧妙构思则又有所别，设计运思，于此可得消息。余谓大园宜依水，小园重贴水，而最关键者则在水位之高低。我国园林用水，以静止为主，清许周生筑园杭州，名“鉴止水斋”，命意在此，原出我国哲学思想，体现静以悟动之辩证观点。

水曲因岸，水隔因堤，移花得蝶，买石绕云，因势利导，自成佳趣。山容水色，善在经营。中、小城市有山水能凭藉者，能做到有山皆是园，无水不成景，城因景异，方是妙构。

济南珍珠泉，天下名泉也。水清浮珠，澄澈晶莹。余曾于朝曦中饮露观泉，爽气沁人，境界明静。奈何重临其地，已异前观，黄石大山，狰狞骇人，高楼环压，其势逼人，杜甫咏《望岳》“会当凌绝顶，一览众山小”之句，不意于此得之。山小楼大，山低楼高，溪小桥大，溪浅桥高。汽车行于山侧，飞轮扬尘，如此大观，真可说是不古不今，不中不西，不伦不类。造园之道，可不慎乎？

反之，潍坊十笏园，园甚小，故以十笏名之（笏为上朝时所持手板），清水一池，山廊围之，轩榭浮波，极轻灵有致。触景成咏：“老去江湖兴未阑，园林佳处说般般；亭台虽小情无限，别有缠绵水石间。”北国小园，能饶水石之胜者，以此为最。

泰山有十八盘，盘盘有景，景随人移，气象万千，至南天门，群山俯于脚下，齐鲁青青，千里未了，壮观也。自古帝王，登山封禅，翠辇临幸，高山仰止。如易缆车，匆匆而来，匆匆而去，景游与货运无异。而破坏山景，固不待言。实不解登十八盘参玉皇顶而小天下宏旨。余尝谓旅与游之关系。旅须速，游宜缓，相背行事，有负名山。缆车非不可用，宜于旅，不宜于游也。

名山之麓，不可以环楼、建厂，盖断山之余脉矣。此种恶例，在在可见。新游南京燕子矶、栖霞寺，人不到景点，不知前有景区，序幕之曲，遂成绝响，主角独唱，鸦噪聒耳。所览之景，未允环顾，燕子矶仅临水一面尚可观外，余则黑云滚滚，势袭长江。坐石矶戏为打油诗：“燕子燕子，何不高飞，久栖于斯，坐以待毙。”旧时胜地，不可不来，亦不可再来。山麓既不允建高楼、工厂，而低平建筑却不能缺少，点缀其间，景深自幽，层次增多，亦远山无脚之处理手法。

近年风景名胜之区，与工业矿藏矛盾日益尖锐。取蛋杀鸡之事，屡见不鲜，如南京正在开幕府山矿石，取栖霞山银矿。以有烟工厂而破坏无烟工厂，以取之可尽之资源，而竭取之不尽之资源，最后两败俱伤，同归于尽。应从长远观点来看，权衡轻重，深望主其事者却莫等闲视之。古迹之处应以古为主，不协调之建筑万不能移入。杭州北高峰，南京鼓楼之电视塔，真是触目惊心。在此等问题上，应明确风景区应以风景为主。名胜古迹，应以名胜古迹为主，其他一切不能强加其上。否则，大好河山，祖国文化，将损毁殆尽矣。

唐代白居易守杭州，浚西湖筑白沙堤，未闻其围垦造田。宋代苏轼因之，清代阮元继武前贤。千百年来，人颂其德，建苏白二公祠于孤山之阳。郁达夫有“堤柳而今尚姓苏”之句美之。城市兴衰，善择其要而谋之，西湖为杭州之命脉，西湖失即杭州衰。今日定杭州为旅游风景城市，即基于此。至于城市面貌亦不能孤立处理，务使山水生妍，相映增生。沿钱塘江诸山，应以修整，襟江带湖，实为杭州最胜处。古迹之区，树木栽植，亦必心存“古”字，南京清凉山，门额颜曰“六朝遗迹”，入其内雪松夹道，岂六朝时即植此树耶？古迹新妆，洋为中用，解我朵颐。古迹之修复，非仅建筑一端而已，其环境气氛，陈设之得体，在在有史可据。否则何言古迹，言名胜足矣。“无情最是台城柳，依旧烟笼十里堤。”此意谁知？近人常以个人之爱喜，强加于古人之上。蒲松龄故居，藻饰有如地主庄园，此老如在，将不认其书生陋室。今已逐渐改

观，初复原状，诚佳事也。

园林不在乎饰新，而在于保养；树木不在于添种，而在于修整。山必古，水必疏，草木华滋，好鸟时鸣，四时之景，无不可爱。园林设市肆，非其所宜，主次务必分明。园林建筑必功能与形式相结合，古时造园，一亭一榭，几曲回廊，皆据实际需要出发，不多筑，不虚构，如作诗行文，无废词赘句。学问之道，息息相通。今之园思考欠周，亦如文之推敲不够。园所以兴游，文所以达意。故余谓绝句难吟，小园难筑，其理一也。

王时敏《乐郊园分业记》："……适云间张南垣至，其巧艺直夺天工，怂恿为山甚力……因而穿池种树，标峰置岭，庚申（清康熙十九年，1680年）经始，中间改作者再四，凡数年而后成。"《奉常公年谱》崇祯八年条记云："磴道盘纡，广池澹滟，周遭竹树蓊郁，浑若天成。而凉室邃阁，位置随宜，卉木窗轩，参差掩映，颇极林壑台榭之美。"以张南垣（涟）之高技，其营园改作者再四，益证造园施工之重要，间以必要之翻工修改。必须留有余地。凡观名园，先论神气，再辨时代，此与鉴定古物，其法一也。然园林未有不经修者，故先观全局，次审局部，不论神气，单求枝节，谓之舍本求末，难得定论。

巨山大川，古迹名园，首在神气。五岳之所以为天下名山，亦在于"神气"之旺，今规划风景，不解"神气"，必至庸俗低级，有污山灵。尝见江浙诸洞，每以自然抽象之山石，改成恶俗之形象，故余屡申"还我自然"。此仅一端，人或尚能解之者，他若大起华厦，畅开公路，空悬索道，高树电塔，凡兹种种，山水神气之劲敌也，务必审慎，偶一不当，千古之罪人矣。

园林因地方不同，气候不同，而特征亦不同。园林有其个性，更有其地方性，故产生园林风格，也因之而异，即使同一地区，亦有市园、郊园、平地园、山麓园等之别。园与园之间亦不能强求一致，而各地文化艺术、风土人情、树木品异、山水特征等等，皆能使园变化万千，如

何运用，各臻其妙者，在于设计者之运思。故言造园之学，其识不可不广，其思不可不深。

恽寿平论画又云："潇洒风流谓之韵，尽变奇穷谓之趣。"不独画然，造园置景，亦可互参。今之造园，点景贪多，便少韵致；布局贪大，便少佳趣。韵乃自书卷中得来，趣必从个性中表现。一年游踪所及，评量得失，如此而已。

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ON GARDENS 5

Architecture Department, Tongji University, January 20, 1982

Feeling that I have not said enough about in-motion and in-situ viewing in garden-making in "On Gardens 1," I would like to get all my thoughts on it off my chest in this final instalment of my discourse on gardens.

Motion and stillness are relevant to each other insofar as sightseeing is concerned. Where there is motion there is bound to be stillness, and vice versa. In sightseeing, however, stillness is contained in motion, whereas motion stems from stillness; together, they conjure up innumerable visual changes and scenic wonders. As the *Commentary of the Book of Changes* goes,

> The numbers are combined in various ways, which exhaust all aspects of changes, and, in consequence, the hexagrams form the pattern of Heaven and Earth.

Motion and stillness can also be interpreted, in garden-making parlance, as moving scenes and still scenes respectively. To someone sitting in a pavilion, drifting clouds and flowing water, flying birds and falling flowers are moving views, whereas rockeries and trees observed from a moving boat are still views. A body of tranquil water is a still view, and the fish swimming in it are moving views. Thus motion and stillness interact in an engaging way. Therefore, scenery unveils itself to a perceiving eye which sees motion in stillness and stillness in motion.

> Seen in-situ, multitudes come forth of their own accord,
> Seasonal sights change in the same way as man's mood.

This line summarizes the ins and outs of mutations in all things. In a typical case of intangibles relying on tangibles for existence, a garden loses all its natural appeals if it is stripped of its fair share of water, cloud, shadow, sound, morning sunshine and setting sun.

Even in still things there is motion. Sitting in front of an erected rockery riddled through with cavities, one finds that its sprightly wrinkles and robust lines, though still, seem to be flying. A water surface seems to be still, yet it keeps swaying and rippling on its own. A painting seems to be still, yet movement presents itself before the eye. A still thing entails no motion if it appears inanimate. Thus the visual results of a garden being created hinge upon its scenes and sights for in-situ and in-motion viewing. He who can make sense of this rule has by and large grasped the rule governing the craft of gardens.

The feel of texture in certain material is real, whereas the feel of color is illusory. The feel of texture is the foremost factor in a garden's genuine appeal. This principle applies to architecture as well, which brims with divine charms if it offers the real feel of texture, but loses such charms if the illusory feel of color holds sway. If a garden loses its feel of texture, it would look like stage property. If a painting or a work of calligraphy is devoid of the feel of texture, it would look like a print. Therefore, lacquered pillars and carved

girders can only bedazzle those who are enticed by their gaudy appearances, whereas a thatched hut with bamboo hedges can be highly thought-provoking. In *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Chapter Seventeen), "Literary Talent Is Tested by Composing Inscriptions in Grand View Garden," the author comments on plagiarism perpetrated in building the Paddy-Sweet Cottage through Baoyu's mouth,

There you are! A farm here is obviously artificial and out of place with no

> villages in the distance, no fields near by, no mountain ranges behind, no source for the stream at hand, above, no pagoda from any half hidden temples, below, no bridge leading to a market. Perched here in isolation, it is nothing like as fine a sight as those other places [the Bamboo Lodge] which follow the law of nature and capture the appeals of nature. The bamboos and streams there didn't look so artificial. What the ancients called "a natural picture" means precisely that when you insist on an unsuitable site and hills where no hills should be, however skilfully you go about it the result is bound to jar…

Here, plagiarism stands for what is described as "artificial" and "out of place" in a garden, whereas those which "follow the law of nature and capture the appeals of nature" stand for realness. The above quote from the 17th-century Chinese novel is worth a complete essay on garden-making.

The famed Northern Song painter Guo Xi (*c* . 1000-*c* . 1080) says,

> Water adopts the mountain it winds its way through as its face…and thus acquires feminine allure from the mountain.

In the annals of Chinese landscape painting, nobody has ever said that water and rockery can be treated separately. The above quotation of Guo Xi gives tacit expression to his insight on the rules for landscape gardening, rules that can stand those who act on them in good stead one way or another. At the first sight, water and stone appear to be a pair of opposites, but in essence, water can change itself only by relying on rockery. Without rocks, water will be devoid of form or shape, which is why rock must be made to protrude from shallow water and assume the form of an isle chain in deep water. At the Seven Star Crags of Zhaoqing, Guangdong province, rocks are spectacular and brooks bewitching, with stones shimmering in rippling water, water-curtained caves sequestered in mystic repose, and streams taking winding courses—all this is attributed to water's interminable changes,

without which rocks will elude attention, and shores will be shapeless. For this reason, water and rockery cannot be separated, or else the law of nature is violated, and realness lost.

A garden's personality is hinged on interdependence between mountain and water. Therefore, it is imperative to dig a pond to bring in water. In the gardens of south Jiangsu province, ponds are graced with winding embankments to impart a gentle touch to the setting. Many gardens in the Ningbo-Shaoxing Plain in Zhejiang province feature square ponds, resulting in views that are flat and straight. Water is shapeless to begin with; it is the embankments that bring it into shape. Water inlets and embankments, be they straight or twisting, are instrumental in shaping water's surface. Because of embankments water becomes gentle or vivacious, motionless or flowing. An embankment built of delicate rocks endows water with the spell of feminine grace, while an embankment made of rustic rocks adds masculine verve to water. A rock looks plain and simple on account of its bucolic shape, and a projecting rock owes its appearance to the manifold differences in its façade, whereas a rock with its beauty disguised in ugliness is deemed a rare treasure among all rocks because of its peculiar character. Rocks may be masculine or feminine, pretty or ugly. Water can look aggressive or gentle only with rocks as the difference-maker.

A deserted garden does not mean it is not worth visiting, just as a remnant poem or essay is not necessarily unappreciable. We have got to know that a tattered piece of brocade or a broken shard of jade can still be prized as objet d'art: the beholder hates to part with it merely on account of its genuine character. Gong Zizhen (1792-1841) has this to say,

"Weiji," the last hexagram, renders one at a loss,

Things'd be imperfect but for their drawbacks;

Someone my age chants beyond hills at sunset,

Hard to avoid is the lingering worldly aftertaste.

Garden-makers ought to grasp the spirit of this poem.

> One sees a mountain's face in spring, finds its vitality in summer, feels its mood in autumn, and discovers its bones in winter.

> Mountains appear low at night, close at hand on sunny days, and high at dawn.

By investing their sentiments in the scenery they were seeing, our forebears wanted to drive home the fact that because of changes in the four seasons, it is as hard to create scenery as to make sense of the scenery that meets one's eyes. What is implied in the line, "With tears brimming my eyes I ask the flowers, but get no answer," is silliness; what is implied in the line, "The spring breeze is let go of its untold frustration," is resentment. People go sightseeing with feelings. Such feelings give rise to interest in the sight and culminate in passion for the landscape, so much so that one is disposed to regard a spring or a rock as a bosom friend. People's aesthetic attainment or depth of feeling, or the lack of it, has very much to do with their cultural cultivation. For this reason I would like to reiterate that if you do not appreciate a garden you should not go see it; if you cannot go see a garden, you should not make one.

The craft of gardens is a multidisciplinary science, whose rich stock of philosophy enables the crafter to observe manifold changes in the course of it. Simply put, it takes intangible poetic mood and picturesque perception to construct tangible waters, rockeries, pavilions and terraces. Dark or gloomy, wind and rain can cause infinite changes to scenery, while differences between southland and northland in geography and folkways are extra factors that ought to be taken into full account. As each visitor takes what he likes

from the various functions of a garden he is visiting, on no account should the garden crafter supplant reality with illusion. A garden thus crafted is unlikely to offer well-conceived constructions. Arbitrary studies of a traditional garden to the neglect of the society and lifestyle of its time can be as far-fetched as Han-dynasty Confucians' interpretations of canonical classics. For this reason, garden crafters of today should avoid falling into the old rut of their predecessors, and make their wealth of life experience and erudite knowledge instrumental in advancing their careers.

Painters can portray the beauty of the same scenery with different brushstrokes, whereas writers can describe it from diverse points of view. Performers can vocalize the same aria and achieve sublimity in different ways as per their respective schools of performance. In the same token, a garden can be designed in different ways, but the peerless design invariably comes from the designer with the keenest eye and finest distillation from all factors.

In the beginning I had a hard time comprehending why people of the Song were so enamoured of landscape paintings done by lavishing greenish blue on vermilion color bases. It was not until I saw Mount Songshan on a midsummer day that I finally came to terms with this style of painting. There, the Central Plain's dark red soil was covered by deep green vegetation that gleamed amidst well-scattered green-and-golden pavilions and belvederes, and it instantly reminded me of the landscape paintings of General Li Sixun (651-716) [1] and his son. Both men's paintings, done with saturated color tones on an agreeable chromatic scheme, capture exactly the celestial charms of the landscape of central China. By contrast, the landscape of the Jiangnan area is always portrayed in paintings with subtle azurite and malachite green on an ochre and green color base, with buildings outlined against a light dark

backdrop. Eyecatching in a refreshing way, these paintings serve exactly as the drafts for Jiangnan gardens. In either case, it is conceptions that lead the way, and are executed through well-coordinated coloration and brushwork.

I have said that the buildings and gardens of Suzhou are of a gentle and suave style, or, to put it in the local dialect of the former kingdom of Wu, "glutinously mellow." By contrast, most gardens in Yangzhou are as elegant and dynamic as the lyrical poems of Jiang Kui (1154-1221), who portrays sentimental heartthrobs with a robust writing brush. Though different in style, these two schools of landscape architecture and gardening stem from the same quest for realness, that is, to present engrossing garden scenery. A garden's style has to be fixed before its components are dealt with individually. As to whether a pavilion or a waterside verandah ought to be built, which school of artificial mountains ought to be chosen, and in what fashion should water be brought in, all the answers could be found from a well-conceived plan in which measures are adjusted to the actual situation and views borrowed methodically. At the same time, the garden's general style must be strictly followed, flexibly employed, and prescribed rules observed when rocks and flowers were chosen and sights for in-situ or inmotion viewing decided. For this reason, the garden crafter must stay composed, have everything at his finger-tips, and take it easy as he goes about his job. Only thus can he lay out his garden in a sensible way. If a garden is to excel in natural momentum, it must show integrity in its conception and layout.

When I was sightseeing in the mountains of Fujian province, I found that their peaks were bald, trees were scarce, outcroppings were everywhere, old trees had twisted roots and gnarled trunks, and the mountainous terrain was there for all to see. I was able to identify the landscape with certain

schools of painting and texturing techniques right away. We can always figure out a painting technique from a real scene, or associate such a scene with a particular painting technique. The turbulent streams and monoliths shimmering in swift rapids in Fujian make ideal prototypes for construction of artificial mountains. The precipices of Huizhou in south Anhui and Fangyan in east Zhejiang also find expression in the texturing techniques of traditional painting. The landscapes in these places, each featuring a distinct variety of topographic wrinkles and textures, never fail to captivate the sightseer with a bonanza of scenes for in-motion or in-situ viewing. Our ancients loved to appreciate rocks and meditate in front of a cliff wall because it enabled them to ruminate the philosophy and values entailed in them.

The hardest part in composing a lyrical poem to a stylized tune is that the transition between its upper and lower stanzas calls for wording and meaning that sound at once attached and detached. The same is true with garden-making, where dexterous and impeccable application of transitions between vistas is essential to achieving uninterrupted momentum and perennial aesthetic appeals in a garden of a thousand hectares, where all the streams flow along zigzagging courses, all the artificial mountains jostle in picturesque disorder, all the lofts and towers set off each other felicitously, and all the trees reach high into the sky while the ground is carpeted with flowering plants—none of these components are left in isolation on the premises. Thanks to smooth transition between views, the garden remains open and spacious while its terrain undulates and meanders, and provides ready access to various nooks and crannies. Transitions of this type, however, ought to be effected through appropriate media, perchance, such as a roofed walkway between buildings, or a bridge between a flowing stream's different

sections. Without transitional coloration, a color scheme cannot level off smoothly from dazzling brilliance to simple and subtle hues. Touch-up brush strokes employed in painting also come in handy for transitioning in a landscape garden so that its momentum can be maintained and its spatial and spiritual verve conveyed to the beholder. The relationship between intangibles and tangibles calls for smooth transition as well, so that scenes can be infinite and their appeals unfailing. To attain intangibles from tangibles, and to seek a lingering effect from a song or a piece of instrumental music, the secondary may outweigh the principal, and a role player can sometimes outdo the leading actor. The reason why "a river can flow beyond heaven and earth, and a mountain's hue can teeter between nonexistence and existence" is because intangibles can sometimes accomplish what tangibles cannot.

A city cannot do without making gardens, for it really matters for the well-being of its dwellers. The key to the success of such a craft, however, lies in "view borrowing" and "view screening" techniques. No gardens in a city can do without view borrowing. The three lakes in Beijing are good examples in this regard, where views from the imposing walls and halls of the former Forbidden City are appropriately borrowed. According to Li Gefei (*c* . 1045-*c* . 1105) in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* ,

> There, if one gazes out to the north, he will see halls and towers in the palace compounds of Sui-Tang times, with thousands of doors and ten times as many windows, lofty and elevated, resplendent and gorgeous, extending over ten miles. What took Zuo Si [2] ten years of utmost efforts to describe in his rhapsodies can be exhausted here at one glance.

However, I seldom hear of gardens with smokestacks in close proximity or factory buildings lurking in the background. The only exceptions are the

Humble Administrator's Garden and the Loving Couple's Garden [3] in Suzhou, for whose awkwardness I can only sigh in helplessness. But there is no lack of exemplary gardens that borrow views from a mountain in a city's outskirts or from a pagoda in a Buddhist temple in the distance. Apart from "view borrowing," there is "view screening," meaning that a city garden must be screened off vulgar and ugly vistas. Integration and separation are a pair of opposites that can also be made to supplement each other. Without screening the vulgar part of a vista off a garden, there is no way to bring the elegant part of it into the fold. Without covering up ugliness, how can a garden's beauty be brought into focus? Because a scenery to be created may be one- or double-sided, we have got to make a choice. At one end of the Gratification Garden in Shanghai there is the Profuse Beauty Hall, whose backside faces a busy street and whose front is reposed in the seclusion of the Giant Artificial Mountain's northern foot, but visitors wandering about the hall are oblivious of the urban traffic and din simply because a wall has screened the celestial world in the garden off the secular world outside of it. Screening, indeed, can work wonders. In 1980, when I was building the Astor Court, a Ming-style Chinese garden in imitation of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's Late-Spring Peony Lodge, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City that occupies two floors and has no views to be borrowed, I had double gates and tall walls erected to create a secluded world in which fine scenic results are guaranteed. A garden must have a "prelude" to guide the visitor gradually into the heart of its scenery, which is something that should not be trifled with, and the transition methods described in the foregoing must be put to good use. None of the traditional gardens in the cities of the Jiangnan area can dispense with such a "prelude." However, the gardens built these days are often made to come straight to the point, lest the visitor fail to know they are

visiting a garden, and the new front gate of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence in Suzhou is a case in point. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a semi-closed garden, and the sceneries across the river are within reach and serve as a "prelude" that ushers the visitor into the garden without knowing it for a leisured stroll.

Before a dying garden is repaired or resurrected, its history must be studied first, its status quo thoroughly grasped, all its rock formations and architectural elements accurately dated, and their salient features pinpointed. Only then can a repair or restoration plan be considered. This is like mounting an ancient painting, whose touch-up strokes must be perused and fathomed out—a task that can be more difficult than painting a new one. In the course of the repairs, every brushstroke must be mulled over beforehand. Engineering work ought to begin with buildings, in which carpentry comes first and plastering comes next. Only after major carpentry work is done can ponds be refurbished, artificial mountains repaired and new rockwork erected. The planting of trees and flowers can sometimes be weaved into the engineering work. Roads should be paved, walls repaired and nameboards painted and hung up on the last leg of engineering work. Then the repair or restoration project is over, with furnishing forthcoming.

In landscape gardening, ancient rules can be followed and foreign practices assimilated, but these two aspects are in no way mutually exclusive. To mesh old heritages with modern things, and to make the past serve the present, is an inevitable trend, but blatant plagiarism and patchwork at the expense of judicious quest for style and spiritual charms are not recommended. For this reason, garden history and the craft of gardens past and present, Chinese and foreign must be thoroughly explored alongside their aesthetics and historical and cultural backgrounds. Only with well-

documented literature and pertinent allusions from canonical classics can we assimilate the theories and expertise past and present, Chinese and foreign. Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715) says,

> To copy a painting is not as desirable as to observe it. Upon coming across the authentic work of an ancient painter, we had better trace it to its root, and study its concept and its composition, its discrepancies, strengths and drawbacks, as well as its layout, brushstrokes and inkwork. There must be something that the ancient painter did better than we can, and with time, we can eventually gain a true understanding of the painting and the painter.

The way of learning introduced in this passage is worth emulating. The Japanese learned from us Chinese before the Meiji Reform (1868-1912) and from Europe afterward. They are imitating the Americans lately, but what merits attention is that the Yamato tradition always runs through Japanese buildings and gardens. History studies naturally have all along figured prominently in Japan, and the collections of Chinese books in Japan's libraries are so extensive as to be astonishing! Ji Cheng's book *The Craft of Gardens* we see today was actually copied from its original kept in Japan. The Japanese collections of European and American materials are immense as well. Japanese scholars of the older generation, like ItōChūta (1867-1954), Tokiwa Daijō (1870-1945) and Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935), [4] were among the prominent figures in the study of Chinese architecture. As crystallizations of hard work and down-to-earth attitude and approaches, their books on this field of learning are still playing a major role in the academic world today. They took great pains in collecting first- and second-hand data, and, by distilling essence from a wealth of information, eventually came to the fore as erudite scholars. Indeed, "Stones borrowed from other hills are ideal for working one's own jade." As "view borrowing" is often stressed in landscape

gardening, is there any difference between garden-making and learning in this regard?

Garden-making involves tangibles and intangibles. The same is true with learning. As I conclude this five-instalment discourse of some ten thousand words, I think I have used up all my stock of learning. Short of substance though this discourse may be, I would not have written it if I had not devoted half of my lifetime to traversing the country, visiting all the famous gardens and practicing the craft of gardens. I am here presenting my humble opinions with a desire to consult and learn from all the experts in this field of endeavour. If my ageing heart still allows me to make new discoveries and gain new insights, I will definitely burn my candle and write them out deep into the night.

说园（五）

《说园》首篇余既阐造园动观静观之说，意有未尽，续畅论之。动、静二字，本相对而言，有动必有静，有静必有动，然而在园林景观中，静寓动中，动由静出，其变化之多，造景之妙，层出不穷，所谓通其变，遂成天地之文。若静坐亭中，行云流水，鸟飞花落，皆动也。舟游人行，而山石树木，则又静止者。止水静，游鱼动，静动交织，自成佳趣。故以静观动，以动观静则景出。“万物静观皆自得，四时佳兴与人同。”事物之变概乎其中。若园林无水，无云，无影，无声，无朝晖，无夕阳，则无以言天趣，虚者实所倚也。

静之物，动亦存焉。坐对石峰，透漏俱备，而皴法之明快，线条之飞俊，虽静犹动。水面似静，涟漪自动。画面似静，动态自现。静之物若无生意，即无动态。故动观静观，实造园产生效果之最关键处，明乎此则景观之理初解矣。

质感存真，色感呈伪，园林得真趣，质感居首，建筑之佳者，亦同斯理。真则存神，假则失之，园林失真，有如布景，书画失真，则同印刷，故画栋雕梁，徒眩眼目，竹篱茅舍，引人遐思。《红楼梦》“大观园试才题对额”一回，曹雪芹借宝玉之口，评稻香村之作伪云：“此处置一田庄，分明是人力造作成的。远无邻村，近不负郭，背山无脉，临水无源，高无隐寺之塔，下无通市之桥，峭然孤出，似非大观，那及前数处（指潇湘馆）有自然之理、自然之趣呢？虽种竹引泉，亦不伤穿凿。古人云：‘天然图画’四字，正恐非其地而强为其地，非其山而强为其山，即百般精巧，终非相宜。”所谓“人力造作”，所谓“穿凿”者，伪也。所谓“有自然之理，得自然之趣”者，真也。借小说以说园，可抵一篇造园论也。

郭熙谓：“水以山为面”，“水得山而媚”，自来模水范山，未有孤立

言之者。其得山水之理，会心乎此，则左右逢源，要之此二语，表面观之似水石相对，实则水必赖石以变，无石则水无形、无态，故浅水露矶，深水列岛。广东肇庆七星岩，岩奇而水美，矶濑隐现波面，而水洞幽深，水湾曲折，水之变化无穷，若无水，则岩不显，岸无形，故两者绝不能分割而论，分则悖自然之理，亦失真矣。

一园之特征，山水相依，凿池引水，尤为重要。苏南之园，其池多曲，其境柔和。宁绍之园，其池多方，其景平直。故水本无形，因岸成之，平直也好，曲折也好，水口堤岸皆构成水面形态之重要手法。至于水柔水刚，水止水流，亦皆受堤岸以左右之。石清得阴柔之妙，石顽得阳刚之健。浑朴之石，其状在拙；奇突之峰，其态在变，而丑石在诸品中尤为难得，以其更富有个性，丑中寓美也。石固有刚柔美丑之别，而水亦有奔放宛转之致，是皆因石而起变。

荒园非不可游，残篇非不可看，要知佳者虽零锦碎玉亦是珍品，犹能予人留恋，存其真耳。龚自珍诗云："未济终焉心飘渺，万事都从缺陷好；吟到夕阳山外山，世间难免余情绕。"造园亦必通此消息。

"春见山容，夏见山气，秋见山情，冬见山骨。""夜山低，晴山近，晓山高。"前人之论，实寓情观景，以见四时之变，造景自难，观景不易。"泪眼问花花不语"，痴也；"解释春风无限恨"，怨也。故游必有情，然后有兴，钟情山水，知己泉石，其审美与感受之深浅，实与文化修养有关。故我重申：不能品园，不能游园；不能游园，不能造园。

造园综合性科学也，且包含哲理，观万变于其中。浅言之，以无形之诗情画意，构有形之水石亭台。晦暝风雨，又皆能促使其景物变化无穷，而南北地理之殊，风土人情之异，更加因素增多。且人游其间，功能各取所需，绝不能以幻想代替真实，故造园脱离功能，固无佳构，研究古园而不明当时社会及生活，妄加分析，正如汉儒释经，转多穿凿，因此古今之园，必不能陈陈相因，而丰富之生活，渊博之知识，要皆有助于斯。

一景之美，画家可以不同笔法表现之，文学家可以各种不同角度描写之。演员运腔，各抒其妙，哪宗哪派，自存面貌。故同一园林，可以不同手法设计之。皆由观察之深，提炼之精，特征方出。余初不解宋人大青绿山水，以朱砂作底色赤，上敷青绿，迨游中原嵩山，时值盛夏，土色皆红，所被草木尽深绿色，而楼阁参差，金碧辉映，正大小李将军之山水也。其色调皆重厚，色度亦相当，绚烂夺目，中原山川之神乃出。而江南淡青绿山水，每以赭石及草青打底，轻抹石青石绿，建筑勾勒间架，衬以淡赭，清新悦目，正江南园林之粉本。故立意在先，协调从之，自来艺术手法一也。

余尝谓苏州建筑及园林，风格在于柔和，吴语所谓“糯”，扬州建筑与园林，风格则多雅健，如宋代姜夔词，以“健笔写柔情”，皆欲现怡人之园景，风格各异，存真则一。风格定始能言局部单体，宜亭斯亭，宜榭斯榭。山叠何派，水引何式，必须成竹在胸也，才能因地制宜，借景有方，亦必循风格之特征，巧妙运用之。选石、择花、动静观赏，均有所据，故造园必以极镇静而从容之笔，信手拈来，自多佳构。所谓以气胜之，必总体完整矣。

余闽游观山，秃峰少木，石形外露，古根盘曲，而山势山貌毕露，分明能辨何家山水，何派皴法，能于实物中悟画法，可以画法来证实物。而闽溪水险，矶濑激湍，凡此琐琐，皆叠山极好之祖本。他如皖南徽州、浙东方岩之石壁，画家皴法，方圆无能。此种山水皆以皴法之不同，予人以动静感觉之有别，古人爱石、面壁，皆参悟哲理其中。

填词有“过片（变）”（亦名“换头”），即上半阕与下半阕之间，词与意必须若接若离，其难在此。造园亦必注意“过片”，运用自如，虽千顷之园，亦气势完整，韵味隽永。曲水轻流，峰峦重叠，楼阁掩映，木仰花承，皆非孤立。其间高低起伏，间畅逶迤，在在有“过片”之笔，此过渡之笔在乎各种手法之适当运用。即如楼阁以廊为过渡，溪流以桥为过渡。色泽由绚烂而归平淡，无中间之色不见调和，画中所用补笔接

气，皆为过渡之法，无过渡，则气不贯，园不空灵。虚实之道，在乎过渡得法，如是则景不尽而韵无穷，实处求虚，正曲求余音，琴听尾声，要于能察及次要，而又重于主要，配角有时能超于主角之上者。“江流天地外，山色有无中”，贵在无胜于有也。

城市必须造园，此有关人民生活，欲臻其美，妙在“借”“隔”，城市非不可以借景，若北京三海，借景故宫，嵯峨城阙，杰阁崇殿，与李格非《洛阳名园记》所述：“以北望则隋唐宫阙楼殿，千门万户，岧峣璀璨，延亘十余里，凡左太冲十余年极力而赋者，可瞥目而尽也。”但未闻有烟囱近园，厂房为背景者，有之，唯今日之苏州拙政园、耦园，已成此怪状，为之一叹。至若能招城外山色，远寺浮屠，亦多佳例。此一端在“借”。而另一端在“隔”，市园必隔，俗者屏之。合分本相对而言，亦相辅而成，不隔其俗，难引其雅，不掩其丑，何逞其美？造景中往往有能观一面者，有能观两面者，在乎选择得宜。上海豫园萃秀堂，乃尽端建筑，厅后为市街，然面临大假山，深隐北麓，人留其间，不知身处市嚣中，仅一墙之隔，判若仙凡，隔之妙可见。曩岁余为美国建中国庭园纽约“明轩”，于二层内部构园，休言“借景”，必重门高垣，以隔造景，效果始出。而园之有前奏，得能渐入佳境，万不可率尔从事，前述过渡之法，于此须充分利用。江南市园，无不皆存前奏。今则往往开门见山，唯恐人不知其为园林。苏州怡园新建大门，即犯此病。沧浪亭虽属半封闭之园，而园中景色，隔水可呼，缓步入园，前奏有序，信是成功。

旧园修复，首究园史，详勘现状，情况彻底清楚，对山石建筑等作出年代鉴定，特征所在，然后考虑修缮方案。正如裱古画接笔反复揣摩，其难有大于创作，必再三推敲，审慎下笔。其施工程序，当以建筑居首，木作领先，水作为辅，大木完工，方可整池、修山、立峰，而补树栽花，有时须穿插行之，最后铺路修墙。油漆悬额，一园乃成，唯待家具之布置矣。

造园可以遵古为法，亦可以以洋为师，两者皆不排斥。古今结合，古为今用，亦势所必然，若境界不究，风格未求，妄加抄袭拼凑，则非所取。故古今中外，造园之史，构园之术，来龙去脉，以及所形成之美学思想，历史文化条件，在在需进行探讨，然后文有据，典有征，古今中外运我笔底，则为尚矣。古人云：“临画不如看画，遇古人真本，向上研求，视其定意若何，结构若何，出入若何，偏正若何，安放若何，用笔若何，积墨若何，必于我有一出头地处，久之自与吻合矣。”用功之法，足可参考。日本明治维新之前学习中土，明治维新后效法欧洲，近又模仿美国，其建筑与园林，总表现大和民族之风格，所谓有“日本味”。此种现状，值得注意。至此历史之研究自然居首重地位，试观其图书馆所收之中文书籍，令人瞠目，即以《园冶》而论，我国亦转录自东土。继以欧美资料亦汗牛充栋，而前辈学者，如伊东忠太、常盘大定、关野贞等诸先生，长期调查中国建筑，所为著作至今犹存极高之学术地位，真表现其艰苦结实之治学态度与方法。以抵于成，在得力于收集之大量直接与间接资料，由博返约。他山之石，可以攻玉，造园重“借景”，造园与为学又何独不然。

园林言虚实，为学亦若是，余写《说园》连续五章，虽洋洋万言，至此江郎才尽矣。半生湖海，踏遍名园，成此空论，亦自实中得之。敢贡己见，有求教于今之专家。老去情怀，容续有所得，当秉烛赓之。

1982年1月20日于同济大学建筑系

GARDENS SOUTH AND NORTH DIFFER IN SCENERY

Department of Architecture, Tongji University, October 10, 1981

Vernal rain south of the Yangtze River;

Autumn wind north of the Yellow River.

This terse line tells decisively of the climatic differences between south and north China that affect the scenic vistas in both regions. Likewise, any talk about the differences between gardens of south and north China cannot do without taking such natural differences into account. I once said that mankind's first dwellings were dens in the north and nests in the south, with the former evolving into sheds that have a window in one wall and the latter being widely open in most cases. The same is true of garden buildings. Those in the north are not as open and airy as most of their southern counterparts. Indeed, in terms of natural environment, the universal law of causality is obviously at work when it comes to differences between sumptuous northern gardens and graceful Jiangnan gardens. Like other branches of culture, a garden inevitably bears its local characteristics, a phenomenon which has multiple causes behind it.

The poetic lines, "Low bridge, stream running, cottages" and "Wooded flatland, setting sun, homecoming crows," describe different scenic views and their effects on people. The loftiness and majesty of the northland, and the demure grace of the southland bestow diverse personalities on local gardens. According to Li Gefei's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* , the northern gardens of the Tang and the Song offer imposing scenery with

earthen dens and giant trees but lack such scenery as piled-up rocks and diminutive brooks. From the Ming-Qing period (1368-1911) onward, the gardens in and around Beijing changed tremendously under the influence of southern gardens. Some of such changes were made through innovations to overcome natural barriers, which was manifest first of all in the use of water, so that in the water-poor north, only with water could a garden make a difference and put itself on the map. The gardens built in Beijing's western outskirts are naturally endowed with water, whereas those in city proper had to fill the ponds dug on their premises with water channelled from the suburbs.

Water being the case, most artificial mountains in southern gardens are built of Lake Tai rocks—chunks of moist limestone with rich postures and refined charms. When piled up to form a mountain, such rocks always "allow water to flow around the mountain and enable the mountain to come alive with water." In northern gardens, artificial mountains are built with indigenous lake rocks, which turn out to be a kind of slate that is too thick and heavy and devoid of the kind of subtle gracefulness that characterizes authentic Lake Tai rocks from the Jiangnan area.

Given the long annual defoliation periods of deciduous flowers and trees, large numbers of evergreen trees like pines and cypresses are planted in northern gardens. Under white clouds and azure skies, these trees' dark green colors contrast strikingly with yellow-glazed rooftops, vermillion pillars, and peony and crabapple flowers to bring about prospects in dazzling splendor. In comparison, gardens in the moist Jiangnan area feature white-washed walls and dark roof tiles, bamboo shades, orchids' aroma, and stream-girdled belvederes. Such gardens are segmented into quite a few yards by winding loggias, so that despite their usually small spaces, they provide enough room

for people to loiter and give them the impression that there are infinite scenes and sights to be discovered in their recesses, while the ubiquitous deciduous trees keep the visitors in intimate touch with the four changing seasons. Luxurious grass and trees are special gifts bestowed by nature on this part of the country. Nevertheless, the northland is not without its small gardens and sights just as the south is not without its large ones.

Most Chinese landscape paintings in the northern tradition are splendid in green and golden colors whereas those in the southern tradition are based on gray and light carmine backgrounds, so are the gardens respectively in these two traditions because they share the same poetic sentiments, picturesque conceptions and images as poetry and painting. The imperial gardens (and the gardens built in a similar style by bureaucrats and landlords) in the north, which I call "palace gardens," look noble and majestic but are not without their vulgarities. Subtly serene and elegant, rich in scholastic quality as the gardens in the south are, there is no lack of humble and shabby ones among them. Thus successful northern gardens are invested with scholastic quality, with the finest of them always being those "northern gardens bestowed with a southern tone." Moreover, a successful northern garden invariably has some pools deployed meticulously in its precincts, just like a lady's pair of eyes that are always the most fascinating part of her looks.

I am fond of comparing the southern gardens to Kunqu Opera and the northern gardens—those built after the Tongzhi (1862-1874) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns of the Qing in particular—to Peking Opera. So heavily influenced is Peking Opera by Kunqu Opera that we can say the former was more or less evolved from the latter. The two are different from each other, and people, too, feel differently about them, but none of the celebrated

Peking Opera stars has not worked hard on Kunqu Opera. Similarly, the creation of famous northern gardens must have involved the wisdom and labour of southern artisans. Constant cultural exchange gives rise to new things. In the Chinese garden's course of development there is a medium between southern and northern traditions, that is, the Yangzhou school of gardens which differs from both its Jiangnan and North China counterparts in that it is a hybrid of the two, and its salient features bear out the complexity of Yangzhou's geographic conditions and of the city's cultural exchanges with southern and northern regions.

Tourism is being advocated nowadays, but it is by no means about "having a good time" merely—I would say it is an exalted form of cultural recreation. When we marvel at scenic attractions and gardens, we have got to be good at making analyses and comparisons, for the real meaning of sightseeing lies in the knowledge and wisdom we are to gain therefrom.

园林分南北　景物各千秋

“春雨江南，秋风蓟北。”这短短两句分明道出了江南与北国景色的不同。当然喽，谈园林南北的不同，不可能离开自然的差异。我曾经说过，从人类开始有居室，北方是属于窝的系统，原始于穴居，发展到后来的民居，是单面开窗为主，而园林建筑物亦少空透。南方是巢居，其原始建筑为棚，故多敞口，园林建筑物亦然。产生这些有别的情况，还是先就自然环境言之，华丽的北方园林，雅秀的江南园林，有其果，必有其因。园林与其他文化一样，都有地方特性，这种特性形成还是多方面的。

“小桥流水人家”，“平林落日归鸦”，分明两种不同境界。当然北方的高亢，与南中的婉约，使园林在总的性格上不同了。北方园林我们从《洛阳名园记》中所见的唐宋园林，用土穴、大树，景物雄健，而少叠石小泉之景。明清以后，以北京为中心的园林，受南方园林影响，有了很大变化。但是自然条件却有所制约，当然也有所创新。首先对水的利用，北方艰于有水，有水方成名园，故北京西郊造园得天独厚。而市园，除引城外水外，则聚水为池，赖人力为之了。水如此，石南方用太湖石，是石灰岩，多湿润，故“水随山转，山因水活”，多姿态，有秀韵。北方用土太湖、云片石，厚重有余，委宛不足，自然之态，终逊南中。且每年花木落叶，时间较长，因此多用长绿树为主，大量松柏遂为园林主要植物。其浓绿色衬在蓝天白云之下，与黄瓦红柱、牡丹海棠起极鲜明的对比，绚烂夺目，华丽炫人。而在江南的气候条件下，粉墙黛瓦，竹影兰香，小阁临流，曲廊分院，咫尺之地，容我周旋，所谓“小中见大”，淡雅宜人，多不尽之意。落叶树的栽植，又使人们有四季的感觉。草木华滋，是它得天独厚处。北方非无小园、小景，南方亦存大园、大景。亦正如北宗山水多金碧重彩，南宗多水墨浅绛的情形相同，

因为园林所表现的诗情画意，正与诗画相同，诗画言境界，园林同样言境界。北方皇家园林（官僚地主园林，风格亦近似），我名之为宫廷园林，其富贵气固存，而庸俗之处亦在所不免。南方的清雅平淡，多书卷气，自然亦有寒酸简陋的地方。因此北方的好园林，能有书卷气。所谓北园南调，自然是高品。因此成功的北方园林，都能注意水的应用，正如一个美女一样，那一双秋波是最迷人的地方。

我喜欢用昆曲来比南方园林，用京剧来比北方园林（是指同治、光绪后所造园），京剧受昆曲影响很大，多少也可以说从昆曲中演变出来，但是有些差异，使人的感觉也有些不同。然而最著名的京剧演员，没有一个不在昆曲上下过功夫。而北方的著名园林，亦应有南匠参加。文化不断交流，又产生了新的事物。在造园中又有南北园林的介体——扬州园林，它既不同于江南园林，又有别于北方园林，而园的风格则两者兼有之。从造园的特点上，可以证明其所处地理条件与文化交流诸方面的复杂性了。

现在，我们提倡旅游，旅游不是“白相”（上海方言：玩），是高尚的文化生活，我们赏景观园，要善于分析、思索、比较，在游的中间可以得到很多学问，增长我们的智慧，那才是有意义的。

POETRY, PROSE AND CRAFT OF GARDENS

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The classical Chinese garden is known as "literatus garden" for its rich stock of scholastic garden-making heritage. The Fragrant Hill Hotel, built two year ago in the garden of the same name in suburban Beijing's Western Hills, is a brainchild of the celebrated American Chinese architect Ieoh Ming Pei (1917-). It is acclaimed as an "elegant building of scholastic quality" because in it, architecture meshes perfectly with the garden's scenery. In my opinion, it is "elegant, clean, spic and span, tidy, and refreshing to a turn." Both descriptions are of the same meaning, pointing to the fact that no talk about the Chinese garden is complete without classic Chinese poetry and prose. But how about painting? The Chinese painting we see today stems from the Southern Song (1127-1279) literatus painting, a synthesis in which "there is painting in poetry, and poetry in painting." Poetry and prose, therefore, are at the root of Chinese painting as well. Herein lies the cardinal principle governing the Chinese craft of gardens.

After the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589), scholar-officials grew more and more infatuated with landscape as they sought to shun the clamour of the troubling world by abandoning themselves to mountains and waters and investing their sentiments in picturesque scenes and sights. They took action, and coupled it with poetry and prose. Gardens emerged in time to meet the demand, which evolved into a tradition during the Sui-Tang period (581-907) that was to be handed down through the Song and the Yuan to the Ming and the Qing. Bai Juyi (772-846) built a thatched hut for himself on

Mount Lushan, and his "Notes on the Thatched Hut on Mount Lushan" is still read and reread to this day. Li Gefei's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* is as elegantly worded as the gardens under his writing brush are ornately adorned. Indeed, gardens are conceived in literature, and their names are spread through literature as well. In this mutually supplementary relationship, gardens are tangible embodiments of literature, and literature gives tangible expression to gardens—in a sense, the Chinese garden and literature share the one and same identity.

The merit or demerit of a garden depends on its owner's cultural attainment. Many celebrated gardens across the land were owned by literati-painters, and naturally the conceptions of such gardens are originated in verse and prose. Apart from a garden's owner, his hangers-on, including men of letters, painters, musicians and rockery crafters, offered their fair share of counsel and designs. When a garden was completed, a coterie of celebrities and friends would gather in drinking parties to compose poetry and comment on the new garden's strengths and weaknesses, after which the garden would go through revisions and reconstructions accordingly. It took four rounds of revisions for Zhang Lian (1587-1673) to complete the Garden of Suburban Delights he was making for the renowned painter Wang Shimin (1592-1680), an example which shows a celebrated garden is not completed at one stretch. Such a practice was even more pronounced in the late Ming (1368-1644). I once argued that poetry and prose, calligraphy and painting, and traditional opera are different forms of the same thoughts or feelings. But what is the mainstream of such thoughts or feelings? It is the thoughts or feelings shared by literati-officials. The gardens made by literati-officials, most of whom were proficient in poetry and prose and could paint and sing, were inevitably rooted in their shared ideals or feelings, with elegance as the chief mode of

expression. Full of allusions to poetry and prose, their gardens achieve oneness with literature by means of inscribed boards and vertical couplets, as well as records and colophons on classical paintings. That is why whenever a visitor steps into such a garden, he feels as if he were visiting the realms of poetry and painting. If he is highly attained in literature, he may improvise a poem on the spot; if he is a painter, he may depict the garden's scenery with freewheeling brush strokes in the late Ming tradition. All this I believe has happened to every educated visitor to such a garden.

The Peony Pavilion composed by the great romantic playwright Tang Xianzu (1550-1616) [1] is not just opera—it is literature on gardens, too, as well as a manual on how to appreciate the spiritual essence of the Chinese garden. In the scene "The Interrupted Dream," for example:

> Streaking the dawn, close-curled at dusk, rosy clouds frame emerald pavilion; fine threads of rain, petals borne on breeze, gilded pleasure boats in waves of mist…. The green hillside bleeds with the cuckoo's tears of red azalea; shreds of mist lazy as wine fumes thread the sweetbriar.

The effect of empathy is at its best in these breath-taking lines, which stirs up the desire for sightseeing in a subtle and skilful way. A garden invariably gives expression to the emotion man has invested in it. Literature is born of feelings, so is the classical Chinese garden.

Qian Yong (1759-1844) says in his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* ,

> Laying out a garden is like composing a piece of poetry or prose. Twists and turns should be made sagaciously, beginnings should be echoed in endings, and superfluous padding and complexity are most dreaded. Only thus can the final results be deemed good.

This passage, indeed, hits the nail on the head. It means that making a garden

is no different from writing a composition. From poetry or prose one derives inspirations for garden design, whereas a garden can set a visitor in the mood to compose verse or prose. Both creative writing and garden-making call for conceptions. Therefore, to lay out a garden is to conceive it in the first place.

Expression must be given to any envisioned setting, which is foremost in Chinese aesthetics. The same envisioned setting can be expressed in different artistic ways. Poetry, lyrics, Yuan dramas, paintings and music have their respective settings, whereas an adroit garden-maker recreates such a setting through rich and varied combinations of rocks, water, flowers, trees, ponds, halls, pavilions and terraces, until his garden culminates in poetic passion and picturesque enchantment. When one finds himself in such a setting, he would feel like traversing the realms of poetry and painting. The reason why the Chinese garden, "though man-made, looks like a god-send," can become a school in its own right is precisely because it is born of inspirations from poetry and prose.

Spatiality and spirituality are stressed in poetry and prose, whereas in landscape gardening, padding is most dreaded. Thus,

> Rain drops dry up overnight in the first sun rays; round lotus leaves rise one after another over a limpid water surface in the wind.

This suggestive description of a garden scene, being sublimely spatial and spiritual, pertains to literature as well. The Chinese garden scenery can stir up unbounded passion that, in its turn, conjures up equally unbounded scenery, so much so that the scholar who comes to drink and versify in it is so bewitched that the garden's scenery and the passion inspired by it are totally compounded in his heart. In this way of landscape gardening, the principle of enmeshing scenery with human passion is followed. As the *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature* calls for "making compositions out of

passion," I would like to suggest, "Let scenery be wrought out of passion." Passion yields literature, so can it yield scenery, for literature and scenery stem from the same root.

No gardens born of poetry- or prose-induced passion can dispense with a study or studio on their premises, for they are actually venues where people go to read books, recite poems, or practice painting and calligraphy. This is why there is the Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden, the Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well" [2] in the Lingering Garden, and the Green Vine Studio in Shaoxing. The purposes of these studios are implied in their names, but there are also unnamed ones that serve the same purposes. Therefore, literary and drinking gatherings of men of letters became special forms of garden visits. Such gatherings that happened in Beijing's Garden to Amuse Myself [3] and Nanjing's Accommodation Garden [4] during the Qing are still the talk of the town today for their famous poems and essays, not to mention the countless literary works improvised by garden visitors. In the Accommodation Garden there is a poetry corridor where poems contributed by visitors are engraved on walls.

Reading late-Ming vignettes makes one feel like roaming a garden. Many of them are no less than accounts on the craft of gardens, as their authors were often owners of famous gardens or participants in landscape gardening. This explains why the literati gardens were most developed and artistically attained and why famous garden-makers could emerge one after another from the mid-Ming to the early Qing. Ji Cheng's *The Craft of Gardens* summarizes the theory and practice of landscape gardening during this period, but, with a text elegantly written and teeming with literary parallelisms and antitheses, it does not sound merely like an artisan's work

manual. I suspect it had been polished by some scholars. *One Man's Account* ("Furniture and Curios") also makes elegant and graceful reading because its author, Li Yu (1611-1680), was himself a celebrated writer and dramatist, not to mention Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645) and his *Treatise on Superfluous Things* . The Wens made a name for themselves through calligraphy, painting, poetry, prose, and the Herbal Garden in their possession, later known as the Garden of Cultivation [5] , is still there for all to see in Suzhou. Ancient notes on gardens were often written by men of letters out to describe garden prospects, vent their feelings, and celebrate the rockeries and streams. It is known to all that the inscribed horizontal boards were made precisely to deepen visitors' impressions of the scenes and sights in such a garden.

The Chinese garden cannot do without a music chamber that is often housed in a waterside building, and the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are among the legendary ones. When the Peking and Kunqu Opera superstar Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993) [6] and his father Yu Zonghai (1847-1930) [7] were residing in Zhang Lüqian's [8] Additional Garden (the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden of today) during the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, he often gathered with local Kunqu Opera fans to sing arias or perform selected opera scenes. As drama and opera are pertinent with the garden, I once said that Yu Zhenfei's operatic accomplishments must have a great deal to do with his involvement in literature and traditional gardens. It was probably because of my appreciation of the venerable Zhenfei's accomplishments that he invited me to write a colophon on one of his father's calligraphic works.

A garden must be "tailored" to a particular conception, just like a piece of creative writing must be tailored to a certain literary genre. Because of this

affinity between creative writing and garden-making, a garden's literary connection can always be inferred from its scenic settings. This is why I liken the gardens of Suzhou to different styles of Song-dynasty lyrical poems: the Master-of-Fishnets Garden to the refreshing and innovative lyrical verse of Yan Jidao (1030-1106); the Lingering Garden, which wouldn't be the same were its fabulous buildings dismantled, to Wu Wenying's [9] lyrical poems; the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden, whose spatial and spiritual resonance is reminiscent of traceless drifting clouds and wild cranes, to the lyrical poems of Jiang Kui (1154-1221) and the like; the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion to the stylized poetry of the Song; and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence to the lyrical poems of the Qing. If a landscape garden-maker is not well-founded in poetry and prose, where on earth can he draw inspiration for his job?

On no account should literary genres be muddled up. Be it poems, lyrics, songs or rhapsodies, they should be selected in accord with a writer's passion and mood. Genres are independent of each other. Which feeling or content is proper for which genre is predetermined. Short lyrics should never be lengthened into slow-tempered, drawn-out ballad. By the same token, suburban gardens, city gardens, flat-land gardens, and small foothill gardens each follow their own patterns, so that all the pavilions, terraces, lofts and belvederes should be laid out commensurably. If all this is done accordingly, a garden will not be scorned for being indecent or nondescript, to say the least.

In short, the Chinese garden and literature are so intricately entangled they can hardly be separated. In my opinion, studies of Chinese gardens should begin by tracing them to their roots in Chinese poetry and prose. Only thus can many problems be readily addressed. Profundity is out of the

question if one studies gardens just for the gardens' sake. Superficial though my viewpoints are, I present them here anyway and beg for advice and correction from experts at home and abroad.

中国诗文与中国园林艺术

中国园林，名之为“文人园”，它是饶有书卷气的园林艺术。前年建成的北京香山饭店，是贝聿铭先生的匠心，因为建筑与园林结合得好，人们称之为有“书卷气的高雅建筑”，我则首先誉之为“雅洁明净，得清新之致”，两者意思是相同的。足证历代谈中国园林总离不了中国诗文。而画呢？也是以南宗的文人画为蓝本，所谓“诗中有画，画中有诗”，归根到底脱不开诗文一事。这就是中国造园的主导思想。

南北朝以后，士大夫寄情山水，啸傲烟霞，避嚣烦，寄情赏，既见之于行动，又出之以诗文，园林之筑，应时而生，继以隋唐、两宋、元，直至明清，皆一脉相承。白居易之筑堂庐山，名文传诵，李格非之记洛阳名园，华藻吐纳，故园之筑出于文思，园之存，赖文以传相辅相成，互为促进，园实文，文实园，两者无二致也。

造园看主人，即园林水平高低，反映了园主之文化水平，自来文人画家颇多名园，因立意构思出于诗文。除了园主本身之外，造园必有清客，所谓清客，其类不一，有文人、画家、笛师、曲师、山师等等，他们相互讨论，相机献谋，为主人共商造园。不但如此，在建成以后，文酒之会，畅聚名流，赋诗品园，还有所拆改。明末张南垣，为王时敏造“乐郊园”，改作者再四，于此可得名园之成，非成于一次也。尤其在晚明更为突出，我曾经说过那时的诗文、书画、戏曲，同是一种思想感情，用不同形式表现而已，思想感情指的主导是什么？一般是指士大夫思想，而士大夫可说皆为文人，敏诗善文，擅画能歌，其所造园无不出之同一意识，以雅为其主要表现手法了。园寓诗文，复再藻饰，有额有联，配以园记题咏，园与诗文合二为一。所以每当人进入中国园林，便有诗情画意之感，如果游者文化修养高，必然能吟出几句好诗来，画家也能画上几笔晚明清逸之笔的园景来。这些我想是每一个游者所必然产

生的情景，而其产生之由就是这个道理。

汤显祖所为《牡丹亭》，而“游园”“拾画”诸折，不仅是戏曲，而且是园林文学，又是教人怎样领会中国园林的精神实质，“朝飞暮卷，云霞翠轩，雨丝风片，烟波画船”，“遍青山啼红了杜鹃，那荼靡外烟丝醉软”。其兴游移情之处真曲尽其妙。是情钟于园，而园必写情也，文以情生，园固相同也。

清代钱泳在《履园丛话》中说：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法，前后呼应，最忌堆砌，最忌错杂，方称佳构。”一言道破，造园与作诗文无异，从诗文中可悟造园法，而园林又能兴游以成诗文。诗文与造园同样要通过构思，所以我说造园一名构园。这其中还是要能表达意境。中国美学，首重意境，同一意境可以不同形式之艺术手法出之。诗有诗境，词有词境，曲有曲境，画有画境，音乐有音乐境，而造园之高明者，运文学绘画音乐诸境，能以山水花木，池馆亭台组合出之，人临其境，有诗有画，各臻其妙。故“虽由人作，宛自天开”，中国园林，能在世界上独树一帜者，实以诗文造园也。

诗文言空灵，造园忌堆砌，故“叶上初阳干宿雨，水面清圆，一一风荷举”。言园景虚胜实，论文学亦极尽空灵。中国园林能于有形之景兴无限之情，反过来又产生不尽之景，觥筹交错，迷离难分，情景交融的中国造园手法。《文心雕龙》所谓“为情而造文”，我说为情而造景。情能生文，亦能生景，其源一也。

诗文兴情以造园，园成则必有书斋，吟馆，名为园林，实作读书吟赏挥毫之所，故苏州网师园有看松读画轩，留园有汲古得绠处，绍兴有青藤书屋等，此有名可徵者，还有额虽未名，但实际功能与有额者相同，所以园林雅集文酒之会，成为中国游园的一种特殊方式。历史上的清代北京怡园与南京随园的雅集盛况后人传为佳话，留下了不少名篇。至于游者漫兴之作，那真太多了。随园以投赠之诗，张贴而成诗廊。

读晚明文学小品，宛如游园，而且有许多文字真不啻造园法也。这

些文人往往家有名园，或参与园事，所以从明中叶后直到清初，在这段时间中，文人园可说是最发达，水平也高，名家辈出。计成《园冶》，总结反映了这时期的造园思想与造园法，而文则以典雅骈骊出之，我怀疑其书必经文人润色过，所以非仅仅匠家之书。继起者李渔《一家言居室器玩部》，亦典雅行文，李本文学戏曲家也。文震亨《长物志》更不用说了，文家是以书画诗文传世的，且家有名园，苏州艺圃至今犹存。至于园林记必出文人之手，抒景绘情，增色泉石。而园中匾额起点景作用，几尽人皆知的了。

中国园林必置顾曲之处，临水池馆则为其地，苏州拙政园卅六鸳鸯馆、网师园濯缨水阁尽人皆知者，当时俞振飞先生与其尊人粟庐老人客张氏补园（补园为今拙政园西部），与吴中曲友，顾曲于此，小演于此，曲与园境合而情契，故俞先生之戏具书卷气，其功力实得之文学与园林深也。其尊人墨迹属题于我，知我解意也。

造园言“得体”，此二字得假借于文学，文贵有体，园亦如是。“得体”二字，行文与构园消息相通，因此我曾以宋词喻苏州诸园：网师园如晏小山词，清新不落套；留园如吴梦窗词，七宝楼台，拆下不成片段；而拙政园中部，空灵处如闲云野鹤去来无踪，则姜白石之流了；沧浪亭有若宋诗；怡园仿佛清词，皆能从其境界中揣摩得之。设造园者无诗文基础，则人之灵感又自何来。文体不能混杂，诗词歌赋各据不同情感而成之，决不能以小令引慢为长歌，何种感情，何种内容，成何种文体，皆有其独立性。故郊园、市园、平地园、小麓园，各有其体，亭台楼阁，安排布局，皆须恰如其分，能做到这一点，起码如做文章一样，不讥为“不成体统”了。

总之，中国园林与中国文学，盘根错节，难分难离，我认为研究中国园林，似应先从中国诗文入手，则必求其本，先究其源，然后有许多问题可迎刃而解，如果就园论园，则所解不深。姑提这样肤浅的看法，希望海内外专家将有所指正与教我也。

GARDENS AND LANDSCAPE PAINTING

January 1982

> To construct a diminutive scenic setting, people of the Yuan used nothing but trees, rocks and low-lying ponds, and casually laid them out along with pavilions, terraces, hedges and winding trails that set off each other to conjure up a divine ambience of inexhaustible comfort and leisure from which visitors would be reluctant to tear themselves away.

This remark by the early-Qing painter Yun Ge (1633-1690) offers valuable reference to the study of Yuan-dynasty gardens, and shows how difficult it is to dwell upon Chinese gardens if you know little of the principles and theories of Chinese painting. Chinese gardens and painters have become almost inseparable since the Yuan. The garden known as "Pure Rarity Belvedere," where the studio of Ni Zan (1301-1374) is located, exudes the natural beauty of mountains and rocks. The Small-Rock Mountain Abode built by Shitao (1642-*c* . 1707) is still there for all to see in Yangzhou. Virtually every famous landscape garden-maker is an accomplished painter, but their fame in painting is often eclipsed by their prestige in garden-making.

From the Yuan on, realistic painting gradually gave way to freehand brushwork that stresses imagery and sentiment in abstract and succinct ways—which are also indispensible elements with which to move the sky and contract the land in Chinese garden-making. The emphasis on imagery and the quest for spiritual resonance are combined in one in this style of painting to embody lofty sentiments and convey meanings beyond sound and rhythm,

which, too, is essential to the craft of Chinese gardens. In short, painting implies poetry, and gardens allude to images portrayed in painting. Therefore, poetic sentiment and picturesque allusion provide the guideline for the making of Chinese gardens.

A painter is particular about the position of a subject in his work, whereas a garden-maker is scrupulous with the layout of a garden he wants to make. When an artificial mountain is built, fabulous veins and textures in the component rocks are much sought after, whereas texturing brushwork is paramount when rocks are being portrayed in a painting. Landscape painting gives prominence to the sequence of subjects and momentum, which are also emphasized more than anything else in garden-making, as the sequence of subjects invites the visitor to watch while sitting down, and the momentum entices him into the scenery thus built. A garden is a three-dimensional picture that changes rain or shine, day or night more than a painting can. As to planning the mountains and shaping the waters in a garden by patterning after natural landscape, each has its own paradigms to go by.

Drawing upon the best texturing brushwork of all the famous painters dating back to the Song and the Yuan, the builder of the artificial mountain in Suzhou's Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode was easily as preeminent to Chinese rockwork as Li Bai (701-762) and Du Fu (712-770) are to Chinese poetry. The metamorphosis of artificial mountains through the ages is also intimately associated with changes in the styles of painting. The elegant but massive artificial mountains built during the Qianlong reign (1736-1795) of the Qing are comparable to the paintings of their day, while those built under the Tongzhi (1862-1875) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns are as petty and fragile as the style of paintings of their time. Indeed, artificial mountains born of a particular period cannot be judged without looking into the style of

painting of their time.

Rocks come in a good variety, and their veins and textures vary as well. Similarly, every possible school of texturing brushwork in painting can always shine forth on its own. Just as Shitao says,

> Peaks tally with texturing brushstrokes;
>
> Texturing brushwork stems from peaks.

It is almost impossible to paint rocks without texturing brushstrokes. The differences in such techniques give rise to different schools of painting. Given the vast differences between rock veins and texturing brushwork, an able artist would not apply techniques designed for Lake Tai rocks on the dainty bamboo-and-rock paintings of Ni Zan, nor would he use yellow stones to build the artificial mountains portrayed in the paintings of Wang Meng (1308-1385) [1] , the "Woodcutter from the Yellow Crane Mountain." Those who are ignorant of the diverse schools of painting and their respective portrayal techniques can never come up with an impressive artificial mountain. Knowledge and cultural attainment enable an artificial mountain builder to apply rocks the way a painter manoeuvres his brush, so that the peaks and dales in his creations bear a close resemblance to those depicted in a master painter's work. Painters, inspired by real mountains and rivers, set styles and invent techniques for their works, whereas artificial mountain builders employ these painters' styles and techniques to recreate landscape with rocks. It goes without saying that quite a few artificial mountains are patterned after real mountains, but if a builder, instead of consulting painting theories and assimilating painters' texturing techniques to improve on what he sees from a model mountain, mechanically copies a prototype's beauty and ugliness, his creation is bound to lack picturesque values.

In terms of shape, color and height, the flowers and trees in a Chinese

garden are compatible with those depicted in a painting. The atmosphere portrayed in the line, "Weathered vines, old trees and sleepy crow; tiny bridge, flowing stream and family," is appreciated by men of letters, landscape gardeners and painters alike because it accords with the goal of their shared pursuit for beauty, and because the various elements are grouped exactly as they are depicted in a painting. Paintings are done on paper, whereas the Chinese garden uses a white-washed wall as its backdrop, which, with flowers and trees tossing their shadows onto it, looks exactly like a painting in itself.

> [Zhang Lian] designed artificial mountains with original conceptions and built them by adopting the painting techniques of Li Cheng (919-967) and Dong Yuan (?-*c* . 962) of the Southern Tang (937-962), as well as the "Great Eccentric Taoist" (1269-1354) and the "Woodcutter from Yellow Crane Mountain" of the Yuan. [2] Artificial mountains created in this way feature fantastic peaks and ravines and cascading rapids in a space that twists and turns until it tapers away into the distance. With painstaking efforts, his craftsmanship of such an artificial mountain excels nature.

The reason why the great master Zhang Lian (1587-1673) could also accomplish so much in building artificial mountains for the Chinese gardens is amply explicated in this passage.

园林与山水画

清初画家恽南田（寿平）曾经说过：“元人园亭小景，只用树石坡池，随意点置，以亭台篱径，映带曲折，天趣萧闲，使人游赏无尽。”这几句话可供研究元代园林的重要参证。所以，不知中国画理画论，难以言中国园林。我国园林自元代以后，它与画家的关系，几乎不可分割，倪云林（瓒）的清秘阁便是饶有山石之胜，石涛所为的扬州片石山房，至今犹在人间。著名的造园家，几乎皆工绘事，而画名却被园林之名所掩为多。

我国的绘画从元代以后，以写意多于写实，以抽象概括出之，重意境与情趣，移天缩地，正我国造园所必备者。言意境，讲韵味，表高洁之情操，求弦外之音韵，两者二而一也。此即我国造园特征所在。简言之，画中寓诗情，园林参画意，诗情画意遂为中国园林之主导思想。

画究经营位置，造园言布局，叠山求文理，画石讲皴法。山水画重脉络气势，园林尤重此端，前者坐观，后者入游。所谓立体画本，而晦明风雨，四时朝夕，其变化之多，更多于画本。至范山模水，各有所自。苏州环秀山庄假山，其笔意兼宋元诸家之长，变化之多，丘壑之妙，足称叠山典范，我曾誉为如诗中之李杜。而诸时代叠山之嬗变，亦如画之风格紧密相关。清乾隆时假山之硕秀，一如当时之画，而同光间之碎弱，又复一如画风，故不究一时代之画，难言同时期之假山也。

石有品种不同，文理随之而异，画之皴法亦各臻其妙，石涛所谓“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”。无皴难以画石。盖皴法有别，画派遂之而异。故能者决不能以湖石写倪云林之竹石小品，用黄石叠黄鹤山樵之峰峦。因石与画家所运用之皴法有殊。如不明画派与画家所用表现手法，从未见有佳构。学养之功，促使其运石如用笔，腕底丘壑出现纸上。画家从真山而创造出各画派画法，而叠山家又用画家之法而再现山水。当

然亦有许多假山直接摹拟于真山，然不参画理概括提高，皴法巧运，达文理之统一，必如写实模型，美丑互现，无画意可言矣。

中国园林花木，重姿态，色彩高低配置悉符画本。“枯藤老树昏鸦，小桥流水人家”。文学家、园林家、画家皆欣赏它，因有共同所追求之美的目标，而其组合方法，亦同画本所示者。画以纸为底。中国园林以素壁为背景，粉墙花影，宛若图画。故叠山家张涟能“以意创为假山，以营丘、北苑、大痴、黄鹤画法为之，峰壑湍濑，曲折平远，经营惨淡，巧夺画工”。已足够说明问题了。

GARDENS AND KUNQU OPERA: BEAUTY'S TOUR DE FORCE

Written on a mid-summer day, 1981

It was one of the dog days in the Jiangnan area. Cicadas inside of the courtyard kept chirping from morning till night, and joining in the clamour was a neighbor's blaring cassette recorder. Even though the potted orchid in my small home was at its aromatic and luxuriant best, it was a typical case of "trees wanting to be quiet, but the wind refusing to quit howling." In helplessness, I could not but "pit poison against poison." Driven by my weakness for Kunqu Opera as a "diehard literatus," I flipped on my turntable, and the air was instantly filled with the notes of such lines in *The Peony Pavilion* ("The Interrupted Dream"),

> The spring a rippling thread of gossamer gleaming sinuous in the sun borne idly across the court…. Streaking the dawn, close-curled at dusk, rosy clouds frame emerald pavilion; fine threads of rain, petals borne on breeze, gilded pleasure boat in waves of mist.

The melodious music and bewitching lyrics spirited my heart from the enchantment of Kunqu Opera to the beauty of a garden in no time. In this half-day piece of leisure snatched from my floating life, I somehow found joy by revelling for a while in the comfort of my small world.

The Chinese garden reached maturity during the Ming and the Qing. Especially after Kunqu Opera became all the rage in the Jiangnan area by the mid-Ming, an inseparable relationship arose between the garden and the opera. Not only the titles of some operas were associated with gardens, but

their settings and those gardens' conceptions became interdependent as well, so much so that at times the setting of a certain opera became the conception of a garden, and vice versa, albeit in a different mode of expression. The preeminent dramatist Li Yu (1611-1680), for example, was a landscape gardener himself. The first thing a scholar official does when making a garden is to build a parlor in it, which is water-bound in most cases, but oftentimes a waterside belvedere is added as well.

Every parlor or waterside belvedere, such as the Lotus Root Fragrance Gazebo in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence and the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, is also a venue for appreciating operas. With a gentle breeze wafting into such a building on the water, the audience would tilt their heads while luxuriating in the melody of singing to the accompaniment of pipe-wind music drifting in from the outside world. Even in the heat waves of a high-summer day it would be divine to sing a Kunqu aria or two without accompaniment with lush green lotus leaves nodding in front of the building. Such a captivating scene never fails to bring old memories back to mind.

The opera-singing evening parties thrown by Yu Mingheng (1900-1990) and other venerable professors at the waterside I-shaped Parlor of Tsinghua University are still the talk of the town today. At the time, the renowned Professor Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948) [1] was also teaching at Tsinghua. Quite a few literary works of these two professors are somewhat related to these parties.

The western section of the Humble Administrator's Garden, known as Additional Garden from 1892 onwards, is the site of the famous Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks. The hall's parlor features a paraboloid roof with its truss so well concealed that the entire structure becomes both

visually pleasing and acoustically effective. It turns out that this parlor was a contribution of the garden's owner Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), who furnished the garden together with Gu Yun (1835-1896), a renowned painter who was also a Kunqu Opera enthusiast. This was also where Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993) spent his childhood with his father Yu Zonghai (1847-1930) as a private tutor with the Zhangs. Whenever I related these anecdotes to Yu, he would wax affectionate and tell me vivid tales about the years he had spent in that garden.

In days of yore, the Chinese garden was an integral part of people's sentiments and everyday life, and Kunqu Opera was instrumental in enriching the garden's charms. The scenery of the garden is resonant with the enchanting singing of the opera in both character and appeal. When the movie *Suzhou Gardens* was in the making a few years ago, and when the Americans arrived to shoot the movie *Suzhou* two years ago, both crews accepted my suggestion that some Kunqu tunes be used as background music, and the result was a success. Because the well hammered-out water-mill tune of Kunqu Opera is most appropriate for singing and performing at small functions for its elaborate dancing techniques, accurate pronunciations, elegant lyrics, and lilting syllables, the water-bound chamber or hall inside a garden become its best venues. Unlike those tunes that have to be sung at the top of one's voice on rugged rural opera stages, the water-mill tune is as captivatingly subtle and graceful as the sparse but state-of-the-art structures of a garden. One of the lyrics in *The Peony Pavilion* ("The Interrupted Dream") puts it this way,

> Unwearying joy—how should we break its spell even by visits each in turn to the Twelve Towers of Fairyland?

What this line captures is exactly the spirit of the Chinese garden. The

inauguration on June 18, 1980, of the Astor Court, a replica of Suzhou's Late-Spring Peony Lodge, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, touched off a wave of Chinese garden-insanity worldwide. By the same token, I surmise Kunqu-insanity will come about before long.

The beauty of Kunqu Opera is not limited to performing art. With its literary librettos, tones, pronunciations, tonality, music and its rhythms and percussions having been thrashed out and refined repeatedly for centuries, it is a veritable repository of Chinese culture. I remember lecturing on the Chinese garden to a Kunqu Opera class at the Shanghai Theater Academy on a pre-1966 day. It sounds like a joke, but the man who invited me was the academy's president, the far-sighted Yu Zhenfei, himself a Kunqu Opera superstar known for his roles in such operas as "The Interrupted Dream." If an opera performer has the vistas of a Chinese garden in his mind's eye, his action will no longer be "water without a source" or "a tree without roots," and his performance will be passionate, lively and lifelike. The reason why Mei Lanfang (1894-1961) [2] , Yu Zhenfei and others could be idolized as opera gurus of their time is because of their sublime cultivation in many cultural fields aside from theater. Some garden visitors today are abandoned to beer and skittles and totally ignorant of the aesthetics of the garden's artistic conception—isn't it a great pity?

The beauty of the Chinese garden boils down to a single word, elegance, that is, elegance in demeanour, interest, mood, lifestyle, energy, and what not. A high-calibre Kunqu Opera libretto must be scholastic, and being scholastic is essentially the same as being elegant, for culture must be embodied in such a work, be it an opera or a garden. In the Chinese garden the scenery runs up and down as it turns this way and that, disappears at one moment and reappears at another, now stops the visitor on his track for in-

situ viewing, now pushes him along for some in-motion viewing, but all the time it keeps him engrossed. The leisure thus generated on the tour evokes a poem or a painting that cannot be digested by those who come in a hurry, but is reserved only for those willing to take their time and ruminate what meets their eyes as they sit down or walk along. Kunqu Opera is presented for the same purpose, with each of its songs refrained three times and ended with a lingering effect on the theatergoer; far from the disco's pulsating beats, it is gentle and graceful in tonality and rhythm. The reason why young people nowadays dislike Kunqu Opera is manifold. For one thing, their understanding of it is impeded by their lack of cultural edification; for another, in a typical case of "highbrow music having few followings," this opera's melodic music contravenes, say, the rush of disco music. This has nothing to do with the aesthetics of Kunqu Opera; rather, it is like some children who do not like eating olives because they do not know how to savor their taste. Instead of downgrading a sublime form of art to cater to a large audience, we are duty-bound to promote education in aesthetics and help the younger generation improve their cultural attainment.

As I bring this short essay to an end, the melody of the lyrics of the Kunqu Opera *The Story of the Jade Hairpin* ("Heart-Stirring Lute") seems to have drifted into my ears once more:

Heavy are shadows of flowers multilayered upon a
    white-washed wall;
Curtains lift on remnant lotuses swaying in wind
    from a waterside hall.

The weather is still smothering, but my vision is graced with the picture-perfect views of the Chinese garden.

园林美与昆曲美

正是江南大伏天气，院子里的鸣蝉从早叫到晚，邻居的录音机又是各逞其威。虽然小斋中的这盆建兰开得那么馥郁，然而“树欲静而风不止”。在无可奈何的情况下，我也只好“以毒攻毒”，开起了我们这些所谓“顽固分子”充满了“士大夫情趣”者所乐爱的昆曲来。“袅晴丝，吹来闲庭院，摇漾春如线”。“朝飞暮卷，云霞翠轩”“雨丝风片，烟波画船”。（《牡丹亭·游园》）悠扬的音节，美丽的辞藻，慢慢地从昆曲美引入了园林美，难得浮生半日闲，我也能自寻其乐，陶醉在我闲适的境界里。

我国园林，从明、清后发展到了成熟的阶段，尤其自明中叶后，昆曲盛行于江南，园与曲起了不可分割的关系。不但曲名与园林有关，而曲境与园林更互相依存，有时几乎曲境就是园境，而园境又同曲境。文学艺术的意境与园林是一致的，所谓不同形式表现而已。清代的戏曲家李渔又是个园林家。过去士大夫造园必须先建造花厅，而花厅又多以临水为多，或者再添水阁。花厅、水阁都是兼作顾曲之所，如苏州怡园藕香榭、网师园濯缨水阁等，水殿风来，余音绕梁，隔院笙歌，侧耳倾听，此情此景，确令人向往，勾起我的回忆。虽在溽暑，人们于绿云摇曳的荷花厅前，兴来一曲清歌，真有人间天上之感。当年俞平伯老先生们在清华大学工字门水边的曲会，至今还传为美谈，那时，朱自清先生亦在清华任教，他俩不少的文学作品，多少与此有关。

苏州拙政园的西部，过去名补园，有一座名“三十六鸳鸯馆”的花厅，它的结构，其顶是用“卷棚顶”，这种巧妙的形式，不但美观，可以看不到上面的屋架，而且对音响效果很好。原来主人张履谦先生，他既与画家顾若波等同布置“补园”，复酷嗜昆曲。俞振飞同志与其父亲粟庐先生皆客其家。俞先生的童年是成长在这园中。我每与俞先生谈及此

事，他还娓娓地为我话说当年。

中国过去的园林，与当时人们的生活感情分不开，昆曲便是充实了园林内容的组成部分。在形的美之外，还有声的美，载歌载舞，因此在整个情趣上必须是一致的。从前拍摄“苏州园林”，及前年美国来拍摄“苏州”电影，我都建议配以昆曲音乐而成功的。昆曲的所谓“水磨调”，是那么的经过推敲，身段是那么细腻，咬字是那么准确，文辞是那么美丽，音节是那么抑扬，宜于小型的会唱与演出，因此园林中的厅榭、水阁，都是最好的表演场所，它不必如草台戏的那样用高腔，重以婉约含蓄移人，亦正如园林结构一样，“少而精”，“以少胜多”，耐人寻味。《牡丹亭·游园》唱词的“观之不足由他遣”。“观之不足”，就是中国园林精神所在，要含蓄不尽。如今国外自从“明轩”建成后，掀起了中国园林热，我想很可能昆曲热，不久也便会到来的。

昆曲之美，不仅仅在表演艺术，其文学、音韵、音乐，乃至一板一眼，皆经过了几百年的琢磨，确是我国文化的宝库。我记得在“文化革命”前，上海戏曲学校昆曲班，邀我去讲中国园林，有些人看来似乎是“笑话”，实则当时俞振飞校长真是有见地，演“游园”“惊梦”的演员，如果他脑子中有了中国园林的境界，那他的一举一动，便不是无本之木，无源之水了，演来有感情，有生命，有声有色。梅兰芳、俞振飞诸老一辈的表演家，其能成一代宗师者，皆得之于戏剧之外的大量修养。我们有些人今天游园林，往往仅知吃喝玩乐，不解意境之美，似乎太可惜一点吧！

中国园林，以“雅”为主，“典雅”“雅趣”“雅致”“雅淡”“雅健”等等，莫不突出“雅”。而昆曲之高者，所谓必具书卷气，其本质一也，就是说，都要有文化，将文化具体表现在作品上。中国园林，有高低起伏，有藏有隐，有动观、静观，有节奏，宜细赏，人游其间的那种悠闲情绪，是一首诗，一幅画，而不是匆匆而来，匆匆而去，走马观花，到此一游；而是宜坐，宜行，宜看，宜想。而昆曲呢？亦正为此，一唱三

叹，曲终而味未尽，它不是那种“嘣嚓嚓”，而是十分婉转的节奏。今日有许多青年不爱看昆曲，原因是多方面的，我看是一方面文化水平差了，领会不够；另一方面，那悠然多韵味的音节适应不了“嘣嚓嚓”的急躁情绪，当然曲高和寡了。这不是昆曲本身不美，而正仿佛有些小朋友不爱吃橄榄一样，不知其味。我们有责任来提高他们，而不是降格迁就，要多作美学教育才是。

写到此，那“粉墙花影自重重，帘卷残荷水殿风”，《玉簪记·琴挑》的清新辞句，又依稀在我耳边，天虽仍是那么热，但在我的感觉上又出现了如画的园林。

JOY OF DAILY RAMBLING OF GARDENS

Written on a mid-summer day, 1981

A crystallization of architecture, calligraphy and painting, literature and horticulture, the picture-perfect and poetic Chinese garden is a school in its own right worldwide.

Every traditional garden in this country has a personality peculiarly its own. What the Summer Palace of Beijing impresses us most is its Kunming Lake at the foot of the Longevity Hill. The centerpiece of the Beihai Park is a lake with the Jade Flowery Islet on it. Also impressive is the mist-enveloped serpentine water surface of the Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou, and the mammoth artificial mountain built of yellow stones in the Geyuan's Garden [1] of Yangzhou.

If the lie of the land is taken into consideration while a resourceful design is pencilled out accordingly before a garden comes under construction, not only manpower and resources can be economized, but the scenic sights can also be arranged judiciously. In garden-making parlance, this is put as "accommodating measures to the circumstances."

The traditional Chinese garden is centered on mountain or water. If a garden is predicated on mountain, water plays a supplementing role, or the other way round. Bodies of water are scattered or congregated, and the mountain takes the form of a transverse ridge or steep peak. Gardens make a name for themselves with scenic attractions; such attractions differ from one another to give every garden a distinct personality. Scenery may be enjoyed when the onlooker stays put or moves along, hence the terms, "in-situ

viewing" and "in-motion viewing." A garden's artistic attainment is judged by whether it has eschewed the old rut and worked its "trademark" scenery to the best vantage.

The overwhelming majority of traditional Chinese gardens are walled in, with scenic sights concealed in their precincts. However, external views are oftentimes incorporated into such a garden to extend its space as far as possible and to yield a haunting impression, which is what is meant by "view borrowing." Observed from a balustrade in the True-Meaning Lake and Mountain Pavilion in the Summer Palace of Beijing at sunset, the Jade Spring Mountain close at hand and the Western Hills in the distance look like they had been spirited into the garden by a celestial hand.

A large Chinese garden often contains a number of small ones. Examples are the Garden of Harmonious Charms in the Summer Palace, the Tranquil Mind Chamber in the Beihai Park, the Loquat Courtyard in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah in the Lingering Garden. Such groupings of

large and small gardens create settings that are either extravert or introvert, and set the stage for buildings in different sizes along with mountains, rocks and trees in many a becoming manner. The Three Pools Mirroring the Moon at the West Lake is a typical case of small pools ensconced in a large lake. In most cases, such a small pool or garden becomes the pick inside of a large one because it is worth pondering over for a lingering time with its architecture, rockwork and miniature landscapes designed with attention to the minute detail. In contrast with views that keep changing with the shift of the visitor's footsteps along a roofed walkway, a small scenic attraction is best observed when the visitor pauses for some time on his track.

The scenic sights inside of a Chinese garden are in the main imitations of nature. They are natural-looking vistas constructed with human resources so that, "Though man-made, they look like born of nature." Such a vista does not necessarily stress which mountain or body of water is its prototype, but the connection is generalized succinctly. A good example in this regard is the Summer Palace of Beijing, which is patterned after the West Lake of Hangzhou but does not look the same in every aspect. Lands-capepainting images are also incorporated with the emotional setting of a certain poem to conjure up scenic wonders at once poetic and picturesque. Contrasting and complementing techniques are employed to add variations to a twisting and turning scene. In the Summer Palace, for example, the frontal hills are strewn with sumptuous buildings, whereas on its back hills nature presents herself in saturated verdure—the two scenic sections are designed to bring out the best in each other and engender different feelings in the spectator. The Chinese garden is replete with contrasts between architecture and rockwork large and small, high and low, scarcity and density, and so on. The leading scenery is often brought into bold relief by secondary scenery, such as the White Pagoda of the Beihai Park, the Five Pavilions atop the Prospect Hill, and the Buddhist Incense Belvedere of the Summer Palace.

Apart from rockwork and trees, the artistic layout of buildings such as a gazebo tucked away amidst flowers or a pavilion overlooking a stream is crucial to the Chinese garden. Ornamental supplements like roofed walkways, undulating walls, zigzagging bridges and latticed windows are employed as well to variegate the vistas, expand the space, and lend depth to the scenery. Visitors to Chinese gardens invariably feel that, despite their small sizes, a delightfully intricate plan resides in their scenic allure. Such a feeling is engendered through varied combinations of sights that are open or

hidden, mystically distant or brightly and spaciously close at hand. Sightseeing in such a garden is like browsing a long scroll of landscape painting—once your eyes are fixed on it, scenes and sights would flash into your eyes in a constant stream.

"Good flowers ought to be set off by good lofts and terraces," as Chen Weisong (1625-1682) [2] puts it. Few visitors leave the Round City in the Beihai Park of Beijing without being captivated by the clumps of pines and cypresses sagaciously arranged in front of the Light-Sustaining Palace. Why? For one thing, the contours and shapes of these trees are tailored to the heights of the buildings. For another, planted in tree beds, they are artfully scattered or clustered to mix and interweave their green foliage and curling branches against the vermillion walls and blue-glazed roof tiles in the surroundings, thereby invoking a vista so inviting that visitors would hate to go away any time soon. In a similar fashion, the crabapple trees in front of the Hall of Joyful Longevity are integrated with the encircling buildings to bring about a picture no less exquisite and brilliant than a horticultural masterpiece. The gardens in the Jiangnan area are a school in their own right in this regard, as they present eye-pleasing pictures by setting luxuriant flowers and trees and graceful-looking bamboos and rocks against white-washed walls. Most of the flowers and trees serving this purpose have been pruned and trained repeatedly for long years until desired configurations are achieved.

Apart from artificial mountains, the Chinese garden also features shapely rocks, every one of them standing out like an impressionist sculpture waiting to be singled out for enjoyment. Spectators are apt to invest sentiments into them, and affectionately call them "peaks with a human face," or "*gui* [3] -shaped peaks." To find their way into a garden, these rocks must be

slim, wrinkled, riddled through, and well hollowed out, for only the exquisite and well-perforated ones are the choicest. No garden can come to fame without coming into possession of such exotic rocks. The Exquisite Jade Boulder in Shanghai's Gratification Garden and the Cloud-Crowned Peak in Suzhou's Lingering Garden are among the nature-wrought Lake Tai stones [4] par excellence, which help augment the charms of their respective gardens greatly.

A pavilion or a belvedere in the Chinese garden often has a poetic name, which is sometimes graced by a well-written poetic couplet that flanks its front door. Those who have read the picaresque novel *The Travels of Lao Can* by Liu E (1857-1909) [5] may well remember this episode: Lao Can cannot help murmuring to himself, "It's nice, really nice," upon reading this couplet during a visit to the Daming Lake [6] in Jinan,

> Lotus flowers in four directions, willows on three sides;
> A whole city of mountains, with half of it given to lakes.

This couplet speaks volumes for the finishing touch literature renders the traditional Chinese garden.

A garden's scenery changes with the seasons. Guo Xi (*c* . 1023-*c* . 1085), a famed landscape painter of the Northern Song, says in his book on the theories of painting, *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams* ,

> The mountain is charming in a subtle way as if it is smiling in spring, so saturated in greenness as to seemingly drip in summer, bright and clean as though wearing subtle makeup in autumn, and palely demure as if asleep in winter.

Landscape gardeners through the ages have more or less assimilated these traditional painting guidelines in the gardens they have created. In the Geyuan's Garden of Yangzhou, artificial mountains are installed to represent

the four seasons through a play of colors: the spring mountain is built of bluish green stalagmites; the summer mountain, grey Lake Tai stones; the autumn mountain, yellow stones the color of ochre; and the winter mountain, Xuan stones [7] as white as snow. Accordingly, the yellow stones are breathtakingly steep and sky-reaching to attract climbers in autumn. Snow stones are piled up in front of a hall for people to marvel at while staying indoors in winter.

When spring sets in at dawn as per human will, people ought to visit gardens before it is too late.

园日涉以成趣

中国园林如画如诗，是集建筑、书画、文学、园艺等艺术的精华，在世界造园艺术中独树一帜。

每一个园都有自己的风格，游颐和园，印象最深的应是昆明湖与万寿山；游北海，则是湖面与琼华岛；苏州拙政园曲折弥漫的水面，扬州个园峻拔的黄石大假山等，也都令人印象深刻。

在造园时，如能利用天然的地形再加人工的设计配合，这样不但节约了人工物力，并且利于景物的安排，造园学上称为“因地制宜”。

中国园林有以山为主体的，有以水为主体的，也有以山为主水为辅，或以水为主山为辅的，而水亦有散聚之分，山有平冈峻岭之别。园以景胜，景因园异，各具风格。在观赏时，又有动观与静观之趣。因此，评价某一园林艺术时，要看它是否发挥了这一园景的特色，不落常套。

中国古典园林绝大部分四周皆有墙垣，景物藏之于内。可是园外有些景物还要组合到园内来，使空间推展极远，予人以不尽之意，此即所谓“借景”。颐和园借近处的玉泉山和较远的西山景，每当夕阳西下时，在湖山真意亭处凭栏，二山仿佛移置园中，确是妙法。

中国园林，往往在大园中包小园，如颐和园的谐趣园、北海的静心斋、苏州拙政园的枇杷园、留园的揖峰轩等，他们不但给园林以开朗与收敛的不同境界，同时又巧妙地把大小不同、结构各异的建筑物与山石树木，安排得十分恰当。至于大湖中包小湖的办法，要推西湖的三潭印月最妙了。这些小园、小湖多数是园中精华所在，无论在建筑处理、山石堆叠、盆景配置等，都是细笔工描，耐人寻味。游园的时候，对于这些小境界，宜静观盘桓。它与廊引人随的动观看景，适成相反。

中国园林的景物主要摹仿自然，用人工的力量来建筑天然的景色，

即所谓“虽由人作，宛自天开”。这些景物虽不一定强调仿自某山某水，但多少有些根据，用精炼概括的手法重现。颐和园的仿西湖便是一例，可是它又不尽同于西湖。亦有利用山水画的画稿，参以诗词的情调，构成许多诗情画意的景色。在曲折多变的景物中，还运用了对比和衬托等手法。颐和园前山为华丽的建筑群，后山却是苍翠的自然景物，两者予人不同的感觉，却相得益彰。在中国园林中，往往以建筑物与山石作对比，大与小作对比，高与低作对比，疏与密作对比等等。而一园的主要景物又由若干次要的景物衬托而出，使宾主分明，像北京北海的白塔、景山的五亭、颐和园的佛香阁便是。

中国园林，除山石树木外，建筑物的巧妙安排，十分重要，如花间隐榭、水边安亭。还可利用长廊云墙、曲桥漏窗等，构成各种画面，使空间更加扩大，层次分明。因此，游过中国园林的人会感到庭园虽小，却曲折有致。这就是景物组合成不同的空间感觉，有开朗，有收敛，有幽深，有明畅。游园观景，如看中国画的长卷一样，次第接于眼帘，观之不尽。

“好花须映好楼台”，到过北海团城的人，没有一个不说团城承光殿前的松柏布置得妥帖宜人。这是什么道理？其实是松柏的姿态与附近的建筑物高低相称，又利用了“树池”将它参差散植，加以适当的组合，使疏密有致，掩映成趣。苍翠虬枝与红墙碧瓦构成一幅极好的画面，怎不令人流连忘返呢？颐和园乐寿堂前的海棠，同样与四周的廊屋形成了玲珑绚烂的构图，这些都是绿化中的佳作。江南的园林利用白墙作背景，配以华滋的花木、清拔的竹石，明洁悦目，又别具一格。园林中的花木，大都是经过长期的修整，使姿态曲尽画意。

园林中除假山外，尚有立峰，这些单独欣赏的佳石，如抽象的雕刻品，欣赏时，往往以情悟物，进而将它人格化，称其人峰、圭峰之类。它必具有“瘦、皱、透、漏”的特点，方称佳品，即要玲珑剔透。中国古代园林中，要有佳峰珍石，方称得名园。上海豫园的玉玲珑、苏州留园

的冠云峰，在太湖石【从周案二十】中都是上选，使园林生色不少。

若干园林亭阁，不但有很好的命名，有时还加上很好的对联，读过刘鹗的《老残游记》，总还记得老残在济南游大明湖，看了“四面荷花三面柳，一城山色半城湖”的对联后，暗暗称道：“真个不错。”可见文学在园林中所起的作用。

不同的季节，园林呈现不同的风光。北宋名山水画家郭熙在其画论《林泉高致》中说过：“春山淡冶而如笑，夏山苍翠而如滴，秋山明净而如妆，冬山惨淡而如睡。”造园者多少参用了这些画理，扬州的个园便是用了春夏秋冬不同的假山。在色泽上，春山用略带青绿的石笋，夏山用灰色的湖石，秋山用褐色的黄石，冬山用白色的雪石。黄石山奇峭凌云，俾便秋日登高。雪石罗堆厅前，冬日可作居观，便是体现这个道理。

晓色春开，春随人意，游园当及时。

VIEW BORROWING IN GARDEN ARCHITECTURE

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View borrowing figures large in a garden's plan. It merits attention in garden designing, and cannot be dispensed with in urban planning or the designing of dwellings and public buildings. Upon arriving at a well-designed garden, the visitor would feel indescribably relaxed and amused the moment he starts looking around. At a close look, he finds that the secret lies in the clever borrowing of views, a technique already in spontaneous use among garden crafters in antiquity, but it was not summarized until the Chongzhen reign (1628-1644) of the late Ming. In *The Craft of Gardens* , Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642) writes,

> Skill in landscape design is shown in the ability to "follow" and "borrow from" the existing scenery and terrain…. Following the existing lie of the land may require any of these skills: designing in accordance with the rise and fall of the natural contours, to accentuate their intrinsic form; or lopping tree branches that block the view and using rocks to direct the flow of a stream, so that each borrows value from the other. Where a pavilion is appropriate, build a pavilion, and where a gazebo is needed, build a gazebo. It does not matter if the paths are hidden away; in fact they should be laid out to twist and turn with the land; this is what is meant by artistry through suitability. To borrow from the scenery means that although the interior of a garden is distinct from what lies outside it, as long as there is a good view you need not be concerned whether this is close by or far away, whether clear mountains enhance their beauty in the distance or a dark

> purple-walled temple rises into the sky nearby. Wherever the view within your sight is vulgar, block it off, but where it is beautiful, take advantage of it; never mind if it is just empty fields around farm houses, make use of it all as a misty background. This is what is known as skill in fitting in with the form of the land…. If you can have a Buddhist monastery as your neighbor, the chanting of Sanskrit will come to your ears. The remote mountain peaks, gleaming with wondrous hues, form a bewitching background…. There are no fixed rules for designing gardens but there are certain principles for using natural scenery…. Making use of the natural scenery is the most vital part of garden design. There are various aspects such as using scenery in the distance, near at hand, above you, below you, and at certain times of the year.

Li Yu (1611-1680) also says in *The One Man's Account* ,

> Only through borrowing can a view be accommodated.

These words of Ji and Li have laid down the cardinal rules for garden-makers of later generations. Today, I would like to present my humble opinions on this issue, and beg for corrections if I have said anything wrong.

The view to be borrowed within comes apparently from without. In the same manner of converting something in someone else's

possession into one's own, an outside view can be incorporated into a garden to enrich or augment its attractions. The views borrowed in early years mostly came from natural landscape, which is best described by Tao Yuanming (*c* . 365-427):

> Picking aster 'neath the eastern fence,
>
> Upon southern mountains my gaze lies.

The gist of this line boils down to the word "gaze," a natural and unaffected means for intentional or unintentional "view borrowing." Wang Wei (701-761) announced the villa he had built in Wangchuan in what is present-day

Lantian, Shaanxi province, by saying, "I have an estate at Wangchuan." Bai Juyi (772-846), who lived in roughly the same age as Wang Wei, had his famous Thatched Hut built on Mount Lushan, Jiangxi province.

In *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* , Qian Yong (1759-1844) says of the Garden of Perennial Spring in Wuhu, Anhui province:

> The Reddish Brown Mountain presents itself before the window, with everything else—water swirling and rippling, a pagoda silhouetted in the pool, and bells tolling—coming into sight or within earshot all at once.

What views are borrowed is apparent in these lines. Just as Li Gefei (*c* . 1045-*c* . 1105) said of the Loop Stream Gully in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* :

> From there, if one gazes out to the south, the layered peaks and green crests of Mount Songgao, Mount Shaoshi, Mount Longmen, and Mount Dagu present their wonder to the eye…. From there, if one gazes out to the north, he will see the halls and towers in the palace compounds of Sui-Tang times, with thousands of doors and ten times as many windows, lofty and elevated, splendid and gorgeous, stretching for a dozen miles on end. What took Zuo Si (250-305) over ten years of utmost efforts to describe in his rhapsodies can be exhausted here at one single glance.

About the Hu's Two Gardens North of the River, he says,

> Its terrace offers a view that extends for over one hundred square miles in all directions: the Yi and the Luo Rivers zigzag through it; the trees and plants enveloped in mist and set off by clouds appear to be luxuriant; tall lofts and circuitous gazebos emerge at one moment and vanish at another. A painter, even after painstaking deliberations, would find it hard to paint all these out. Yet it is named "Terrace for Frolicking with the Moon."

Xu Hongzu (1586-1641)[1] says in *Diaries on Travels in Yunnan* ,

> In the Ma's Garden a pavilion was built on another pond's southern bank, so that it faces the brooklet northward. Across the pond, the halls and pavilions of the Dragon Spring Temple are strewn here and there. A stupa up a ridge tosses its silhouette into the center of rippling water from the top of a plateau overlooking the Nine-Dragon Pond. But even more exotic is the view, with the slope and the pond contrasting each other whilst water bubbles and ripples endlessly at the fountainhead.

These gardens were all sited by "keeping the whole picture in mind," but no garden or estate does better than Buddhist temples in this regard. At least eighty per cent of these temples are nestled at the foot of a mountain, with a tranquil stream winding in the front and mountains rising in every direction. Such a site not only offers sequestered peace and quiet, but the wind there is the mildest as well. With mountains clad in cloud, and mist and verdure "shifted" before the windows without much ado, no place is better than such a wellconcealed temple for those who come to study Buddhism. Indeed,

> Green mountains are alluring in my senses,
> As I expect myself into these mountains' eyes.

Take, for example, the Thriving Bliss Temple at the Yushan Mountain of Changshu, Jiangsu province. Low and small as this mountain is, the temple seems to be rimmed in by lofty mountains and precipitous peaks. Most enviable, however, is the scenery in the temple's precinct,

> Into the remotest recess a winding path stretches;
> A meditation room sits deep amid flowers and trees.

This description pertains to the National Purification Temple of the Tiantai Mountain, the Soul's Retreat Temple of Hangzhou, and the Heavenly Boy Temple of Ningbo. Similar examples and records are legion. The pity is that among the best scenic resorts I seldom see evidence of conscientious efforts

made in view borrowing—the siting is seldom decided on account of local topography, with buildings often perched on mountains or clustered all over a slope. Now that landscape is rendered in such disarray, there is no view borrowing to speak of. Examples of haphazard siting are so prevalent that they merit serious attention.

In garden-making architecture, the first thing to consider is to mesh buildings with surroundings, or, as Ji Cheng admonishes, "The trick lies in accommodating and borrowing [views]." The scenery for view borrowing in this regard should be arranged with a high degree of flexibility and adaptability. A masterstroke can work wonders on things that are otherwise insipid; but in eyes that stare but do not see, a perfect view can be neglected even if it beckons frantically. Take, for example, the gardens in the Jiangnan area. Most gardens in Changshu are built upon level ridges and tiny knolls, with views borrowed from the Yushan Mountain in the background. This method is assimilated in the Solace-Imbued Garden at the foot of the Huishan Mountain in Wuxi, and patterned after in the Garden of Harmonious Charms in Beijing's Summer Palace by focusing its views on water, level ridges and winding shores, but, more importantly, by borrowing the views of the Longevity Hill. Indeed, even when our forebears were imitating something, they still kept their eyes on the general picture, and never took action before they had mastered the overall spirit of the project at hand. As to the gardens in Hangzhou, Yangzhou and Nanjing, their layouts and "view borrowing" are strictly handled in accord with what the local mountains and waters can offer. Quite a few gardens in Songjiang, Suzhou, Changshu and Jiaxing in the Jiangnan area borrow views from the Buddhist pagodas beyond their walls. Just as Qian Yong puts it,

> Making a garden is like composing verse or prose;

> Every twist or turn must be done with prudence.

Only in this way can a garden stand out in distinction.

In his *Diaries on Travels in Yunnan* , Xu Hongzu writes,

> The Chinese pear-leaved crabapples are ripening in a northern neighbor's garden; draping their boughs over the southern wall, they appear bright red in a lovable way.

A famous Song-dynasty poem has it,

> Not to be shut up by a garden full of glory vernal,
> A twig of red apricot flowers ventures out of wall.

How beautiful the vistas are, offered by the red fruits in a northern neighbor's garden and the single twig of red apricot flowers protruding over a wall! *The Craft of Gardens* says again,

> However sparse a glimpse at a neighbor's flowers there is to be given, their vernal charms may well be gleaned for inexhaustible enjoyment if only they can be beckoned upon.

Thus we know the views to be borrowed can be large or small. Doesn't Ji Cheng talk about "using scenery in the distance" or "near at hand"? Shen Fu (1763-1825) [2] says in his *Six Records of a Floating Life* ,

> From here we can look up to see mountain peaks, and look down to take in gardens and pavilions. Vast and quiet is the vista….

Indeed, if borrowed cleverly, exquisite views are available everywhere whether you look up or look down at them. Poets and painters of bygone years were so hard up they could only afford to build rooms with three rafters, but one thing they would never give up was "view borrowing," so that they could "lean" upon a mountainside as if it were a wall, and "bring" along water as if it came from a ditch.

In my opinion, neighboring homes in today's residential quarters may as

well erect low walls or hedges between them, open lattice windows into their walls and cover them with green rattans and vines, so that they can communicate over such walls or hedges and borrow each other's views. Good-neighborly delights of this sort are at least better than neighbors staring at each other straight through opposite doors. In his comment on the Garden Half Way up the Mountain in *Miscellaneous Notes on the Eastern City* , Li E (1692-1752) [3] relates on a vista that belongs to a realm categorically different:

> The Garden Half Way up the Mountain is only half the size of the Yu's Garden, and they are separated merely by an alleyway. Climb up the northern loft of the Yu's Garden for a lookout, and one sees sun-lit woods and moss-greened rocks that seem to be crowding into one's bosom along with singing birds and fragrant flowers, an engrossing vista indeed. What the Hwa Dzan (Amitabha Buddhist) Temple east of the garden offers is a totally different view. After dusk falls when everything quiets down, and before the rise of a rooster's crow breaks the silence at the fifth watch of the night, water gurgles and pines sough to echo the drum beats and bell tolls from time to time.

Most gardens in Suzhou are walled in, making it impossible to borrow views from the outside world. This is where 'mutual borrowing of opposite views" inside of a garden comes in handy. As a matter of fact, "opposite-view borrowing" and "view borrowing" are the same thing, for you may just take "view borrowing" as an alternative to "opposite-view borrowing" that takes place outside of a garden. A stellar example of "opposite views" is found in the Humble Administrator's Garden, where the moon gate of the Loquat Courtyard opens exactly onto the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion, with the latter offering the former wonderful scenery to be borrowed. Close by the Loquat Courtyard is the Embroidered Damask Pavilion perched atop a knoll, where one can look down at the entire walled-

in small yard and gaze far into the distance to see the Mountain-in-View Loft. This scenery is brought about by the mutual borrowing of views high and low and from the four directions. The tiny yards in front of the Yulan Magnolia Hall and the Vernal Crabapple Yard borrow views from the large garden they find themselves in, so that visitors to these tiny yards can still marvel at the spatial and spiritual resonance of a vast vista. Another good example of view borrowing can be found in the Good for Both Families Pavilion [4] .

As a fine traditional landscape-making technique, view borrowing should certainly be inherited and put to wider use today. But some garden designers tend to thrash things out merely from a blueprint, without caring to make on-the-spot feasibility studies, and the requisite view borrowing method is likely to be brushed aside as a result. Take, for example, Shanghai with its jungle of tall buildings. If an artificial mountain is ill-located amidst jumbled high-rises, it will have little chance to evoke real mountains and woods, and people would find such a setting jarring. If a designer intends to borrow views from a tall building, he has got to think it over carefully. Because there are no views worth borrowing from its surroundings, the Multi-storied Building Garden perched upon an earthen hill at Doctor Ma's Lane, Suzhou, surrounds itself with houses with two methods offered in *The Craft of Gardens* ,

> Where the view in sight is vulgar, block it off,
>
> But where it is beautiful, take advantage of it.

The Sun Yat-sen Park in west Shanghai seems to be a cut above its counterparts in that it detaches itself from the city's din and traffic in a variety of ways. When we climb up an earthen knoll in the southeast corner of that garden and look into the distance, we can see none of the outside buildings—the designer has taken pains to block the views that cannot be borrowed, and

then he has ponds dug and rocks stacked up to make the visitor feel like roving a wooded mountain.

In my opinion, it is inappropriate to erect tall mountains on the immense track of land of the Western Suburb Park in Shanghai because there are so many tall buildings in close proximity and in the distance. If the ponds nearby can be incorporated and interspersed with reeds in future expansion plans, those who go boating in the park will feel like they were oaring on a misty expanse of water akin to the Western Brook Wetland of Hangzhou. Once the water surface of a park is expanded, it not only adds to the allure of the vistas on the premises but also help mitigate dust and environmental pollution. For the same reason, both the Garden of Perfect Splendor and the "Three Seas" [5] of Beijing have kept broad water surfaces on their premises, so that incorporeal silhouettes in the water intermingle with corporeal trees and groves and buildings ashore to conjure up one fascinating scene after another through judicial mutual borrowing of a series of "opposite views." In *Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao (1570-1626)* [6] , the author writes,

> I went to my friend Mi Wanzhong's garden in Haidian district together with Wu Shimei from Wanling [7] . A difficult part of garden-making in the capital city is the shortage of water. This garden, however, abounds in water, so much so that all its lofts and pavilions are water-bound and look like so many painted pleasure boats. As lotuses happened to be in the peak of their flowering season when we were there, their color and aroma were exceptionally infatuating. On the top floor of the garden's loft we also saw the scenic views of the Western Hills in the distance.

Mi Wanzhong writes of the Lush Foliage Loft in his own garden,

> Nothing delights more than mounting a loft
> To toast West Hills at ease at moonlit night.

Yuan Zhongdao's account illustrates the role of water in a garden while Mi's poem shows how his garden borrows views from the same hills as the Summer Palace does.

As every garden has its way with view borrowing to achieve individuality, it is unwise to impose uniformity at the expense of individuality. The Mountain Summer Resort of Chengde borrows views from the surrounding mountains and the structures of the Eight Major Temples. The Black Tortoise-Snake Lake [8] of Nanjing bedecked itself by incorporating the skyline of Nanjing close by and the Bell Mountain far away, but neither the skyline nor the mountain could beat the beauty of the reflections of the city wall quivering in the lake, so much so that these reflections became the lake's undisputable "name card." However, these lovely reflections are gone forever after dykes were erected along the city wall and the parapet walls demolished. In Hangzhou there is one mountain peak in the south and another in the north across the West Lake, and the center of the lake itself is graced with the Memorial Causeways of Su Shi and Bai Juyi, but it is the Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu [9] and the Lei's Peak Pagoda mirrored in the lake that are more likely to make visitors reluctant to tear themselves away. In Beijing, the Jade Flowery Islet is to the Beihai Park what the Longevity Hill and the Western Hills are to the Summer Palace. Another outstanding example is the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou. If we sit on the Anglers' Platform to look at the Lotus Bridge (that is, the Five-Pavilion Bridge) through the archway, or at the White Pagoda through the square brick frame [10], we find that both are state-of-the-art examples of "opposite view" borrowing, which combine to become the most striking hallmark of the Slender West Lake.

Nevertheless, ignoring the differences between gardens and bypassing the principle of adapting landscape gardening to the lie of the land, some

wilful designers of large gardens today want to impose the plan of the West Lake of Hangzhou as the one and only prototype on all the large gardens to be created. Who knows what would become of our gardens if all of them were intractably patterned after the West Lake? The Summer Palace of Beijing is exactly a product of this waywardness. Even though some modifications have been made to break such imposed similarity, visitors who have been to the West Lake still come under the impression that some of the Summer Palace's sights are mechanically copied from its prototype.

Our forbears' use of the view-borrowing technique was not limited to the craft of gardens. In their choice of urban settlements and other sites, aside from political, economic and military factors, the landscape beyond a city wall to be depended upon and borrowed from was weighed with utmost discretion, because a friendly living environment is every prospective dweller's dream. Let me quote the *Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao* once more,

> The scenery around the village is delicately charming, where dwellings cling to hills, lofts sit astride brooks, belvederes reach up to clouds, and footpaths are flanked by pines and bamboos.

How could one not be charmed by such an environment?

Yao Nai (1731-1815) [11] says of the city of Tai'an in "Notes on Breasting Mount Tai,"

> Observed from atop the city wall in sunset glow, the Wenshui River and Mount Culai are picture-perfect, whilst misty clouds float half way up the mountain like a silk ribbon.

Spectacular this mountainous city is indeed! Along with the city of Tai'an in Shandong province, there are Guilin in Guangxi province and Huayin in Shaanxi province… and the list of picturesque mountainous cities in this country is too long to be exhausted. As the old saying goes,

Take a peep at a single spot on its skin through a tube, and one can visualize the whole leopard."

The selection of tomb sites has a great deal to do with geomancy, but did our ancients not take pains on view borrowing by bringing all factors into account? A comparison between two tombs in Nanjing, the Filial Piety Tomb of the First Ming Emperor and His Empress [12] and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, is rather revealing. The former features a stairway meandering its way along the natural terrain of the Bell Mountain to the tomb, the Square City. Standing on the Square City, we find ourselves embraced by the surrounding mountains, with a range of cliffs forming a mammoth screen across the Yangtze; as we look down, the ancient imperial city presents itself before our eyes, all the while the wintry wind keeps howling but standing here, we cannot feel it at all. Indeed, there was good reason why Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398) moved his tomb from the Magic Valley Temple on the southeast slope of the Bell Mountain to its present site. By comparison, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, when observed in the distance, is exposed starkly and shows no intention to hide itself, and its memorial hall thrusts up beyond the clouds like an imposing tower; when looked around on the spot, the surroundings are utterly bald and empty, and, with no view to be borrowed in the distance, there are no deep and serene sights to be savoured—all that is left with the complex is its lofty and solemn momentum. In the heat waves of midsummer or the bitter cold of high winter, it is laborious for those climbing up to the great man's grave. Striking, therefore, are the differences between these two tombs to everyone who has visited them.

Now, a look at the Thirteen Ming Tombs in Changping, Beijing. Mountain-rimmed, with the Heavenly Longevity Mountain in the backdrop, the topography of this resting place for Ming-dynasty monarchs in their

afterlife was chosen with unique wisdom. Talk of imperial palaces, and three complexes come to mind right away: the Epang Palace of the Qin (221-206 BC), stretching for three hundred *li* on end; the Great Light Palace of the Tang (618-907) in present-day Xi'an, facing the Zhongnan Mountain; and the Imperial Palaces of the Southern Song (1127-1279), spanning the Qiantang River and the West Lake in Hangzhou. The well-conceived view borrowing schemes of this trio are of textbook values for garden-makers today.

In a nutshell, view borrowing is a garden-making design principle that ought to be applied in light of location, seasonal change and other factors. From an aesthetical point of view, it should be flexibly used and carefully deliberated when it comes to independent buildings and the relationship between buildings and between buildings and the environment. Only thus can the overall conception of a garden design make sense and the dwellers' aesthetic demands be better satisfied.

建筑中的“借景”问题

“借景”在园林设计中，占着极重要的位置，不但设计园林要留心这一点，就是城市规划、居住建筑、公共建筑等设计，亦与它分不开。有些设计成功的园林，人入其中，翘首四顾，顿觉心旷神怡，妙处难言，一经分析，主要还是在于能巧妙地运用了“借景”的方法。这个方法，在我国古代造园中早已自发地应用了，直到明末崇祯年间，计成在他所著的《园冶》一书上总结了出来。他说：“园林巧于因借。”“因者：随基势之高下，体形之端正，碍木删桠，泉流石注，互相借资，宜亭斯亭，宜榭斯榭，不妨偏径，顿置婉转，斯谓‘精而合宜’者也。借者：园虽别内外，得景则无拘远近，晴峦耸秀，绀宇凌空，极目所至，俗则屏之，嘉则收之，不分町疃，尽为烟景，斯所谓‘巧而得体’者也。”“萧寺可以卜邻，梵音到耳；远峰偏宜借景，秀色堪餐。”“构园无格，借景有因。”“夫借景者也，如远借、邻借、仰借、俯借、应时而借”等。清初李渔《一家言》也说“取景在借”。这些话给我们后代造园者，提出了一个很重要的原则。如今就管见所及来谈谈这个问题，不妥之处，尚请读者指正。

“景”既云“借”，当然其物不在我而在他，即化他人之物为我物，巧妙地吸收到自己的园中，增加了园林的景色。初期“借景”，大都利用天然山水。如晋代陶诗中的“采菊东篱下，悠然见南山”，其妙处在一“见”字，盖从有意无意中借得之，极自然与潇洒的情致。唐代王维有辋川别业，他说：“余别业在辋川山谷。”同时的白居易草堂，亦在匡庐山中。清代钱泳《履园丛话》“芜湖长春园”条说，该园“赭山当牖，潭水潆洄，塔影钟声，不暇应接”。皆能看出他们在园林中所欲借的景色是什么了。“借景”比较具体的，正如北宋李格非《洛阳名园记》“环溪”条所描写的：“以南望，则嵩高少室龙门大谷，层峰翠巘，毕效奇于

前。”“以北望，则隋唐宫阙楼殿，千门万户，岧峣璀璨，延亘十余里。凡左太冲十余年极力而赋者，可瞥目而尽也。”“水北胡氏园”条：“如其台四望，尽百余里，而萦伊缭洛乎其间。林木荟蔚，烟云掩映，高楼曲榭，时隐时见。使画工极思不可图，而名之曰‘玩月台’。”明人徐宏祖（霞客）《滇游日记》“游罗园”条：“建一亭于外池南岸，北向临池，隔池则龙泉寺之殿阁参差。冈上浮屠倒影波心，其地较九龙池愈高，而陂池掩映，泉源沸漾，为更奇也。”这些都是在选择造园地点时，事先作过精密的选择，即我们所谓“大处着眼”。像这种“借景”的方法，要算佛寺地点的处理最为到家。寺址十之八九处于山麓，前绕清溪，环顾四望，群山若拱，位置不但幽静，风力亦是最小，且藏而不露。至于山岚翠色，移置窗前，特其余事了，诚习佛最好的地方。正是“我见青山多妩媚，料青山见我应如是”。例如常熟兴福寺，虞山低小，然该寺所处的地点，不啻在崇山峻岭环抱之中。至于其内部，“曲径通幽处，禅房花木深”，复令人向往不已了。天台山国清寺、杭州灵隐寺、宁波天童寺等，都是如出一辙，其实例与记载不胜枚举。今日每见极好的风景区，对于建筑物的安排，很少在“借景”上用功夫，即本身建筑之所处亦不顾因地制宜，或踞山巅，或满山布屋，破坏了本区风景，更遑论他处“借景”，实在是值得考虑的事。

园林建筑首在因地制宜，计成所云“妙在因借”。当然“借景”亦因地不同，在运用上有所异，可是妙手能化平淡为神奇，反之即有极佳可借之景，亦等秋波枉送，视若无睹。试以江南园林而论，常熟诸园什九采用平冈小丘，以虞山为借景，纳园外景物于园内。无锡惠山寄畅园其法相同。北京颐和园内谐趣园即仿后者而筑，设计时在同一原则下以水及平冈曲岸为主，最重要的是利用万寿山为“借景”。于此方信古人即使摹拟，亦从大处着眼，掌握其基本精神入手。至于杭州、扬州、南京诸园，又各因山因水而异其布局与“借景”，松江、苏州、常熟、嘉兴诸园，更有“借景”园外塔影的。正如钱泳所说：“造园如作诗文，必使曲

折有法”，是各尽其妙的了。

明人徐宏祖（霞客）《滇游日记》云：“北邻花红正熟，枝压墙南，红艳可爱……”以及宋人“春色满园关不住，一枝红杏出墙来”等句，是多么富于诗意的小园“借景”。这北邻的花红与一枝出墙的红杏，它给隔院人家起了多少美的境界。《园冶》又说：“若对邻氏之花，机分消息，可以招呼，收春无尽。”于此可知“借景”可以大，也可以小。计成不是说“远借”“邻借”吗？清人沈三白《浮生六记》上说：“此处仰观峰岭，俯视园亭，既旷且幽。”又是俯仰之间都有佳景。过去诗人画家虽结屋三椽，对“借景”一道，却不随意轻抛的，如“倚山为墙，临水为渠”。我觉得现在的居住区域，人家与人家之间，不妨结合实用以短垣或篱落相间，间列漏窗，垂以藤萝，“隔篱呼取”，“借景”邻宅，别饶清趣，较之一览无余，门户相对，似乎应该好一点罢。至于清代厉鹗《东城杂记》“杭州半山园”条：“半山当庾园之半，两园相距才隔一巷耳。若登庾园北楼望之，林光岩翠，袭人襟带间，而鸟语花香，固已引人入胜。其东为华藏寺，每当黄昏人静之后，五更鸡唱之先，水韵松声，亦时与断鼓零钟相答响。”则又是一番境界了。

苏州园林大部分为封闭性，园外无可“借景”，因此园内尽量采用“对景”的办法。其实“对景”与“借景”却是一回事，“借景”即园外的“对景”。比如拙政园内的枇杷园，月门正对雪香云蔚亭，我们称之为该处极好的对景。实则雪香云蔚亭一带，如单独对枇杷园而论，是该小院佳妙的“借景”。绣绮亭在小山之上，紧倚枇杷园，登亭可以俯视短垣内整个小院，远眺可极目见山楼。这是一种小范围内做到左右前后高低互借的办法。玉兰堂及海棠春坞前的小院“借景”大园，又是能于小处见大，处境空灵的一种了；而“宜两亭”则更明言互相“借景”了。

我们今日设计园林，对于优良传统手法之一的“借景”，当然要继承并且扩大应用的，可是有些设计者往往专从园林本身平面布局的图纸上推敲，缺少到现场作实地详细的踏勘，对于借景一点，就难免会忽略过

去。譬如上海高楼大厦较多，假山布置偶一不当，便不能有山林之感，两者对比之下，给人们的感觉就极不协调；假如真的要以高楼为“借景”的话，那么在设计时又须另作一番研究了。苏州马医科巷楼园，园位于土阜上，登阜四望无景可借，于是多面筑屋以蔽之。正如《园冶》所说“俗者屏之，佳者收之”的办法。沪西中山公园在这一点上，似乎较他园略高一筹，设计时在如何与市嚣隔绝上，用了一些办法。我们登其东南角土阜，极目远望，不见园外房屋，尽量避免不能借的景物，然后园内凿池垒石，方才可使游人如入山林。上海西郊公园占地较广，我以为不宜堆叠高山，因四周或远或近尚多高楼建筑。将来扩建时，如能以附近原有水塘加以组织联系，杂以蒹葭，则游人荡舟其中，仿佛迷离烟水，如入杭州西溪。园林水面一旦广阔，其效果除发挥水在园林中应有的美景外，减少尘灰实是又一重要因素。故北京圆明园、三海等莫不有辽阔的水面，并利用水的倒影、林木及建筑物，得能虚实互见，这是更为动人的“对景”了。明代《袁小修日记》云：“与宛陵吴师每同赴米友石海淀园，京师为园，所艰者水耳。此处独饶水，楼阁皆凌水，一如画舫，莲花最盛，芳艳销魂，有楼，可望西山秀色。”米万钟诗云：“更喜高楼（案指翠葆榭）明月夜，悠然把酒对西山。”此处不但形容与说明了水在该园林中的作用，更描写了该园与颐和园一样的“借景”西山。

园林“借景”各有特色，不能强不同以为同。热河避暑山庄以环山及八大庙建筑为“借景”。南京玄武湖则以南京城与钟山为“借景”，而最突出的就是沿湖城垣的倒影，使人一望而知这是玄武湖。如今沿城筑堤，又复去了女墙，原来美妙的倒影，已不复可见了。西湖有南北二峰，湖中间以苏白二堤为其特色，而保俶、雷峰两塔的倒影，是最足使游人流连而不忘的一个突出景象。北京北海的琼华岛、颐和园的万寿山及远处的西山，又为这三处的特色。他若扬州的瘦西湖，我们若坐钓鱼台，从圆拱门中望莲花桥（五亭桥），从方砖框中望白塔，不但使人觉得这处应用了极佳的“对景”，而且最充分地表明了这是瘦西湖。如今对大规模

的园林，往往在设计时忽略了各处特色，强以西湖为标准，不顾因地制宜的原则，这又有什么意义可谈？颐和园亦强拟西湖，虽然相同中亦寓有不同，然游过西湖者到此，总不免有仿造风景之感。

我们祖先对“借景”的应用，不仅在造园方面，而且在城市地区的选择上，除政治、经济、军事等其他因素外，对于城郭外山水的因借，亦是经过十分慎重的考虑的，因为广大人民所居住的区域，谁都想有一个好的环境。《袁小修日记》：“沿村山水清丽，人家第宅枕山中，危楼跨水，高阁依云，松篁夹路。”像这样的环境，怎不令人为之神往？清代姚鼐《登泰山记》所描写的泰安城：“望晚日照城郭，汶水徂徕如画，而半山居雾若带然。”这种山麓城市的境界，又何等光景呢？是种实例甚多，如广西桂林城、陕西华阴城等，举此略见一斑。至于陵墓地点的选择，虽名为风水所关，然揆之事实，又何独不在“借景”上用过一番思考。试以南京明孝陵与中山陵作比较，前者根据钟山天然地势，逶迤曲折的墓道通到方城（墓地）。我们立方城之上，环顾山势如抱，隔江远山若屏，俯视宫城如在眼底，朔风虽烈，此处独无。故当年朱元璋迁灵谷寺而定孝陵于此，是有其道理的。反之中山陵远望则显，露而不藏，祭殿高耸势若危楼，就其地四望，又觉空而不敛，借景无从，只有崇宏庄严之气势，而无幽深邈远之景象，盛夏严冬，徒苦登临者。二者相比，身临其境者都能感觉得到的。再看北京昌平的明十三陵，乃以天寿山为背景，群山环抱，其地势之选择亦有其独到的地方。至于宫殿，若秦阿房宫之覆压三百余里，唐大明宫之面对终南山，南宋宫殿之襟带江（钱塘江）湖（西湖），在借景上都是经过一番研究的，直到今天还值得我们参考。

总之，“借景”是一个设计上的原则，而在应用上还是需要根据不同的具体情况，因地因时而有所异。设计的人须从审美的角度加以灵活应用，不但单独的建筑物须加以考虑，即建筑物与建筑物之间，建筑物与环境之间，都须经过一番思考与研究。如此，则在整体观念上必然会进

一步得到提高，而对居住者美感上的要求，更会进一步得到满足了。

《同济学报》建筑版1958年第1期

COUNTRY DWELLINGS AND GARDENS

History of Chinese Ancient Architecture, First manuscript , 1958

Rural areas are home to the overwhelming majority of the labouring people who never slacken their effort to augment their lives by blanketing their homeland in greenery. This tradition furnishes a wealth of themes and prototypes for landscape and architectural garden-making. It sounds easy and simple to keep the countryside green, but if done in light of local conditions, with materials obtained locally and put to best use, it can augment the environment, blend dwellings into nature, and bring about forest belts where man-made and natural scenery become one. This tradition is particularly pronounced in the Jiangnan area, where the landscape is typified by a tiny bridge sitting on a flowing brook and green bamboos casting shadows that sway upon white-washed walls. To summarize and study these practices and seek improvement on the basis of scientific analyses will do a great deal of good for endeavours to ameliorate our living environment, boost production, and promote the craft of gardens in urban areas.

Because the southern and northern parts of our vast homeland differ in geography and climate, especially between mountainous areas and plains, they must be dealt with differently in our forestation effort. Most mountain folks grow trees on the right, left and back sides of homes situated mostly in a mountain or at the foot of a cliff. Mao Zedong's former residence in Shaoshanchong village, Xiangtan county, is such a good example. Most villages on the plains are found by the side of a river or road; most of them are surrounded with trees, but more trees are found on the northwest side to

ward off the scorching sun and high wind. The same is true with houses. A clearance is reserved in front of every house for sunning or thrashing harvested farm crops, and a line of trees are planted in the front for demarcation purposes. Tall trees are planted north of the houses, but in the Jiangnan area they are replaced with bamboos which can also provide shade and bring in cool breezes in summer. Chickens love to nest in bamboo groves and feed on the insects that abound in bamboo roots, and their hyperactive claws can loosen the soil to facilitate bamboos' growth—the mingling of bamboos and chickens at a homestead is, indeed, a winning situation. Roads tucked away under the canopy-like foliage of trees, and weeping willows rippling every water surface with soft twigs offer idyllic views. Every tree or bamboo planted in the countryside has its own functional and aesthetic values. In the Jiangnan area evergreen and deciduous trees are often aligned in alternate rows, but there are also places where only a single species of arbor is planted for both its fruit and timber, such as chestnut, tallow and

chinaberry trees. Hardwood trees such as wingceltis and photinia, and trees that produce quality timber, such as gingko and Chinese little-leaf box, are not uncommon as well. These trees are pruned and intermediately felled on an annual basis, with the timber thus harvested to make farm tools and furniture. Native species such as camphor in south Zhejiang, banyans in south Fujian, and poplars and pagoda trees in north China have long been afforestation "trademarks" for their respective areas because their thick foliage provides cozy shelter against the high-noon sun and their exuberant verdure graces many a garden. Oftentimes hedgerows built of evergreen scrubs are erected where a wall is needed around a dwelling.

Bamboo groves and fruit trees growing by the side of a residence also help boost farm produce. Trees can be planted on river or pond shores for

productive purposes, as exemplified by the Lichee Bay of Guangzhou in Guangdong province. Reed, water caltrop and lotus are also raised in ponds and lagoons such as the South Lake of Jiaxing and the lotus ponds of Nantang to augment villager earnings. These undertakings have a direct or indirect impact on garden-making as well. Flowers and trees serving gardening purposes are somewhat alien to nature for their poses and contours but enjoy an intimate affinity with rural dwellings. This is especially true with hardwood trees; pruned at regular intervals, they add an idyllic touch to the country scene. Landscape paintings, such as "Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway," "Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion," "Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides," may well have been inspired by or derived from rural forestation and greening efforts—they are tiny, but practical sceneries brought about through such attempts.

The bridges in traditional Chinese gardens are often balustraded on one side and left open on the other, to the bewilderment of many observers. This arrangement is actually adapted to everyday rural life. When a peasant crosses a bridge with a load on both ends of his shoulder pole, or with a buffalo in tow, his movement is likely to be hampered if the bridge is narrow, and, worse, balustraded on both sides. This is why many rural bridges have no balustrades at all or have a balustrade on just one side. In what is a typical case of someone being well-read but having a poor memory of his ancestors' way of doing things, garden crafters of later generations often forget this simple reason and turn a small bridge into a narrow lane by sandwiching it between tall railings.

Bridges, be they fashioned out of a single board astride a rivulet, stepping stones embedded in a crystal clear stream, or zigzagging ones that span a relatively wide river, come in a myriad of shapes and designs that are

captivating to those who happened to be there when nearby mountains are bathed in sunset glow, the skies disappear into the aromatic verdure on the horizon, and fishing boats come home with fishermen chanting. A waterside pavilion ought to be decorated with a tiny path, with tall trees planted to the northwest to keep off the sun, so that the sceneries high and low can set off each other and their silhouettes can wreak up a picture-perfect havoc in the water—sayings like "A pavilion settled beside water" and "A small trail poised to twist and turn" are most probably originated therein. A winding sand embankment, or a tiny slope dipping into a wild pool never fails to become a prototype in the eyes of a landscape gardener, for they come handy to call forth natural delights. The Humble Administrator's Garden abounded in such casual delights in its old days, but many of them have been lost to the stone embankments built lately. A garden crafter unfamiliar with country sceneries tends to plunge headlong into vulgarities like someone who has just hit a windfall. Worse, some ponds have had their bottoms paved with mosaic tiles, and therefore look like swimming pools.

Rural architecture delights and enchants people by dint of terrains running up and down, sceneries now widely scattered, now thickly clustered, buildings laid out in layered depth, trees kept close by or at a distance, colors light or rich, black or white contrasting each other (such as white-washed walls against black roof tiles in the Jiangnan area), and country dwellings that come in a hundred and one styles—these and other vistas bring about a montage that I find most endearing, delighting and consoling on my journeys by boat or by car. These sceneries, however, cannot do without buildings. Wherever there are buildings there is life, and wherever there is life there are people. When people are associated with sceneries, their feelings interflow with what meets their eyes. Most traditional gardens in China draw on

country scenes and sights, but they are not mere imitations of nature, for buildings always come foremost on their premises. As most garden builders hail from the countryside and love to instill their experience in rural life into what they are working on, this has resulted in distinctly unique gardens in which people can sit down to forget worldly worries for some time or see what they can as they saunter through such a garden. Congeniality is fostered between people and garden this way.

The countryside teems with quiet bamboos and fabulous woods, in which wild birds and poultry warble or chuckle in contentment. When spring sets in and water becomes warm, the rivers are seething with geese and ducks swimming imperturbably to and fro in flocks—a view that also materializes at many a "Pavilion for Birds Flying In" in gardens. The pity is that most of the zoos today are built according to out-dated blueprints, and thus in most of them birds are shut up in large cages like prisoners craning their necks behind bars. Lack of experience in life and compassion is to blame for such cruel treatment of man's winged friends.

村居与园林

我国广大劳动人民居住的绝大部分地区——农村，在居住的所在，历来都进行了绿化，以丰富自己的生活。这种绿化又为我国园林建筑所取材与模仿。农村绿化看上去虽然比较简单，然在“因地制宜”“就地取材”“因材致用”这三个基本原则指导之下，能使环境丰富多彩，居住部分与自然组合在一起，成为一个人工与天然相配合的绿化地带。这在小桥流水、竹影粉墙的江南更显得突出。这些实是我们今日应该总结与学习的地方。在原有基础上加以科学分析和改进提高，将对今后改良居住环境与增加生产，以及供城市造园借鉴，都有莫大好处。

我国幅员辽阔，地理气候南北都有所不同，因而在绿化上，也有山区与平原之分。山区的居民，其建筑地点大都依山傍岩，其住宅左右背后，皆环以树木，毛泽东主席的湘潭韶山冲故居，即是一个好例。至于平原地带村落，大都建筑在沿河流或路旁，其绿化原则，亦大都有树木环绕，尤其注意西北方向，用以挡烈日防风。住宅之旁亦有同样措施。宅前必留出一块广场，以作晒农作物之用。广场之前又植树一行，自划成区。宅北植高树，江南则栽竹，既蔽荫又迎风。鸡喜居竹林，因为竹根部多小虫可食，且竹林之根要松，经鸡的活动，有助竹的生长，两全其美。宅外的通道，皆芳树垂荫，春柳拂水，都是极妙的画图。这些绿化都以功能结合美观。在江南每以常绿树与落叶树互相间隔，亦有以一种乔木单植的，如栗树、乌桕、楝树，这些树除果实可利用外，其材亦可利用。硬木如檀树、石楠，佳材如银杏、黄杨，都是经常见到的。以上品种每年修枝与抽伐，所得可用以制造农具与家具。至于浙江以南农村的樟树，福建以南农村的榕树，华北的杨树、槐树，更显午荫嘉树清园，翠盖若棚，皆为一地绿化特征。利用常绿矮树作为绿篱，绕屋代墙。宅旁之竹林与果树，在生产上也起作用。在河旁溪边栽树，也结合

生产，如广州荔枝湾就是在这原则下形成的。池塘港湾植以芦苇，或布菱荷，如嘉兴的南湖，南塘的莲塘，皆为此种栽植之突出者。这些都直接或间接影响到造园。虽然园林花木以姿态为主，与大自然有别，却与农村村居为近，且经修剪，硬木树尤为入画。因此如“柳荫路曲”“梧竹幽居”“荷风四面”等命题的风景画，未始不从农村绿化中得到启发的，不过再经过概括提炼，以少胜多，具体而微而已。

对于古代园林中的桥常用一面阑干，很多人不解。此实仿自农村者。农村桥农民要挑担经过，如果两面用阑干，妨碍担行，如牵牛过桥，更感难行，因此农村之桥，无阑干则可，有栏亦多一面。后之造园者未明此理，即小桥亦两面高阑干，宛若夹弄，这未免“数典忘祖”了。至于小流架板桥，清溪点步石，稍阔之河，曲桥几折，皆委婉多姿，尤其是在山映斜阳、天连芳草、渔舟唱晚之际，人行桥上，极为动人。水边之亭，缀以小径，其西北必植高树，作蔽阳之用，而高低掩映，倒影参错，所谓“水边安亭”“径欲曲”者，于此得之。至于曲岸回沙，野塘小坡，别具野趣，更为造园家蓝本所自。苏州拙政园原多逸趣，今则尽砌石岸，顿异前观。造园家不熟悉农村景物，必导致伧俗如暴发户。今更有以“马赛克”贴池间者，无异游泳池了。

农村建筑妙在地形有高低，景物有疏密，建筑有层次，树木有远近，色彩有深浅，黑白有对比（江南粉墙黑瓦）等，千万村居无一处相雷同，舟行也好，车行也好，十分亲切，观之不尽，我在旅途中，它予我以最大的愉快与安慰。这些景物中有建筑，有了建筑必有生活，有生活必有人，人与景联系起来，所谓情景交融。我国古代园林，大部分的摹拟自农村景物，而又不是纯仿大自然，所以建筑物占主要地位。造园工人又大部分来自农村，有体会，便形成可坐可留，可游可看，可听可想，别具一格的中国园林。它紧紧地与人结合了起来。

农村多幽竹嘉林，鸣禽自得，春江水暖，鹅鸭成群，来往自若，不避人们。因此在园林中建造“来禽馆”，亦寓此意。可惜今日在设计动物

园时，多数给禽鸟饱受铁窗风味，入园如探牢，这也是较原始的设计方法。没有生活，没有感情，不免有些粗暴吧！

1958年《中国古代建筑史初稿》

陈从周生平　CHEN CONGZHOU TIMELINE

此生平系根据乐峰所著《陈从周传》编纂而成。
This timeline is written based on Yue Feng's *Chen Congzhou's Life* .

陈从周，浙江杭州人。别名梓室、梓翁，同济大学教授，中国闻名的建筑学家、园林艺术家。他是我国继明朝计成、文震亨，清朝李渔之后，现当代既能亲自动手造园、复园，又能著书立说、品评、记述中国园林的第一人。
Chen Congzhou (1918-2000), sobriquets Man from Carpenter's Studio and Elderly Carpenter, a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, a Tongji University professor of architecture, a leading Chinese garden historian of his generation, as well as a practicing landscape architect. Following in the steps of Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642) and Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645) of the Ming and Li Yu (1611-1680) of the Qing, he was the only man in modern China who could make gardens and restore old ones with his own hands while writing books to appreciate and comment on Chinese gardens.

1918

11月27日出生于浙江省杭州市。童年时期即喜欢养花种草、叠石理水，喜爱绘画，喜背古诗。
November 27, birth of Chen Congzhou, Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, the beginning of a boyhood in which he learns poetry, painting, and landscape gardening.

1938

入之江大学文学系中国语文学科。诗词师承夏承焘教授。

Enrolls in Hangchow University School of Literature to study Chinese and classical poetry under Professor Xia Chengtao (1900-1986), a founding father of modern studies of classical lyrical poetry.

1942

毕业后，受聘于杭州市立师范学校。

Graduates from Hangchow University School of Literature with a B.A. and starts teaching in the Hangzhou Normal College.

1943

与海宁蒋定结婚，为徐志摩姻兄妹。徐志摩堂姐亦为陈从周二嫂。得悉志摩轶事，开始了对徐志摩的钻研。

Marries Jiang Ding (?-1986) from a distinguished family in Haining, Zhejiang province. Begins researches of Xu Zhimo (1897-1931), a prominent modern Chinese poet who is his wife's cousin and whose elder uncle's daughter is Chen's second elder brother's wife.

1944

长女陈胜吾出生。省立杭州中学任教，杭州市立中学任教。

Birth of his elder daughter, Chen Shengwu. Teaches at the Provincial Hangzhou Senior Middle School and the Hangzhou Municipal Middle School.

1946

儿子陈丰出生。圣约翰大学附中任教。张大千收其为入室弟子。

Birth of his son, Chen Feng. Teaches at the High School Affiliated to

Saint John's University in Shanghai. Apprenticed to Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983) the celebrated traditional Chinese and modern impressionist and expressionist painter.

1948

于上海举办个人画展，以《一丝柳一寸柔情》蜚声海上画坛。

Debuts in Shanghai as a fledgling figure, landscape and floral painter at a personal retrospective which features the painting *A Wisp of Willow, an Inch of Tenderness* , among others.

1949

发表处女作《徐志摩年谱》，成为当今研究徐志摩和中国现代文学史的宝贵资料。《陈从周画集》刊印。

Publishes the first book of his life, *A Chronology of the Life of Xu Zhimo* , which remains to this day an indispensable source for studies of the poet and modern Chinese literary history. His album *The Paintings of Chen Congzhou* is published.

1950

任苏州美术专科学校副教授，教授中国美术史，结识古建筑专家刘敦桢教授，开始古建筑生涯。同年秋，执教于圣约翰大学建筑系，正式教授中国建筑史。

Appointed as associate professor in Chinese art history by the Suzhou Fine Arts Academy, where he comes under the tutorage of Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), a preeminent professor of classical Chinese architecture. When the new academic year begins in September, he is already a full-time professor of Chinese architecture history at Saint John's University

Department of Architecture in Shanghai.

1951

受聘于之江大学建筑系，兼课于苏南工业专科学校，课余开始了苏州古建筑、古园林以及诸多名人故居的考察。

Becomes an associate professor of architecture with the Hangchow University Department of Architecture in Shanghai and an associate professor with the South Jiangsu Industrial School of Suzhou, where in his spare time he begins fieldwork on ancient buildings, garden architecture and mansions.

1952

小女陈馨出生。院系调整，执教于同济大学建筑系，受黄作燊副主任之托筹建建筑历史教研室。

Birth of his younger daughter Chen Xin. Begins his lifelong tenure as a professor with the newly established Tongji University Department of Architecture, where he prepares for the establishment of an architecture history teaching and research office at the request of Associate Dean Huang Zuoshen (1915-1975).

1953

师从我国古建筑研究鼻祖朱启钤先生。与刘敦桢先生结伴至曲阜，对孔庙作详细的勘察与考证。《漏窗》出版。

Apprenticed to Zhu Qiqian (1872-1964), a prominent expert in ancient Chinese architecture and creator of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. Goes on a surveying tour of the Confucian Temple, Qufu, with Liu Dunzhen. His book *Latticed Windows* is published.

1954

《文物参考资料》杂志上发表了第一篇有关古建筑考察专文——吴县洞庭东山杨湾庙。勘察虎丘塔，揭开了虎丘塔的结构之谜，成为太平天国之后第一登塔人。参与上海龙华塔复原修缮。

The journal *Cultural Artifacts Reference* , issue No. 3, carries "The Main Hall of the Yangwan Temple in the East Dongting Mountain in Wuxian County," his first ever essay on traditional Chinese architecture. Becomes the first man since the fall of the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising (1851-1864) to climb atop the Pagoda of the Tiger Hill to draw the structure of its dilapidated top while leading a team of architecture students for cartographic survey practice in Suzhou. Participates in refurbishing the Dragon Luster Pagoda in Shanghai.

1956

代表作《苏州园林》问世，提出了"江南园林甲天下，苏州园林甲江南"的论断，抓住了苏州园林的本质特征——文人园林的诗情画意，总结归纳了中国园林造园手法，诸如借景、屏障、对景等。

The release of his landmark book Suzhou Gardens, written by incorporating his students' cartographic survey and research results in 1954-1956, in which he summarizes such Chinese garden-making techniques as view borrowing, view screening and opposite views, and asserts that the Jiangnan region boasts the best gardens in the world, but it is Suzhou that offers the best Jiangnan gardens that exude poetic allusions and picturesque appeals.

1957

参与指导上海豫园修复工程，发现豫园原配门额。《上海的豫园与内园》发表。

Participates in restoring a part of the Gratification Garden in Shanghai, and discovers the original lintel of the garden's front gate. Publishes "Gratification Garden, Inner Garden, Shanghai."

1958

《苏州旧住宅参考图录》出版。批判营造学社，梁思成说：“我反对拆北京城墙，他反对拆苏州城墙，应该同受到批判。”返沪后同济大学建筑系将其撤职。继续勘察无锡、扬州等地。《建筑中的“借景”问题》《村居与园林》《西湖园林风格漫谈》发表。

Publishes Pictorial References to Traditional Dwellings in Suzhou at a Beijing Academy of Architecture symposium. Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), who is being criticized at a Beijing meeting as the representative of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture, says, "I was opposed to dismantling Beijing's city walls, and Chen Congzhou, who is with us here, was opposed to tearing down Suzhou's city walls. Thus both of us ought to be criticized together." Removed, upon returning from Beijing to Shanghai, from his position as director of the teaching and research office of the Tongji University Department of Architecture. Undeterred, he goes on with his studies as usual, and extends his researches from Suzhou to Wuxi and Yangzhou. Publishes "View Borrowing in Garden Architecture," "Country Dwellings and Gardens" and "West Lake Gardens, Hangzhou."

1959

于北京旧香山饭店编写《中国建筑史》。

Compiles Chinese Architecture History in the former Fragrant Hill Hotel, Beijing.

1960

参与指导嘉定孔庙、松江佘山秀道者塔的修复、设计工作。赴浙江勘察古建筑，发现安澜园遗址。

Participates in restoring the Confucian Temple of Jiading, and the Taoist Xiu's Pagoda on the Sheshan Mountain of Songjiang. Discovers the former site of the Billow-Tranquilizing Garden on an inspection tour in Zhejiang province.

1962

勘查扬州园林，发现并考证了石涛唯一存世的叠石作品片石山房。《瘦西湖漫谈》《扬州片石山房》发表。

Identifies, during a survey of traditional Chinese gardens in Yangzhou, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode as the singular surviving rockwork left behind by the celebrated monk painter Shitao (1642-*c* . 1707). Publishes "Slender West Lake" and "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

1963

获硕士导师资格。与梁思成同赴扬州，参与鉴真纪念堂的设计。《绍兴的沈园与春波桥》发表。

Appointed as a mentor for master's degree candidates. Assists Liang Sicheng in designing the Memorial Hall of Ganjin (688-763) for the Daming Temple, Yangzhou. Publishes "Shen's Garden, Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing."

1965

受陆小曼临终嘱托，后将《志摩全集》排印样本送回徐家，陆的山水长卷转交浙江省博物馆。

Acting on Lu Xiaoman's (1903-1965) deathbed entrustment, transfers the proofs of the Collected Works of Xu Zhimo to the Xus' and one of her long scroll landscape paintings to the safety of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

1971

皖南干校劳动改造。其间依然对歙县民居、古建筑进行勘察、研究。

Sent to the university's May 7th Cadres' School in Shexian county, south Anhui, for "reeducation" through manual labor, which gives him opportunities to explore local traditional dwellings and architecture.

1972

梁思成去世，抱病徒步翻山越岭到县城发唁电。因胃出血结束干校生活，恢复同济大学教授职位。参与连云港海清寺塔修理工程。

Death of Liang Sicheng. Hikes, in spite of bad health, along a mountain footpath from the May 7th Cadre's School to a post office at the county seat and telegraphs a letter of condolence to the bereaved Liang family. Stricken with gastrorrhagia and released from the cadre's school because of it. Restored to professorship at Tongji University. Joins in restoring the pagoda of the Haiqing Temple in Lianyungang, Jiangsu province.

1973

勘察山东、江苏古建筑。为保存聊城明初光岳楼大木结构作出重要

贡献。

Goes on fieldwork tours of Shandong and Jiangsu provinces, where he inspects quite a few ancient buildings. Plays a major part in saving the timber frame of the Tower That Illuminates Mount Tai of the early Ming in Liaocheng during a study tour of Shandong province.

1974

勘查安徽古建筑。

Inspects ancient architectural structures during a tour of Anhui province.

1975

赴湘西、长沙勘察古建筑。艰难困苦下著述《梓室余墨》四十余万字，详细记述了一生中的交往、研究、各地山川风光、民俗、民情、遗闻轶事。

Goes on ancient architecture surveys in Changsha and other parts of Hu'nan province. Finishes writing the Remnant Ink from Carpenter's Studio, a 400,000-word book of close to 500 sketches, travelogues, and random notes that elaborate in a humorous and anecdotal way on friendship, research work, and gardens, sceneries and folkways of the places he has visited through the years.

1976

《苏州网师园》发表。

Publishes "Master-of-Fishnets Garden, Suzhou."

1977

与贝聿铭先生在上海见面。

Meets the venerable Ieoh Ming Pei for the first time in Shanghai.

1978

《说园》发表，与其后四篇奠定了他20世纪园林之父的地位，前后出版英语、日语、德语、法语、意大利语译本。将网师园殿春簃模制，输出至美国纽约大都会博物馆，即明轩。贝聿铭雅嘱他写就长卷水墨丹青《名园青霄图卷》，复请国内文化耆宿、书法名家题咏，现存纽约贝氏园，成为一件极为珍贵的书画名品。

The first installment of his "On Gardens" is carried in the architecture edition of the *Tongji University Journal*, issue No. 2. This, together with the four other installments to be released and translated into English, Japanese, German, French and Italian in the next few years, is to establish him as father of traditional Chinese gardens in the 20th century. The Astor Court, a replica of the Late-Spring Peony Lodge of Suzhou's Master-of-Fishnets Garden, comes under construction in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Completes the long scroll painting, *A Famous Garden Under Blue Sky* , at the request of Ieoh Ming Pei, who has had colophons inscribed on its margins and collects it in the Pei's Garden in New York.

1979

《苏州沧浪亭》《恭王府小记》发表。

Publishes "Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, Suzhou" and "Notes on Prince Gong's Mansion."

1980

倡导重建杭州雷峰塔。写信给山西平遥县政府，要求保护好平遥古

城。到处演讲报告，所到之处极受领导、群众的欢迎和接待。

Submits a proposal for the reconstruction of the Lei's Peak Pagoda in Hangzhou. Writes to the government of Pingyao county, Shanxi province, with a demand for the conservation of the ancient city of Pingyao. Goes on lecturing tours across the country, to the delight of local officials and commoners alike.

1981

《园林美与昆曲美》发表。

Publishes "Gardens and Kunqu Opera: Beauty's Tour de Force."

1982

主持绍兴应天塔修复工作。《苏州园林》日语版出版。《园林与山水画》发表。

Presides over the design for the restoration of the Pagoda in Communion With Heaven in Shaoxing, Zhejiang. The release of the Japanese edition of his *Suzhou Gardens* in Tokyo, Japan. Publishes "Gardens and Landscape Painting."

1983

勘查苏州周庄古建筑。针对全国旅游热、修复名胜古迹热，提出口号：还我自然！绿化为文化服务。绿化在先，造园第二。创建绿文化等。针对一切向钱看的现象，宣称，“梓翁画图不要钱。”主持占鳌塔修复工作。指导修复豫园东部，营建天一阁东园。《扬州园林》出版。

Inspects the ancient village of Zhouzhuang to the southeast of Suzhou. Raises a series of slogans to address the nation's booming tourism and

rush to restore famous scenic spots and historical sites: Bring nature back! Cater tourism to cultural edification! Afforestation first, garden-making second! Foster a green culture! Demurring at the widespread "money-first" mentality, he declares, "I won't ask for a penny from anyone who wants my paintings." Chairs a restoration plan for the Turtle Subduing Pagoda on an observational deck by the Qiantang River in Haining. Helps restore the eastern part of the Gratification Garden of Shanghai and construct the East Garden to the east of the Tianyige Library in Ningbo, Zhejiang province. The release of his book, *Yangzhou Gardens* , a crystallization of twenty years of hard work, by the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Publishers.

1985

受聘为美国贝聿铭建筑设计事务所顾问。

Appointed by Ieoh Ming Pei as a consultant for M. Pei & Partners, USA.

1986

《绍兴石桥》出版。5月27日蒋定去世，安葬于海盐南北湖。参加日本建筑学会百年纪念。

Publishes the book Stone Bridges of Shaoxing. Jiang Ding, his wife of more than forty years, passes away on May 27; her ashes are buried at the South-and-North Lakes in Haiyan, Zhejiang province. In autumn, attends a meeting in Tokyo to mark the centennial of the founding of the Japanese Architectural Institute.

1987

豫园东部竣工，成为上海招待国宾最佳处所之一。11月29日，独子陈丰在洛杉矶遇刺身亡。

Completion of the eastern part of the Gratification Garden, thereby turning it into the best place to be for foreign guests. On November 29, his son, Chen Feng, is murdered in a restaurant in Los Angeles.

1988

修复豫园东部古戏台，增建看廊。忍受着丧妻失子之痛，通过媒体和政府部门奔走呼号，阻止当地人滥采山石、大肆捕鸟，成功拯救南北湖风光。《上海近代建筑史稿》出版。

Has an old Kunqu Opera stage restored in the eastern part of the Gratification Garden, and attaches an audience hall to it. To save the picture-perfect scenic South-and-North Lakes from the perils of wonton quarrying and bird killing, he overcomes personal agony over the deaths in his family and single-handedly stems the abuse through local media and by lobbying with local government departments. Publishes *A Manuscript of Modern Architecture History of Shanghai.*

1989

天一阁东园落成。获日本园林学会海外名誉会员称号。筹划重建水绘园。常年辛劳兼亲人逝世，严重损害健康。驱车八小时赴苏北考察，中风，送上海医院救治。

Completion of the East Garden to the east of the Tianyige Library. Becomes an honorary member of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture. Plans the reconstruction of the Water-Rimmed Garden in Rugao, Jiangsu province. Long years of hard work, coupled with the deaths of dear ones, takes a heavy toll upon the professor's health. In the

wake of an eight-hour drive to north Jiangsu for an inspection visit, he suffers a stroke, is rushed in time to hospital in Shanghai, and cured.

1990

商务印书馆（香港）有限公司出版《中国名园》，全书用诗词一般的语言描述了各地园林之精华。

The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) publishes his book (Chinese version), *Famous Chinese Gardens* , in which he is at his narrative and poetic best as he describes some of the best gardens in the country.

1991

看到《中国环境报》2月26日有关南北湖遭受新一轮炸山捕鸟的报道，上书江泽民主席，“敬恳泽公开恩，救救南北湖！”再次成功拯救景区。设计营造的昆明楠园竣工，自评道，“纽约的明轩，是有所新意的模仿；豫园东部是有所寓新的续笔，而安宁的楠园，则是平地起家，独自设计的，是我国园林理论的具体体现。”《书边人语》由商务印书馆（香港）有限公司出版。《同里退思园》发表。

Upon reading in the newspaper *China Environment News* on February 26 that the South-and-North Lakes are suffering another bout of detonations of mountains and killing of birds, he stops it once again, this time by writing directly to President Jiang Zemin, "Show mercy, Your Most Beneficent Excellency, and do something to save the South-and-North Lakes!" In autumn, the Phoebe Nanmu Garden he has built in Anning, Yunnan province, is completed. An emotional Chen comments, "The Astor Court I built in New York is a replica with a new conception, the eastern section of the Gratification Garden I restored is a sequel to the original with another creative idea of mine, whereas the Phoebe

Nanmu Garden I built from scratch is an epitome of my garden-making theory." In winter, his *A Man's Utterings by the Side of Books* is released by the Commercial Press, Hong Kong. Publishes "Retreat and Reflection Garden, Tongli."

1992

为保护徐光启九间楼过于激动，引发脑出血兼胃出血。七日七夜不吃不喝，瑞金医院（发了两次病危通知）努力保住了生命。余生卧病不起。

Comes down with cerebral haemorrage complicated by gastrorrhagia in Shanghai, while arguing vehemently during a meeting to protect the Nine-Bay Storied Building, the former residence of Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), a celebrated official and scientist of the Ming. Spends seven days and seven nights in bed without eating, with two critical condition notices issued, before Ruijin Hospital doctors manage to save his life. Stays bed-ridden for the rest of his years.

1994

收官之作如皋水绘园重建竣工。

Reconstruction of the Water-Rimmed Garden, Rugao, Zhejiang province, completed.

1995

复发得救，思维依然敏捷。

Cured of a recurrence, and remains nimble minded.

1998

南北湖提议在当地建立陈从周纪念馆。

Local authorities of the South-and-North Lakes submit a proposal to build a memorial hall dedicated to Chen Congzhou.

1999

9月7日，贝聿铭专程从美国来沪到梓室探望。执手相看，久久不忍离去。

September 7, the 83-year-old Ieoh Ming Pei arrives in Shanghai from the United States, knocks at the door of Chen Congzhou's home at dusk, and, upon entering the room, sits hand in hand with his bed-ridden friend for what seems an eternity, before letting go of his wrist and rising to bid him good-bye.

2000

3月15日3时23分53秒，于住处逝世，享年82岁。

3:23 am, March 15, at home, breathes his last at age 82.

2001

陈从周艺术馆落成，亦名“梓园”，隐于南北湖畔的院落里，风景如画。5月7日，骨灰从上海运抵此处。

The Memorial Art Gallery of Chen Congzhou is completed. Also known as "An Elderly Carpenter's Garden," the building is nestled in a lush bamboo grove inside of a courtyard by the paradise-like South-and-North Lakes. On May 7, the urn containing the late professor's ashes is flown from Shanghai and entombed at the foot of his statue at the western flank of the garden.

注释　NOTES

Preface　前言

1

Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* . Durham: Duke University Press, 1996: 19.

柯律格．《丰饶之地：中国明代的园林文化》．达勒姆：杜克大学出版社，1996：第19页.

2

Nature Within Walls: The Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003: 19.

伊丽莎白·哈默.《墙内自然：大都会艺术博物馆内的中国园林庭院》.纽约：大都会艺术博物馆，2003：第19页.

Notes from the Translator　译者絮语

1

As commercial numbers among Chinese folks, the symbols 〡, 〢, 〣, 〤, 〥, 〦,〧, 〨, 〩 and 十 stand for the Arabian numbers respectively from 1 to 10. It is put as 〢〤 for two *dou* and four *sheng* in weight and 〣〤 for three chi and four cun in length. It is particularly convenient to use this system of symbols in vertical account books and for algebraic expression.

中国民间商业计数，以〡，〢，〣，〤，〥，〦，〧，〨，〩，十代表阿拉伯数字1到10。两斗四升记作〢〤，三尺四寸记作〣〤。

以此符号用于竖写账簿和代数式都很简便。

2

Chen Congzhou. "Shubian Renyu." In Huang Changyong (ed.), *Yuanlin Qingyi* , pp. 286-287, 289, 294. Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 2005.
陈从周．书边人语//黄昌勇编．《园林清议》．南京：江苏文艺出版社，2005：286-287页，289页，294页．

3

The classic was written by Yu Hao, an architect active during the period that spanned the late Five Dynasties period (907-960) and the Northern Song (960-1127).
《木经》喻皓所撰。喻皓为五代末北宋初人。

Suzhou Gardens: An Overview 苏州园林概述

1

王应麟，字伯厚，号深宁居士，南宋三朝元老。著述颇丰，计有二十余种，六百多卷。所撰《玉海》二百卷，囊括当时科举考试所需的各类知识。最为人知的却是蒙学著作《三字经》。
Wang Yinglin (1223-1296), style name Bohou, sobriquet Recluse of Shenning, a high official whose service covered three emperors of the Southern Song and a scholar and polymath whose writings amount to six hundred volumes on twenty or so fields. His *The Sea of Jade* , a major encyclopaedia on topics ranging from classics and history to astronomy and geography, amounts to two hundred volumes, but he is best known

as the author of "Three Character Classic," a popular children's primer.

2

狶韦，黄帝前的古帝，建都于今河南滑县。《庄子·知北游》：狶韦之囿……

Xiwei, a ruler who lived earlier than the Yellow Emperor, with what is presentday Huaxian county in Henan province as the capital of his territory. *Zhuangzi* ("Knowledge Wandered North"): "But Xiwei had his own park…"

3

黄帝，即轩辕，中华民族的祖先，贵为五帝之首。据《史记》，其他四帝为颛顼、帝喾、尧、舜。《庄子·知北游》：……黄帝之圃……

Yellow Emperor (2717-2599 BC), also Xuanyuan, the ancestor of the Chinese people and the first of the Five August Emperors along with Zhuanxu (4946-4849 BC), Ku (3331-3266 BC), Yao (2377-2259 BC) and Shun (2172-2089 BC) prior to the Xia, according to *Record of the Great Historian. Zhuangzi* ("Knowledge Wandered North"): "…the Yellow Emperor's garden…"

4

周文王，周武王之父，商时封西伯。追谥为西周第一任君王。

King Wen of Zhou (1152-1050 BC) was Western Earl of the Shang and father of King Wu (c. 1087-1043 BC), the first monarch of the Western Zhou posthumously(1046-771 BC).

5

秦始皇嬴政，秦朝第一位皇帝，秦朝是中国历史上第一个中央集权的封建帝国。

Qinshihuang (in reign 246-210 BC), or Ying Zheng (259-210 BC), is the founding emperor of the Qin, the first centralized feudal empire in Chinese history.

6

汉武帝刘彻，西汉第七位皇帝，将汉王朝打造成当时最强大的帝国。

Emperor Wu of Han (in reign 141-87 BC), or Liu Che (156-87 BC), is the seventh emperor, who built the Han into the most powerful country in the world at the time.

7

梁孝王刘武，汉武帝的叔叔。其兔园是当时文人雅士常相光顾的乐土。

Prince Xiao of Liang (?-144 BC), or Liu Wu, was an uncle of Emperor Wu of Han, whose Hare Garden was a pleasure ground frequented by the most famous writers of the day.

8

魏文帝曹丕，三国魏的开国皇帝，亦是杰出多产的文学家。

Emperor Wen of Wei (in reign 220-226), or Cao Pi (187-226), was a prolific, outstanding literary figure and the founder of the Kingdom of Wei of the Three Kingdoms period.

9

隋炀帝杨广，隋朝第二位皇帝，创始了科举制度。

Emperor Yang of Sui (in reign 605-618), or Yang Guang (569-618), is the second emperor of the Sui, who endorsed the imperial examination system.

10

唐懿宗李漼，唐朝倒数第四位皇帝，游宴无度。

Emperor Yizong of Tang (in reign 859-873), or Li Cui (828-873), the fourth last emperor of the dynasty notorious for his incessant outings and lavish banquets.

11

宋徽宗赵佶，北宋倒数第二位皇帝，昏君，书画成就颇高。

Emperor Huizong of Northern Song (in reign 1100-1126), or Zhao Ji (1082-1135), the last but one emperor of the Northern Song, was a total failure as a ruler in spite of his striking achievements in calligraphy and painting.

12

靖康二年，金兵攻陷汴京（今开封），北宋灭亡。十年后，赵构渡江，偏安临安，为南宋第一位皇帝。

In 1127, the Northern Song came to an end after the invading Jurchen troops sacked its capital Bianjing in present-day Kaifeng. A decade later, Zhao Gou (1107-1187) crossed the Yangtze River and settled down in Lin'an, where he continued his Jianyan reign (1127-1130) as the first emperor of the Southern Song.

13

元世祖忽必烈，建立元朝，将中国疆域拓展至东起太平洋西到黑海，北起西伯利亚南到阿富汗的范围，占世界版图的五分之一。

Kublai Khan (1215-1294), or Emperor Shizu of Yuan (in reign 1260-1294), is the founder of the Yuan who expanded the Chinese territory from the Pacific to the Black Sea and from Siberia to what is present Afghanistan, covering one fifth of the world's inhabited land area.

14

梁冀，字伯卓，大将军梁商之子，东汉两位皇后的哥哥，冲、质、桓三帝时擅朝政。朝廷权臣，大肆敛财，广开园林，占地广阔，中有假山、山涧、野兽等。二十多年恶贯满盈，天怨人怒，终于在桓帝时自杀。

Liang Ji (?-159), style name Bozhuo, son of a general-in-chief, brother-in-law to two emperors of the Eastern Han, and regent for emperors Chong (144-145), Zhi (145-146) and Huan (146-167). Taking advantage of his high position, he amassed a staggering amount of wealth, with which he built splendid parks that covered large tracts of wooded land and contained numerous artificial mountains, precipitous mountain creeks, and wildlife. He eventually died at the hands of the third emperor after his twenty-odd years of utterly corrupted and high-handed rule ran out of control and incurred the wrath of both the court and commonality.

15

张伦，北魏司农。园子华丽，可媲美皇家园林。其中重岩复岭、深

溪洞壑、高林巨树。悬葛垂萝、崎岖石路，有若自然。

Zhang Lun (*fl* . 5th century), a treasury minister of the Northern Wei whose beautiful garden rivaled the royal ones of his time, in which mountain ranges, caves, streams, forests, vines and tendrils, winding paths, and plank roads carved out of steep rocks combined to conjure up a vista very close to nature.

16

作者未提及茹浩为皇帝监造的这座园子。

The author did not mention the garden, of whose construction Ru Hao supervised for his emperor.

17

石崇，西晋诗人、权臣，巨富，曾与国舅斗富。其金谷园中假山流水、楼榭亭阁、奇花异兽、珍珠玛瑙不一而足。人与园史书皆有记载，文学作品亦多有提及。

Shi Chong (249-300), a poet and an influential official of the Western Jin who was so rich that he once beat an uncle of the emperor in a wealth competition. His Garden of Golden Valley contained hills and lakes, bridges and pavilions, beautiful plants and exotic animals, not to mention a good variety of precious stones. Both his name and garden were recorded in history books, and portrayed in literary works.

18

徐勉，南梁政治家、文学家，节俭正直，为官清廉，家无蓄积。《诫子崧书》：……非在播艺以要利人，正欲穿池种树，少寄情赏……

Xu Mian (466-535), a statesman of the Southern Liang who was frugal, upright and incorruptible, having little property to himself throughout his life. In a letter to his son, Xu Song, he said that he farmed and gardened on a small lot not for profit, but to seek personal ease of mind.

19

庾信，南北朝诗人，《哀江南赋》为其代表作。当时诗人羁留北朝，赋中表达了强烈的南归愿望，南方是他生活、出仕之地。然而北周旋即灭亡，北朝结束，归乡终成泡影。

Yu Xin (513-581), a writer of the Southern and Northern Dynasties whose literary production is represented by "Lament for the South," in which he expressed his strong wish to return to the South, where he had lived and worked, a wish which was quickly dashed with the fall of the Northern Zhou (557-581), the last one of the Northern Dynasties (386-581) , where he was retained as a high official.

20

宋之问，早唐诗人，其蓝田别业后为王维所有。

Song Zhiwen (c. 656-712), an early-Tang poet whose abode at Lantian, Shaanxi province, finally came under the possession of Wang Wei.

21

王维，字摩诘，盛唐文学家、艺术家、政治家。诗书、音乐、绘画特臻其妙，后人称其为南宗山水画之祖。

Wang Wei (701-761), style name Mojie, one of the most famous men of arts and letters and statesman during the high Tang, one of the golden ages in Chinese cultural history. Popularly known as a model of

humanistic education as expressed in poetry, calligraphy, music and painting, he is also established as the founder of the revered Southern school of painter-poets concerning landscape themes.

22

李德裕，晚唐诗人、宰相，其洛阳的平泉别墅建筑与山水相得益彰。

Li Deyu (787-850), a poet and prime minister of the late Tang whose Pingquan Villa in Luoyang was known for its harmony between elegant architecture and beautiful landscape.

23

白居易，字乐天，号香山居士，现实主义诗人，语言平易通俗。与李白、杜甫并称唐代三大诗人。

Bai Juyi (772-846), style name Letian, sobriquet Retired Scholar of Fragrant Hill, a great realistic poet known for his simple and easy-to-understand style, was one of the three greatest poets of the Tang together with Li Bai and Du Fu.

24

李格非，北宋文人，同里人，女词人李清照之父。

Li Gefei (*c* . 1045-*c* . 1105), a native of Tongli town and a literary figure of the Northern Song who was father of the renowned woman ci master Li Qingzhao(1084-1155).

25

富弼，北宋时封郑国公，数次出使辽国，与文彦博同时拜相。

Fu Bi (1004-1083), who became Duke of Zheng of the Northern Song in 1061, had served among other important positions as envoy to Khitan for several times, and co-prime minister with Wen Yanbo (1006-1097) in 1055.

26

周密，南宋末年画家、雅词词派领袖。其画作、诗作多描绘家乡浙江湖州的山水园林。

Zhou Mi (1232-1298), a painter who was also the leader of a refined school of lyrical poetry during the twilight years of the Southern Song. The splendid gardens and landscape of his hometown Huzhou, Zhejiang province, were central themes in his paintings and poems.

27

万历年间，米万钟于海淀北部水泽上营此园，借景西山，利用了原有水源。米氏大多时间居于此园，另有漫园及湛园。

This garden was built by Mi Wanzhong on a marshland in north Haidian around the period 1611-1613 by borrowing the views of the Western Hills in the distance and accommodating to available water on the site. The Mis spent most of their time in this garden, but they also owned the Water-Brimmed Garden and the Crystal Garden.

28

此园在西海德胜门，即积水潭东，中有三层楼阁，四时景色各异。

Located to the east of Jishuitan neighborhood or the Western Lake at the Desheng Gate, the garden features a three-storied belvedere where the scenery changes with the seasons.

29

王世贞，明朝诗人、史学家，主张恢复秦汉散文及唐诗传统，后略有改变。张南阳为其营弇山园假山，慧眼独具，遂成精品。张南阳另一杰作是上海豫园的大假山。

Wang Shizhen (1526-1590), a poet and historian of the Ming who advocated the restoration of the Qin and Han traditions in prose writing and of Tang standards in poetry, though he changed his mind a little bit in his later years. The artificial mountain in his Yanshan Garden was built by Zhang Nanyang (c. 1517-1596), who, with a painter's discerning eye, turned the garden into a landscaping masterpiece. Zhang's another renowned work is the big artificial mountain in the Gratification Garden in Shanghai.

30

南宋士人严沆于杭州购园，名为皋园，以诫皋鱼之失。皋鱼为孔子同时代人，有三失：少而学，游诸侯以后吾亲，失之一也；高尚吾志，闲吾事君，失之二也；与友厚而中绝之，失之三也。

The Southern Song scholar-official Yan Hang (1617-1678) purchased a garden in Hangzhou and named it "Gao Yu Garden" to guard against the failures of Gao Yu, a contemporary of Confucius who was remorseful for ranking his parents behind his pursuit of studies in other countries, not serving his prince because of his own moral integrity and losing friendship midway.

31

顾辟疆，苏州望族名士。辟疆园乃史籍所载苏州第一名园。王献

之……先不识主人，径往其家。值顾方集宾友酣燕，而王游历既毕，指麾好恶，旁若无人。顾勃然不堪……便驱其左右出门……然后令送著门外。

Gu Pijiang (*fl* . 4th century) hailed from a well-established clan in Suzhou and was a scholar-turned high official. His garden put its name on the map as the first ever built in Suzhou thanks to an uninvited visit by the celebrated EasternJin calligrapher Wang Xianzhi (344-386), who, upon finishing his self-guided tour of this garden, started making derogative comments on what he had just seen. A chagrined Gu Pijiang, who happened to be busy feting a horde of friends, first threw the arrogant man into a panic by driving his entourage out, and then showed him the door.

32

孝武帝司马曜，东晋倒数第三位皇帝，击败前秦，国运中兴。

Emperor Xiaowu (in reign 373-396), or Sima Yao (362-396), the third last emperor of the Eastern Jin who somehow gave his dynasty a new lease of life by vanquishing a strong foe in the north, the troops of the Former Qin (350-394).

33

朱长文，号乐圃，北宋书学理论家，博学多才，筑乐圃为藏书楼，时人以不到乐圃为耻。

Zhu Changwen (1039-1098), sobriquet Lepu (Loving Gardener), a Northern-Song theorist on ancient books and history records, and an erudite scholar who turned his garden into a great library. It was said that the celebrities of his time would consider it a shame if they had

never visited his garden.

34

王唤，南宋绍兴十四年（1144年）任平江知府，清理兵燹废墟，重建家园。绍兴十五年重刊北宋李诫编著的建筑规范书《营造法式》，此书传世，王唤功不可没。

Wang Huan (*fl* . 12th century) became prefect of Pingjiang (present-day Suzhou) in 1144 when he began rebuilding the city from the ruins wrought by the all-powerful invading Jurchen troops. He also contributed remarkably to the preservation of *Treatise on Architectural Methods* by republishing it in 1145, an important architectural classic compiled by Li Jie (1065-1110) of the Northern Song.

35

苏舜钦，字子美，北宋诗人。沧浪亭始建于五代末期，原为皇家园林，现列入《世界遗产名录》。园名源自屈原的《渔父》：沧浪之水清兮，可以濯吾缨。沧浪之水浊兮,可以濯吾足。

Su Shunqin (1008-1048), style name Zimei, a poet of the Northern Song. The name of his Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, now a UNESCO world heritage site, built upon the former site of an imperial garden dating back to the end of the Five Dynasties period, is derived from two lines in the poem "Fisherman" by Qu Yuan(*c* . 340-278 BC) of the Warring States period, "If the Dark Blue Waves River is clean I wash my hat ribbon in it; If the Dark Blue Waves River is dirty I wash my muddy feet in it."

36

梅宣义，苏轼同僚、诗友。其在桃花坞的五亩园，遍种桃花，流水环绕，占地五亩，亦称“梅园”。

Mei Xuanyi (*fl* . 11th century), one of Su Shi's colleagues and poet friends. His Five-“Mu" Garden at the Peach Blossom Lowland, a scenic area of peach groves and gentle waters, is also called Plum Garden, which covers a lot of five *mu* exactly.

37

朱勔，因谄得官，不可一世，声名狼藉，为皇帝从苏州运送奇花异石至京城汴京。自营同乐园，园林之大，奇石之多堪称江南第一。后钦宗将其流放、斩首，园子遂夷为平地。

Zhu Mian (1075-1126), a notorious, powerful sycophant whose job was to ship exotic flowers and stones for Emperor Huizong from Suzhou up north to the capital. His own property, the Garden of Universal Joy, was said to be number one in the south for its unmatched size and immense collection of rare stones, but it was leveled to the ground soon after he was dismissed and beheaded on a later Emperor's order.

38

黄省曾，明朝诗人、学者，著述颇丰，内容涉及经学、史学、地理、农学等多方面。

Huang Xingzeng (1496-1561), a productive and versatile Ming poet and scholar who authored many works on Chinese classics, history, geography, agriculture, and animal husbandry.

39

计成，江苏省吴江县同里人，明代造园家，江南若干园林为其所

造。其《园冶》是世界上第一部系统的造园专著，涉及风景、植物、建筑等方面。后人皆遵循他制定的规矩、原则，其他国家的造园也深受其影响。

Ji Cheng (1582-*c* . 1642), a native of Tongli town, Wujiang county in Jiangsu province, was a Ming-dynasty garden designer and builder who had quite a few gardens in the Jiangnan area to his credit. His *The Craft of Gardens* is the world's first manual ever dedicated to landscape, horticultural and architectural gardening, and the principles and rules of the thumb laid down by him are religiously followed by gardeners in China and having a considerable impact on garden-making in other countries.

文震亨，明末画家、藏书家，亦解造园。其曾祖文徵明与沈周、唐寅、仇英并称明四家。

Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645), a painter and book collector well-versed in landscape gardening who lived in the late Ming. His great-grandfather, Wen Zhengming(1470-1559), was one of the four famous painters during the Ming, the other three being Shen Zhou (1427-1509), Tang Yin (1470-1523) and Qiu Ying (1498-1552).

张涟，字南垣，明清之际造园家，亦通画理。关于他最详尽的记载见于吴伟业（梅村）的《张南垣传》。无锡寄畅园假山为其叠石代表作。

Zhang Lian (1587-1673), style name Nanyuan, a landscape gardener in the Ming-Qing period who was also well-versed in landscape painting theories. The most detailed record of him is found in "Biography of Zhang Lian" written by Wu Weiye (1609-1672), style name Meicun. The artificial mountain in the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi is one of his rockwork masterpieces.

张然，苏州著名叠山家。清顺治年间，其父张涟派其进京为皇家营西苑。

Zhang Ran (*fl* . 17th century), a renowned rockwork builder active in Suzhou who was dispatched by his father Zhang Lian to Peking during the Shunzhi reign(1638-1661) of the Qing for a royal mission to rebuild artificial mountains in the Western Park.

李渔，号笠翁，明末清初戏曲家、戏曲理论家、出版家、美学家。成立芥子园书铺销售自己作品，倡编《芥子园画谱》，并作序。其时最多才多艺的文人，敢想敢干，集演员、制片人、导演、编剧于一身，常携家班巡演。

Li Yu (1611-1680), sobriquet Liweng, a playwright, drama theoretician, publisher and aesthetician of the late Ming and early Qing period who set up the Mustard Seed Garden Bookstore to sell his own books, and who initiated the compilation of the painting manual *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings* , which was published with his own preface. Considered to be the most versatile and enterprising literatus of his time, he was actor, producer, director and playwright combined in one, and used to travel with his own troupe.

戈裕良，江苏常州人，早年即受雇治园叠山。其所叠环秀山庄假山，现代建筑家刘敦桢评为苏州第一座湖石山。其他作品还有扬州小盘谷、常熟燕园及如皋文园假山等。

Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu province, who was hired to build gardens and pile rockeries at an early age. One of his rockwork masterpieces in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode is lauded by the modern architecture historian Liu Dunzhen as the first of the Lake Tai stone rockeries in Suzhou. His other rockeries are found in the Lesser Winding Gully in Yangzhou, the Homecoming Swallow

Garden in Changshu, the Literary Garden in Rugao and some other gardens.

40

王献臣，明朝人，为官正直，为宦党诬陷、流放，遂对仕途心灰意冷，归隐故乡苏州。与书画家文征明过从甚密，文积极参与了拙政园的设计，并绘园景图。

After Wang Xianchen (1469-?), an upright scholar-official of the Ming was exonerated from eunuchs' frame-up charges that had sent him into exile, and he was so disenchanted and tired of officialdom that he retired to his hometown Suzhou, where he built the Humble Administrator's Garden. He associated with the brilliant painter, calligrapher and writer Wen Zhengming (1470-1559), who was greatly involved in the making of the garden and did paintings of its scenery.

41

潘岳，西晋诗人、赋作家。妙有姿容，竟至掩盖文名，誉为天下第一美男。其《闲居赋》称“智之不足”“筑室种树、灌园鬻蔬”，此亦拙者之为政也。

Pan Yue (247-300), a poet and prose-writer and official of the Western Jin whose fabulous literary talent is often overshadowed by his looks—he is regarded as the most handsome man of China through the ages. In his poem, "Idle Life Rhapsody," he portrays himself as a slow-witted and humble administrator who contents himself with building houses, planting trees, watering gardens and growing vegetables.

42

陈之遴，海宁人，翰林编修，与徐氏为姻亲。顺治十年（1653年），2000两银子廉价购下拙政园。

Chen Zhilin (1605-1666) was grand secretary of the Hanlin Academy from Haining, and a relative by marriage to the Xus. The exact amount of money he paid for this garden in 1653 was 2,000 taels of silver.

43

吴璥，字式如，吏部尚书协办大学士。嘉庆末年购得园中部，因此亦名“吴园”。

Wu Jing (1747-1822), style name Shiru, who served as minister of civil personnel and assistant grand secretary. He bought the central part of the garden during the late years of Emperor Jiaqing's reign. For this reason the garden is also called "Wu's Garden."

44

刘敦桢，建筑家、建筑教育家、中国营造学社成员。创办我国第一所由中国人经营的建筑师事务所，从事建筑史尤其是古代中国建筑史的教育与研究工作，亦研究中国传统民居和园林。

Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), an architect and educator in architecture, also a member of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. The builder of the first architects' office operated by the Chinese, Liu is most known for his architecture education and studies in architecture history, traditional Chinese architecture history in particular. He was also involved in researches of traditional Chinese dwellings and gardens.

45

亭名源自《荀子·天论》：桃李倩粲于一时，时至而后杀。至于松

柏，经隆冬而不凋，蒙霜雪而不变，可谓得其真矣。

The name of this pavilion is attributed to Xunzi ("Discourse on Heavens"): "The peach and plum trees may look pretty and brilliant for a time, but they die when their season comes to an end. As to the pine and cypress trees, they refuse to wither in the throes of subfreezing midwinter. They may be smothered by frost and snow but they never change themselves. Indeed, they have attained the truth."

46

徐泰时，万历八年，四十一岁中进士。授工部营缮主事，进秩太仆寺少卿，创建维修皇家建筑。万历十七年，罢官还乡，营建祖父徐朴的园子，即为留园，苏州园林的瑰宝。

Xu Taishi (1540-1598) was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations when he turned forty-one in 1581. In his pursuit of officialdom, he began as a director of construction in the Ministry of Works and ended up as Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud, and his responsibilities were construction and maintenance of imperial buildings. In 1589, he was removed from his official position, and went home to build his own garden on an estate left by his grandfather Xu Pu (*fl* . 15th century). The product of his labor eventually emerged as the best of all the gardens in Suzhou, and remains this way to this day.

47

名字源自陶渊明《读山海经》：既耕亦已种，时还读我书。

The name is derived from "Reading the Book of Mountains and Rivers" by Tao Yuanming (c. 365-427), "Now that tilling and sowing are over, / It's high time I returned to reading."

48

钱泳，清代文人，工诗书画。其《履园丛话》内容详实，史料精确，晓畅易懂。

Qian Yong (1759-1844), a man of letters of the Qing well versed in poetry, calligraphy and painting, but he is most remembered for his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* with its substantial contents, accurate data and lucid writing style.

49

顾文彬，字艮庵，书法家、收藏金石书画，治别业怡园。

Gu Wenbin (1811-1889), style name Gen'an, a calligrapher and collector of ancient books, paintings, bronzes and stone tablets who was also owner of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence.

50

岁寒诸友此处指松、柏、冬青、竹、梅等植物，天寒愈显苍翠。

The Wintry Friends here refer to pines, cypresses, wintergreens, bamboos and plum trees, which look their best in cold weather.

51

李斗，清戏曲作家，亦工诗、音律、算术。历时三十年写成《扬州画舫录》，书中记载了丰富的人文历史资料，包括扬州城市区划、运河沿革、文物、园林、文学、曲艺、风俗等。

Li Dou (1749-1817), a major playwright of the Qing who was also well-versed in poetry, music and mathematics. It took him over 30 years from 1764 to 1795 to finish writing the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats*

of Yangzhou , in which he documented an abundance of cultural and historical facts, including the cityscape of Yangzhou, the history of the Grand Canal, artworks, gardens, literature, performing arts, and folklore.

52

倪瓒，号云林子，无锡人，元末明初山水画家、诗人，与黄公望、吴镇、王蒙合称元四家。时人认为其沉默寡言，过分挑剔，这在其画作中也有所反映。

Ni Zan (1301-1374), sobriquet Son of Clouds and Woods, a native of Wuxi who was a landscape painter and poet during the Yuan and the early Ming, and one of the Four Masters of the Yuan in landscape painting along with Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), Wu Zhen (1280-1354) and Wang Meng (1308-1385). He was characterized by his contemporaries as particularly reticent and fastidious, qualities that are found in his paintings.

53

沈周，号石田，明书画家，吴门画派掌门人。其画作《庐山高图》《杖藜远眺图》《沧州趣图》等表现了对自然的关切，并伴有往日美学的发现。

Shen Zhou (1427-1509), sobriquet Shitian, a famed Ming-dynasty calligrapher and painter who was also leader of the Wu (Suzhou) School of Literati Painters. Most of his paintings, such as *Lofty Mountain Lushan*, *Poet on a Mountaintop* , and *Cangzhou Landscape* , are characterized by his deep concern with preservation of mother nature and the aesthetic discoveries of bygone ages.

Master-of-Fishnets Garden, Suzhou 苏州网师园

1

【从周案一】钱大昕清乾隆六十年（公元1795年） 《网师园记》："带城桥之南，宋时为史氏万卷堂故址，与南园沧浪亭相望。有巷曰网师者，本名王思。曩卅年前，宋光禄悫庭购其地，治别业为归老之计，因以网师自号，并颜其园，盖托于鱼隐之义，亦取巷名相似也。光禄既殁，其园日就颓圮，乔木古石，大半损失，唯池水一泓，尚清澈无恙。瞿君远邨偶过其地，悲其鞠为茂草也，为之太息。问旁舍者，知主人方求售，遂买而有之。因其规模，别为结构，叠石种木，布置得宜，增建亭宇，易旧为新。既落成，招予辈四五人，谈宴为竟日之集。石径屈曲，似往而复，沧波渺然，一望无际。有堂曰梅花铁石山房，曰小山丛桂轩；有阁曰濯缨水阁；有燕居之室曰蹈和馆；有亭于水者曰月到风来；有亭于崖者曰云冈；有斜轩曰竹外一枝；有斋曰集虚……地只数亩，而有纡回不尽之致。……柳子厚所谓奥如旷如者，殆兼得之矣。"

[Chen Congzhou: Note 1] In his "Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden," Qian Daxin writes, "[The garden] on the former site of Shi's Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes of the Southern Song sits south of the Belt City Bridge and faces the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion in the south. The lane the garden is located on is named after it, but its former name was wangsi. Thirty years earlier, Song Luru, style name Queting, the surveillance commissioner, bought the lot there and built a garden where he could become an 'angling hermit' and fulfill his filial duty for his mother. He named the garden after his sobriquet, 'Master of Fishnets,' which is analogical to fish and pronounced in the same way as the lane's former name. After Song died, his garden gradually fell into decay.

Most of its tall trees and ancient rockeries were gone; only the pond with its limpid water remained. When a gentleman by the name of Qu Yuancun passed by, he was sad at the sight of the overgrown weed that covered the place. Sighing, he asked a neighbor about it, and was told that its master was putting it up for sale. He bought it and set about restructuring his newly acquired property in line with its size, piling up rockeries, planting trees, and building new pavilions and dwellings to replace its old looks. When the project was completed, he feasted us friends and told them about what he had done in those busy days (we chatted all day long). In his new estate, a stone-paved path took a twisting course, now leading forward, now turning back in a setting so labyrinthine that it seemed sometimes to have disappeared below the horizon. There were the Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode, the Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses, Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere, an idler's dwelling called Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability, the waterside Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, the Cloudy Ridge Pavilion on top of an artificial mountain cliff, the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos, and the Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber…. This land, though covering only a few *mu* , seems to be pregnant with pleasant surprises…. 'Being unfathomable is to be expansive,' in the words of Liu Zongyuan (773-819), style name Zihou, but this estate is at once unfathomable and expansive."

褚廷璋清嘉庆元年(公元1796年)　《网师园记》：“远郡于斯园增置亭台竹木之胜，已半易网师旧规……乾隆丁未（公元1787年）秋，奉讳旋里，观察（宋鲁儒名宗元）久为古人，园方旷如，拟暂僦居而未果。”

Chu Tingzhang (?-1797) says in his "Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden" written in 1796, "The pavilions, terraces, bamboos and trees and other scenic elements added by Yuancun to this garden have changed half of the former arrangements…. When I went home for a family funeral in a year of *ding-wei* under the Qianlong reign (1787), the surveillance commissioner had long been deceased, and his garden was deserted. I wanted to rent it for a temporary stay, but failed."

冯浩清嘉庆四年(公元1799年)　《网师园序》：“吴郡瞿君远邨，得宋悫庭网师园，大半倾圮，因树石池水之胜，重构堂亭轩馆，审势协宜，大小咸备，仍余清旷之境，足畅怀舒眺。”园后归吴嘉道，为时不久。

Feng Hao (1719-1801) says in his "Preface to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden," which he wrote in the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign (1799), "When the gentleman Qu Yuancun from Wujun prefecture bought the garden of Song Luru, more than half of it had crumbled. Qu had big halls and dwellings and small pavilions, verandahs and chambers rebuilt to mingle with the garden's beautiful trees, rockwork and water according to a well-conceived plan, with due attention paid to preserving the original delicate and spacious sceneries, so that the entire garden has enough to offer those who come to relax and look afar." Later, the garden came briefly under the ownership of Wu Jiadao.

2

网师园在苏舜钦的沧浪亭之东，李鸿裔遂自号“苏邻”。李氏同治元年（1862年）购得网师园，六年后辞官居园中。

The Master-of-Fishnets Garden is situated to the east of Su Shunqin's Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, hence the sobriquet of "Neighbor of Su

Shunqin" chosen by Li Hongyi himself, who bought the estate in 1862, and settled down in it after giving up his post six years later.

3

【从周案二】见俞樾《撷秀楼匾额跋》及达桂、程德全之网师园题记。又名蘧园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 2] See "Postscript to the Inscription on Beauty-Garnering Loft's Nameboard" by Yu Yue, as well as the colophons on the painting "Master-of-Fishnets Garden" by Da Gui and Cheng Dequan (1860-1930). The Master-of-Fishnets Garden's byname is "Lotus Garden."

4

【从周案三】据张学铭先生见告，园旧有黎元洪赠张锡銮书匾额。后改称逸园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 3] I learned from Zhang Xueming (1908-1983), the second son of Zhang Zuolin, that the garden used to have a board inscribed in the handwriting of Li Yuanhong (1864-1928), vice president of the Republic of China. The garden was later renamed "Garden of Leisure." Though Zhang Xiluan owned the Garden, he never lived there in his lifetime.

5

叶恭绰，号遐庵，晚清廪贡生，曾任北洋政府交通总长、广州国民政府财政部长等。新中国成立后，任中国画院院长。后半生致力于学术研究，其书亦佳。

Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968), sobriquet Xia'an, a successful candidate in

the imperial examinations at provincial level during the late Qing, minister of communication and subsequently minister of finance in the early Republican years, and foundation president of the Chinese Academy of Painting in New China. He dedicated the second half of his life to academic studies, and he also established himself as a renowned calligrapher.

6

张泽，字善子，现代画家，尤擅画虎。其弟张爰，号大千，是20世纪享誉国际的中国艺术家，善画风景、荷花。兄弟二人建大风堂画斋，遂有大风堂画派。他们与张锡銮子师黄交好，因此赁居网师园殿春簃。抗日战争爆发前兄弟二人离开此园。

Zhang Ze (1882-1940), style name Shanzi, a modern painter famous for his tiger paintings. His younger brother, Zhang Yuan (1899-1983), sobriquet Daqian, a painter whose forte of landscape and lotus painting established his position as one of the most internationally renowned Chinese artists of the 20th century. The two brothers established the Painting Studio of Dafeng Hall, hence the School of Dafeng Hall. They had been friends with Zhang Shihuang, son of Zhang Xiluan, who lent the Late-Spring Peony Lodge to them as a living place. The two brothers left the garden before the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression broke out.

7

何亚农，本名何澄，字亚农，文物鉴赏家、收藏家。早期加入中国同盟会，为国民党元老，1908年毕业于日本陆军士官学校。后退出政界经营实业，投身教育。何氏对此园进行全面整修，充实字画，

复用“网师园”旧名。1946年病故，其妻继承此园。四年后妻亦卒，子女将园献交国家。

He Yanong (1880-1946), born He Cheng with the style name Yanong, a connoisseur and collector of cultural relics. Before graduation from the Imperial Japanese Army Academy in 1908, he joined the Chinese United League, becoming one of the founding fathers of the Kuomintang. Later he retired from politics to become a businessman and educator. He renovated the garden, replenished it with artistic works, and named it back to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden. The garden was inherited by his wife upon his death in 1946, and his children donated it to the government when their mother died four years later.

8

俞樾，号曲园居士，清末学者、书法家，红学家俞平伯曾祖。嘉庆六年阮元于杭州创诂经精舍，俞樾于此课徒三十载。吴昌硕、章炳麟等皆出其门下。

Yu Yue (1821-1907), sobriquet Recluse of the Twisted Garden, a scholar and calligrapher in the late Qing, and great-grandfather of Yu Pingbo (1900-1990), a prominent scholar in the study of A Dream of Red Mansions. He taught for thirty years in the Confucian Classics Elucidation Academy established by Ruan Yuan(1764-1849) in 1801 in Hangzhou, where Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) and Zhang Binglin (1869-1936) were his students in 1869 and 1891 respectively.

9

《庄子·人间世》：唯道集虚，虚者，心斋也。

Zhuangzi ("In the World of Man"): "The Way gathers in emptiness

alone; emptiness is the fasting of the mind."

10

晏几道，号小山，北宋词人，晏殊第七子。诗作清丽，情感真挚。
Yan Jidao (1030-1110), sobriquet Xiaoshan, a lyrical poet of the Northern Song and the seventh son of Yan Shu. His poems strike one as refreshing, sincere and sentimental.

11

【从周案四】苏叟《养疴闲记》卷三：“宋副使悫庭宗元网师小筑在沈尚书第东，仅数武。中有梅花铁石山房，半巢居。北山草堂附对句‘丘壑趣如此；鸾鹤心悠然’。濯缨水阁‘水面文章风写出；山头意味月传来’。（钱维城）花影亭‘鸟语花香帘外景；天光云影座中春’。（庄培因）小山丛桂轩‘鸟因对客钩语；树为循墙宛转生’（曹秀先）。溪西小隐斗屠苏附对句‘短歌能驻日；闲坐但闻香’（陈兆仑）。度香艇无喧庐琅开圃附对句‘不俗即仙骨；多情乃佛心’（张照）。”
[Chen Congzhou: Note 4] Lu Jin 陆锦 (*fl* . 18th century, style name Susi 素丝, a homonym of Susou), *Idle Notes Written in Recuperation* , Volume Three, "In Vice-Minister Song Luru's Net Master's Tiny Court just a few footsteps east of Minister Shen's residence, within its small space, there is the Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode and Semi-Subterranean Den. A couplet in the Thatched Hut of Northern Mountain reads, 'With interesting knoll and dale like this, even the immortals will put their hearts at ease.' A couplet for the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere: 'The beauty of the water surface is written out by the wind; the meaning of the hilltop is spelled out by the moon.' A

couplet for the Flower Shadow Pavilion: 'Singing birds and fragrant flowers form the vista beyond the window; skylight and cloud shadows are reflected in the winecups.' A couplet for the Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses: 'Birds learn to parrot humans just for their guests' sake; trees look as if reborn to follow the wall's contours.' A couplet for the 'Huge' Thatched Hut: 'Singing a ditty, one stops the sun on its orbit, and setting in leisure, one inhales the fragrance." A couplet for the Yard of Bamboos, 'He who frees from vulgarity has a celestial spine; he who is compassionate has the Buddha's heart.'"

12

王国维，晚清学者、古典文学评论家，以西学方法治史。融合中西哲学与美学，形成独特的美学思想体系，《人间词话》中表露无遗。于史学、文学评论、戏剧、考古、美学均有深诣。

Wang Guowei (1877-1927), a late-Qing man of letters and critic of classic Chinese literature known for his Western approach to Chinese history. He combined Western and traditional Chinese philosophies and aesthetics to come up with an aesthetic system of his own, which is crystallized in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World* . He was well accomplished in many academic fields such as history, education, literary critique, drama, archeology and aesthetics.

Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, Suzhou 苏州沧浪亭

1

欧阳修，北宋诗人、政治家，苏舜钦挚友。唐宋八大家之一，在宋朝发起古文运动，参与编纂《新唐书》《五代史》。

Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), a poet and statesman of the Northern Song, and a close friend of Su Shunqin. One of the Eight Tang-Song Prose Masters, he was the initiator of the "ancient prose" campaign in the Song literary circle. In addition to his literary achievements, he was also involved in the compilation of the *New Book of Tang and the History of the Five Dynasties* .

2

梅尧臣，字圣俞，北宋现实主义诗人，诗歌革新运动的推动者。经欧阳修举荐，参与编纂《新唐书》。

Mei Yaochen (1002-1060), style name Shengyu, a realistic poet and a leading figure of a new poetic style that revived ancient literature in the Northern Song. With Ouyang Xiu's recommendation, he took part in the compilation of the *New Book of Tang* .

3

吴昌硕，清末篆刻家、书画家。同治八年（1869年），入杭州诂经精舍，师从俞樾。光绪六年（1880年），为吴云孙辈当塾师。听枫园主吴云时为苏州知府，亦是书画家、金石收藏家，昌硕目睹俞樾为吴云题联贺七十大寿。

Wu Changshuo (1844-1927), a seal carver, painter, and calligrapher of the early 20th century. When he was twenty-six in 1869, he became a disciple of Yu Yue in the Confucian Classics Elucidation Academy in Hangzhou. In 1880, as the tutor of the grandchildren of Wu Yun (1811-1883), a painter, calligrapher, and antique collector, prefect of Suzhou at the time and owner of the Listening to Maples Garden, he was able to witness Yu composing a couplet for Wu at his 70th birthday party.

4

章惇，字子厚，北宋政治家、改革家。受封申国公，故名申公。
Zhang Dun (1035-1105), style name Zihou, a statesman and reformist of the Northern Song. He was appointed as the Duke of Shen kingdom, hence his name Shengong, or the Duke of Shen.

5

蕲王即韩世忠，与岳飞、张俊、刘光世并为抗金四名将，亲见宋朝由盛而衰。
The King of Qi was none other than Han Shizhong, one of the four major antiJurchen generals along with Yue Fei (1103-1142), Zhang Jun (1086-1154) and Liu Guangshi (1086-1142) during the period that saw the all-powerful Song go downhill.

6

祠中三面墙上嵌594幅与苏州历史有关的人物平雕石像，包括商末自陕西岐山搬至江苏无锡、常州的泰伯、仲雍，春秋时期吴王阖闾，以及现代建筑家贝聿铭、作家苏童等。
Three of the shine's four walls are inlaid with 594 stone portraits of historical figures related to Suzhou, ranging from Taibo (*fl* . 11th century BC) and his brother Zhongyong (*fl* . 11th century BC) who moved their dukedom from what was present-day Qishan in Shaanxi to present-day Wuxi and Changshu in Jiangsu toward the end of the Shang (1600-1046 BC), and Helü (?-496 BC), the duke of Wu of the early Spring and Autumn period (1046-770 BC), to such modern-day dignitaries as the architect Ieoh Ming Pei (1917-), and the author Su

Tong (1963-).

Retreat and Reflection Garden, Tongli　同里退思园

1

任传薪，字味知，退思园第二代也是最后一代主人。深感女子教育的迫切，于1902年以退思园为校舍办丽则女校。

Ren Chuanxin (1887-1962), style name Weizhi, the second and last owner of the Retreat and Reflection Garden. Cherishing the importance of education for the weaker sex, he established the Lize Girls' School on the premises of the garden in 1902.

2

吴梅，字瞿安，戏曲理论家、教育家、曲谱收藏家，北京大学专授昆曲戏曲第一人。朱自清、田汉、梅兰芳、俞振飞皆其弟子。

Wu Mei (1884-1939), style name Qu'an, a traditional opera theoretician, educator, and collector of opera music scores, and the first professor to teach Kunqu Opera and drama in Peking University. His students included the essayist and poet Zhu Ziqing, the playwright Tian Han, the Peking Opera guru Mei Lanfang, and the Peking and Kunqu Opera superstar Yu Zhenfei.

3

曾朴，字孟朴，现代学者、出版家。其父于明朝小辋川上筑虚廓园（亦名曾家花园）。1904年，参与创建小说林书社，发行小说。金松岑与其共撰《孽海花》，由此社出版，被誉为晚清四大谴责小说之一。虚廓园中一池湖水，假山树木倒映其中。

Zeng Pu (1872-1935), style name Mengpu, a scholar and publisher of modern China. His father built the Ethereal Outline Garden (also known as Zeng's Garden) in the precinct of the Lesser Wangchuan Gully of the Ming. In 1904, he joined in the establishment of the Forest of Novels Publishing House as modern China's first publisher with an emphasis on novels. It is this press that published *A Flower in the Sea of Sin* , one of the four great condemnation novels co-authored by Jin Songcen and Zeng in the late Qing. The Ethereal Outline Garden features a large lake mirroring the artificial mountains and trees around it.

4

金松岑，《孽海花》作者之一，清末提倡新文化，1932年创中国国学会。诗人柳亚子，社会学家、优生学家潘光旦，社会学家、人类学家费孝通皆出其门下。

Jin Songcen (1873-1947), co-author of *A Flower in the Sea of Sin* and a master of classical Chinese culture, who advocated new culture toward the end of the Qing and founded the Society of Classical Chinese Studies in 1932. Among his students were such prominent figures as Liu Yazi (1887-1958), a poet who became Sun Yatsen's secretary; Pan Guangdan (1899-1967), a sociologist and eugenicist; and Fei Xiaotong (1910-2005), a sociologist and anthropologist.

5

凌景埏，吴江人，亦名敬言，先后任教于东吴大学、燕京大学、江苏师范学院。工诗词，昆曲造诣极高。曾听吴梅先生讲座，于燕大昆曲社公演，亦与好友金立初薄酒唱曲。

Ling Jingyan (1904-1959), a native of Wujiang whose byname was

Jingyan, a professor who taught subsequently at Soochow University, Yenching University, St. John's University and Jiangsu Normal College. Good at traditional-style poetry, he was also a Kunqu expert of high attainments. He attended lectures of the renowned Kunqu opera artist Wu Mei, performed in a Kunqu opera club in Yenching University and was often seen singing the opera with his good friend Jin Lichu in between toasts of liquor.

6

徐孝穆，吴江人，柳亚子外甥，书法、篆刻、竹刻方面卓有成就。
Xu Xiaomu (1916-1998), a native of Wujiang and Liu Yazi's nephew, well-accomplished in seal cutting, bamboo sculpture and calligraphy.

7

走马楼，南方民居特有的建筑形式，四周皆有走廊通行的楼屋，甚或骑马亦畅行无阻。
Distinct of southern-style dwellings, the horse-accommodative loft is a kind of storied building joined by a walkway on its four sides, which is wide enough for a horse to trot through.

Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings 扬州园林与住宅

1

杜牧，晚年居西安樊川别墅，故号樊川居士。晚唐诗坛领袖，作品内容广泛，绝句尤佳。诗文中自我形象风流倜傥，饮酒作乐，喜好女色山水。仕途尚可，曾于扬州任两年监察御史。
Du Mu (803-852), sobriquet Recluse in Fanchuan for he spent his

evening years in a villa of the same name in present-day Xi'an. A leading poet of the late Tang, his forte is the quatrain among his wide-ranging literary work in which he created an image of himself as a sensualist who enjoys the pleasures of wine, women, and misty landscapes. He had a moderately successful official career, including a twoyear stint as a clerical official in Yangzhou.

2

徐湛之，南朝宋武帝刘裕的外孙。永嘉廿四年（447年），任南兖州刺史，为集文士，于广陵大建园亭。或为扬州历史上最早有记载的园林构建。

Xu Zhanzhi (410-453), a maternal grandson of Liu Yu (363-422), the first emperor of the Song of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. In 447, as Regional Inspector of South Yanzhou Prefecture, he had gardens and mansions built in Guangling (present-day Yangzhou) to attract literary figures to the city, which was perhaps the earliest record of planned garden construction in Yangzhou.

3

绍兴三十一年（1161年），金兵攻占扬州，1176年姜夔弱冠过扬州。

This refers to the year 1161 when the Jurchen troops stormed Yangzhou, fifteen years before Jiang Kui's visit to the city in his early twenties.

4

姜夔，号白石道人，南宋文学家、音乐家。诗文、书法、音乐无不精擅，是继苏轼之后又一艺术全才。

Jiang Kui (1154-1221), sobriquet White Stone Taoist, a man of letters and musician of the Southern Song. Like Su Shi, he was another clever Jack of all trades in the realm of arts and literature including poetry, prose, calligraphy and music.

5

郑氏兄弟，祖籍徽州，祖上三代治盐，囤积大量财富。明清之际，兄弟四人竞相造园，然皆毁于战火。

Hailing from a family in Huizhou that had amassed a huge fortune from salt sales under government monopoly for three generations, the Zheng brothers had established their own fabulous estates during the Ming-Qing transition, which, however, all came to ruins in war and turmoil.

6

【从周案五】《水窗春呓》卷下“维扬胜地”条：“扬州园林之胜，甲于天下。由于乾隆朝六次南巡，各盐商穷极物力以供宸赏，计自北门抵平山，两岸数十里楼台相接，无一处重复。其尤妙者在虹桥迤西一转，小金山矗其南，五顶桥锁其中，而白塔一区雄伟古朴，往往夕阳返照，箫鼓灯船，如入汉宫图画。盖皆以重资广延名士为之创稿，一一布置使然也。城内之园数十，最旷逸者，断推康山草堂。而尉氏之园，湖石亦最胜，闻移植时费二十余万金。其华丽缜密者，为张氏观察所居，俗所谓张大麻子是也。张以一寒士，五十岁外始补通州运判，十年而拥资百万，其缺固优，凡盐商巨案，皆令其承审，居闲说合，取之如携。后已捐升道员，分发甘肃。蒋相为两江，委其署理运司，为言官所纠罢去，蒋亦由此降调。张之为人，盖亦世俗所谓非常能员耳。余于戊戌（道光十八年，即公元1838年）赘婚于扬，曾往其园一游，未数日即毁于火，犹幸眼福之

未差也。园广数十亩，中有三层楼，可瞰大江，凡赏梅、赏荷、赏桂、赏菊，皆各有专地。演剧宴客，上下数级如大内式。另有套房三十余间，回环曲折，迷不知所向。金玉锦绣，四壁皆满，禽鱼尤多。……”

[Chen Congzhou: Note 5] Ouyang Zhaoxiong 欧阳兆熊 (*fl* . 19th century) and Jin Anqing 金安清 (1817-1880?), "Scenic Spots of Weiyang," *A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window* (Volume Two): Yangzhou leads the country with enchanting gardens. Built by local salt merchants who exhausted their wealth to entertain Emperor Qianlong on his six inspection tours of south China, these gardens form a scenic belt that extends for a dozen miles on end on both sides of the river from Northern City Gate to the Mountain-Level Hall, with lofts and terraces clustered cheek by jowl with absolutely no repetitions. The best section of it begins where the river turns west at the Rainbow Bridge, with the Lesser Golden Hill standing out in the south, and the Five-Pavilion Bridge lying in the middle. The area around the White Pagoda is the most imposing for its classical magnificence. When the setting sun tosses its last twilight rays and lantern boats sail into the scene to the notes of vertical flutes and the beats of drums, one feels like roaming a picture of Han-dynasty palaces. All this is made possible by paying renowned figures heavily to make the designs and arrange every view on the spot. Gardens in the city are counted by the dozen, but the most spacious and extraordinary one is none other than the Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain. The Wei's Garden, however, makes a name for itself with its artificial mountains of Lake Tai stones, whose transportation and transplantation costs alone amounted to two hundred thousand and more taels of silver. The garden, luxurious to the minute

detail, is the residence of a General Administration Circuit supervisor nicknamed "Pockmarked Zhang." Zhang was a humble scholar to begin with, but he became a millionaire ten years after he filled in the office of the Second Assistant Salt Controller of Tongzhou in his fifties. That official position put him in such an advantage that he was appointed to try all the major cases involving salt merchants. When he was not judging cases, he could still put in a word or two and get paid for it as easily as fetching money from his own pocket. Later, he bought a position that turned him into a circuit intendant and was dispatched to Gansu province. He was entrusted by Jiang Xiang, viceroy of Jiangsu and Jiangxi provinces, with the affairs of the Transport Monitoring Office, but after getting incriminated by an imperial remonstrating censor, he was removed from the job, and Jiang himself was demoted as a result. Zhang was one of those commonly regarded as capable officials. When I married into my wife's family in Yangzhou in a year of *wu-xu* (1838, or the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign), I paid a visit to his garden. I should say I was lucky to have seen it with my own eyes, since it was destroyed in a fire a few days later. The garden sprawled on a land of several dozen *mu* , with a three-storied building overlooking the Yangtze River, and plum, lotus, osmanthus, and chrysanthemum were planted in separate places for people to enjoy. Theatrical performances and banquets were held in about the same pomp and pageantry as royal palaces. There were thirty or so suites of rooms laid out in such loops and turns that one got lost easily. The four walls were all imbedded with gold and jade and covered with brocade, and the whole garden abounded in fish and birds.

7

庆历八年（1048年），扬州知府欧阳修于大明寺内建平山堂，“江南诸山，历历在目，似与堂平。”

In 1048, the legendary prose writer Ouyang Xiu had built, in the Daming Temple in Yangzhou, a hall where he could enjoy the sceneries offered by the Jiangnan mountains seemingly level with the hall. Hence its name.

8

刘大观，乾嘉时期文人，为官有政声，工作游历颇广，至广西、辽宁、山西、河南等地。

Liu Daguan (1753-1834), a man of letters active in the prime of the Qing whose decent official career enabled him to travel and work in many provinces, including Guangxi, Liaoning, Shanxi, and Henan.

9

谢溶生，东晋宰相谢安后人，李斗同乡。为李斗《扬州画舫录》作序跋者有四——谢溶生、袁枚、阮元及李斗本人。

Xie Rongsheng (?-1790), a descendent of the famous Eastern Jin prime minister Xie An (320-385), and a fellow townsman of Li Dou. Xie was one of the four who wrote the prefaces and postscripts to Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* , the other three being the poet and essayist Yuan Mei, the politician and classicist Ruan Yuan, and the author himself.

10

阮元，清学者、文学家、思想家，李斗同乡。道光十八年致仕，返

乡扬州。

Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), a scholar, man of letters and thinker of the Qing, and a fellow townsman of Li Dou. After his retirement in 1838, Ruan returned to settle down in his hometown, Yangzhou.

11

【从周案六】《水窗春呓》卷下“广陵名胜”条：“扬州则全以园林亭榭擅场，虽皆由人工，而匠心灵构，城北七八里夹岸楼舫无一同者，非乾隆六十年物力人才所萃，未易办也。嘉庆一朝二十五年，已渐颓废。余于己卯（嘉庆二十四年，即公元1819年）庚辰（嘉庆二十五年，即公元1820年）间侍母南归，犹及见大小虹园，华丽曲折，疑游蓬岛，计全局尚存十之五六。比戊戌（道光十八年，即公元1838年）赘姻于邗，已逾二十年，荒田茂草已多，然天宁门城外之梅花岭、东园、城闉清梵、小秦淮、虹桥、桃花庵、小金山、云山阁、尺五楼、平山堂皆尚完好。五六七诸月，游人消夏，画船箫鼓，送夕阳，醉新月，歌声遏云，花气如雾，风景尚可肩随苏杭也。……”

[Chen Congzhou: Note 6] Ouyang Zhaoxiong and Jin Anqing, "Scenic Spots of Guangling," *A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window* (Volume Two): Yangzhou outshines other cities with its pavilions and gazeboes. Though man-made, all of them are products of divine craftsmanship and ingenious conception. Among the chambers and painted land boats that flank the river for seven or eight *li* in the north of the city, there are no identical ones—a feat that would have been improbable without the accumulation of sixty years of material and human input during the reign of Qianlong. But it took only a 25-year reign under Emperor Jiaqing for all these to go gradually to dilapidation.

During a homecoming visit down south that spanned the years of *ji-mao* (1819, or the twenty-fourth year of the Jiaqing reign) and *geng-chen* (1820, or the twentyfifth year of the Jiaqing reign), I could still see the Greater and Lesser Rainbow Gardens, whose pomp and maze-like layout made me wonder if I was visiting a fabled island abode of immortals, and I reckoned that fifty to sixty of the gardens were still extant in the city in those years. Twenty years later, when I married into my wife's family in Hanjiang county in a year of *wu-xu* (1838, the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign), I saw more land wasted and overgrown with weeds, but the Eastern Garden, the Plum Flower Ridge beyond the Heavenly Peace City Gate, the Sutra-Chanting at City Wall, the Lesser Qinhuai River, the Rainbow Bridge, the Peach Flower Nunnery, the Lesser Golden Hill, the Cloudy Mountain Belvedere, the Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies" (a name derived from a story of the Weis in the Western Han, who, along with the Dus, were so high in social rank that they "could almost reach the skies"), and the Mountain-Level Hall were still in good conditions. In May, June and July, these places were still thronged with summering people, where they could sit in painted boats to hear the notes of vertical flutes and the booming of drums, see the setting sun, and get drunken under the crescent moon, where the melodies of singing lingered in clouds, the aroma of flowers hovered in mists, and the vistas stood comparison with those of Suzhou and Hangzhou.

《龚自珍全集第三辑：己亥（道光十九年，即公元1839年）六月重过扬州记》：“居礼曹，客有过者曰：卿知今日之扬州乎？读鲍照芜城赋则遇之矣。余悲其言。……扬州三十里，首尾屈折高下见。晓雨沐屋，瓦鳞鳞然，无零甃断甓，心已疑礼曹过客言不实矣。

……客有请吊蜀岗者，舟甚捷……舟人时时指两岸曰，某园故址也，某家酒肆故址也，约八九处。其实独倚虹园圮无存。曩所信宿之西园，门在，题榜在，尚可识，其可登临者尚八九处，阜有桂，水有芙蕖菱芡，是居扬州城外西北隅，最高秀。”从周案：龚氏匆匆过扬州，所见甚略，文虽如是，难掩荒败之景。

Collected Works of Gong Zizhen (Volume Three): "Revisiting Yangzhou in the sixth month of a year of *ji-hai* (1839, the nineteenth year of the Daoguang reign": "When I was with the Ministry of Rites, a guest who had been there said to me, 'Don't you know what has become of Yangzhou today? If you have read Bao Zhao's "Rhapsody of a Desolate City," you would have been there.' His words filled my heart with melancholy…. When I ascended one of the parapet walls, I saw the landscape twisting and turning and going up and down for thirty *li* on end. After the rain stopped in the morning, the roof tiles of houses were as neat and tidy as fish scales and there were no traces of broken walls nor bricks, and I began to suspect that the guest of the Ministry of Rites did not tell me the truth…. On my way with a guest to visit and ponder the past at the Shugang Hillock, the boat sailed down the river rather quickly…. From time to time the boat people would point at a scene on either bank and told me this was the former site of a certain garden and that was where a wine shop was located. Of the eight or nine such former sites he had mentioned, only the Rainbow-Leaning Garden was no more. The Western Garden, where I spent two nights, could still be recognized from its remaining gate and horizontal nameboard. There were eight or nine sites that could still be visited, where there were still osmanthus on knolls and lotuses, caltrops and Gordon euryales in waters to the northwest of the city of Yangzhou, where the vista was most

beautiful." Given the hastiness of his journey, Gong could only see a little of Yangzhou, so this remark of his cannot cover up the desolation and decay of the scenes at the time.

钱泳《履园丛话》卷二十“平山堂”条：“扬州之平山堂，余于乾隆五十二年（公元1787年）秋始到，其时九峰园、倚虹园、筱园、西园曲水、小金山、尺五楼诸处，自天宁门外起直到淮南第一观，楼台掩映，朱碧鲜新，宛入赵千里仙山楼阁中。今隔三十余年，几成瓦砾场，非复旧时光景矣……”

Qian Yong (1759-1844), "Mountain-Level Hall," *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty): My first visit to the Mountain-Level Hall of Yangzhou took place in the autumn of the fifty-second year of the Qianlong reign (1787). At the time, the sceneries of the Nine Peaks Garden, the Rainbow-Leaning Garden, the Slim Bamboo Garden, the Winding Stream of the Western Garden, the Lesser Golden Hill, and the Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies" extended from the Heavenly Peace City Gate to the Greatest Temple South of the Huai (i.e., the Daming Temple 大明寺), with lofts and terraces setting off each other in bright and fresh vermillion and green colors, making people wonder if they had stepped into Zhao Boju's golden-and-blue paintings of lofts and pavilions on a celestial mountain. Thirty or so years later today, this place has all but become a world of debris—its vista has long been history.

12

【从周案七】据友人王世襄说：“所谓‘周制’，当指周翥所制的漆器，见谢堃《金玉琐碎》。……故钱泳说‘明末有周姓者始创此法’不可信。”

[Chen Congzhou: Note 7] My friend Wang Shixiang (1914-2009) told me, "The so-called Zhou's Principles were first applied by Zhou Zhu to the lacquerware he was crafting. See Xie Kun's book, *Masters of Gold and Jade in Odds and Bits* . …For this reason, Qian Yong's remark about the origin of the Zhou's Principles is groundless."
王世襄，著名文物专家、学者、文物鉴赏家和收藏家。曾学中国古典建筑，在中国营造学社任助理研究员。他清理追还了许多日本劫夺之文物。
A cultural relics expert, scholar, connoisseur and collector, Wang Shixiang learned traditional Chinese architecture and served as an assistant researcher in the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. He checked up and retrieved many cultural relics from Japan.

13

石涛，本名朱若极，清初一位特立独行的书画家、理论家。贵为明朝宗室，明灭后出家，法名原济，号苦瓜和尚。其绘画理论书《苦瓜和尚画语录》至今颇有影响。世人认为他于晚年叠成片石山房。
Shitao (1642-*c* . 1707), born Zhu Ruoji, a painter, calligrapher and theoretician who was one of the most famous individualist painters of the early Qing. An offspring of the Ming royalty, he became a Buddhist monk after the dynasty's downfall and assumed the religious name Yuanji and sobriquet Monk Balsam Pear. The impact of his book on landscape painting theory, *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting* , is still felt today. It is believed that he was the builder of the rockwork in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode after he settled down in Yangzhou in his late years.

14

据《艺能编》记载，董道士，佚其名，乾隆时人。工于堆假山石，为时名手。

According to the *Compendium of Artistic Craftsmen* , Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795), name unknown, lived as a Taoist priest during the Qianlong reign, and made a name for himself for his state-of-the-art craft of designing artificial mountains.

15

【从周案八】朱江同志据扬州博物馆藏王氏遗嘱，认为应作王庭余。王殁于道光十年（公元1830年），寿八十。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 8] According to Zhu Jiang, a researcher with the Yangzhou Museum, the will of Wang's indicated that it should be Wang Tingyu instead of Wang Tianyu, who died in 1830 at age eighty.

16

余继之，扬州园艺大师，善治盆景、叠石。民国初年所造园林，尤以蔚圃、匏庐、怡庐和杨氏小筑闻名。

Yu Jizhi (1903-1961), a native of Yangzhou and a landscape gardener well versed in potted plants, miniature landscapes, and rockery piling. Among the many traditional gardens he had designed in the early 20th century are the Li Weiru's Garden, Gourd Hut, Mind Cheering Hut, and Yang's Tiny Nook.

17

蔚圃原属程氏，后属李蔚如。

Li Weiru may not be the first owner of this garden, which is said to have

belonged previously to a man surnamed Cheng.

18

园名源自《归去来辞》：倚南窗以寄傲……登东皋以舒啸。又《诗经·白华》：啸歌伤怀，念彼硕人。

The name is derived from "Return Home!" by Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (c. 365-427), "I lean by the southern window in a mood of pride…mount the eastern hill and let out long whistles." *Book of Songs* ("Bai Hua"): "I whistle and sing with wounded heart, / Thinking of that great man."

19

卢绍绪，晚清官员，后从商。卢宅为当时规模最大的盐商住宅建筑，亦是扬州大户人家传统民居的典型代表作。

Lu Shaoxu (1843-1905), an official turned businessman in the late Qing. The Lu's Mansion is the largest of all the properties of Yangzhou salt merchants of his time, and a typical example of traditional residence of the rich and powerful in the city.

20

魏次庚，晚清盐商，湖南人氏。现代作家冰心1957年4月到扬州参观视察，即住魏氏园中。

Wei Cigeng (1883/1884-1950/1951), a salt merchant of the late Qing who came from Hunan province. Contemporary writer Bing Xin participated in a small forum held in this mansion during her 1957 April Yangzhou inspection tour.

21

何维键，号芷舠，光绪年间任湖北汉黄道台等。举十三年构建寄啸山庄（俗称何园），其中含片石山房，被誉为“晚清第一园”。园内有百叶窗帘、法国壁炉等西洋设施，这在19世纪末的中国十分罕见。

He Weijian (1835-1908), sobriquet Zhidao, Intendent of Circuit of Hanhuang in Hubei during Emperor Guangxu's reign of the Qing. It took him thirteen years to build the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode (more popularly known as the Ho Family Garden) containing the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. So great and rare of its kind, the garden was lauded as "the number one Garden of the late Qing." The garden features some exotic utilities, including Venetian blinds and French fireplaces, which were rare in late-19th-century China.

22

【从周案九】清嘉庆《江都县续志》卷五：“片石山房在花园巷，吴家龙辟，中有池，屈曲流水，前为水榭，湖石三面环列，其最高者特立耸秀，一罗汉松踞其巅，几盈抱矣，今废。”

[Chen Congzhou: Note 9] According to *A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County* (Volume Five) compiled during the Jiaqing reign of the Qing: In the Small-Rock Mountain Abode built by Wu Jialong at Garden Lane, there used to be a pond and a gazebo sitting by a winding stream. The abode was surrounded on three sides by rockeries of lake stones. Atop the tallest rockery, which was exceptionally beautiful, stood a densely foliated yew podocarpus, whose trunk was one armspan in girth. But all this is in decay now.

清光绪《江都县续志》卷十二：“片石山房在花园巷，一名双槐园，县人吴家龙别业，今粤人吴辉谟修葺之。园以湖石胜，石为狮

九，有玲珑夭矫之概。”

A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County (Volume Twelve), compiled during the Guangxu reign of the Qing: The Small-Rock Mountain Abode at Garden Lane, known otherwise as Twin Pagoda Trees Garden, was the estate of a native by the name of Wu Jialong. The salient feature of the garden is its lake-stone rockwork in the image of nine lions, every one of which is exquisite in craftsmanship and vigorous and nimble in image.

《续纂光绪扬州府志》卷五：“片石山房在徐凝门街花园巷，一名双槐茶园，旧为邑人吴家龙别业。池侧嵌太湖石，作九狮图，玲珑夭矫，具有胜概，今属吴辉谟居焉。”

A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture (Volume Five), compiled during the Guangxu reign: The Small-Rock Mountain Abode at Garden Lane on Xuning Gate Street, whose byname was Twin Pagoda Trees Garden, was in the possession of a native by the name of Wu Jialong in old days. Lake Tai rocks were embedded in the embankment of its pond to conjure up a picture of nine lions, whose nimble and exquisite images are absorbing. Today, the abode belongs to Wu Huimo.

23

黄应泰，亦名黄至筠，字个园，嘉庆年间大盐商、画家、淮东淮西商总。嘉庆廿三年，在小玲珑山馆基础上构建个园，广植修竹。个园叠石亦蜚声宇内。

Huang Yingtai (1770-1838), also known as Huang Zhiyun, style name Geyuan, a successful salt merchant, painter and General Commercial Commissioner of Eastern and Western Huai Circuits during the Jiaqing

reign of the Qing. He bought the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode in 1818 to build his own garden with plenty of bamboos in it. Apart from bamboos, the garden is also renowned for its rockeries.

24

姚正镛，清书画家、金石家。与黄应泰五子锡禧交厚。

Yao Zhengyong (1811-?), a painter, calligrapher and expert in the study of inscriptions on ancient bronze and stone tablets in the Qing. Yao was a close friend of Huang Xixi, the fifth son of Huang Yingtai.

25

郭熙，字淳夫，山水画家、绘画理论家。北宋画院艺学，遍览历朝名画。子郭思将其绘画理论归纳于《林泉高致集》。

Guo Xi (*c* . 1000-*c* . 1080), style name Chunfu, a landscape painter and painting theorist. A member of the Royal Art Academy of the Northern Song, he was able to appreciate the paintings of all periods to his heart's content, which culminated in his series of theories on painting which his son Guo Si (*c* . 1055-*c* . 1130) collected in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams* .

26

戴熙，清诗人、画家、士大夫。善画人物、花鸟。道光时宫廷画多出其手。著有《习苦斋题画》，于画理多有论述。

Dai Xi (1801-1860), a poet, painter and scholar-official of the Qing, good at paintings of figures, flowers and birds. An excellent painter, Dai contributed many works for the royal family during the Daoguang reign. The *Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice* is a

collection of colophons and notes in which Dai developed his painting theory.

27

周馥，晚清重臣李鸿章下属。农历二月买下此园，半年后入住。园内假山林立，石径盘旋，因得名“小盘谷”。

Zhou Fu (1837-1921), a senior official under Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) in the late Qing. He bought the garden in lunar February and moved in six months later. The garden, the Small Meandering Valley, took its name for its footpaths winding through a cluster of artificial mountains.

28

徐乃光，中国驻纽约第一任领事。其父徐文达与周馥同乡，亦为莫逆之交。文达始构此园。

Xu Naiguang (1859-1922), the first Chinese consul to New York, whose father Xu Wenda (1825-1890), a bosom friend and fellow townsman of Zhou Fu, built the garden.

29

陈鸿寿，号曼生，杭州人，清篆刻家，工诗书画，亦善治紫砂壶。

Chen Hongshou (1768-1822), sobriquet Mansheng, a native of Hangzhou and a seal engraver in the Qing who was also good at poetry, calligraphy, painting, and the making of boccaro teapots.

30

【从周案十】据友人耿鉴庭云：“九狮石在池上亦有，积雪时九狮

之状毕现。”今毁。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 10] According to my friend Geng Jianting (1915-1999), "The nine-lion rockery is also available on the pond. When cocooned in snow, the images of these lions are displayed to the minute detail." But today this rockery has long been destroyed.

31

臧谷，晚清扬州诗人、书法家，爱菊艺菊。友人购得李斗书《九狮山》轴，请其为之题诗，遂题诗四首。其中有“卷石洞天今不见，水环小阜迹仍留”句。

Zang Gu (1834-1910), a poet and calligrapher of the late Qing in Yangzhou. He was also known for his love and cultivation of chrysanthemums. Upon the request of a friend who had just bought the scroll "Nine-Lion Mountain" by Li Dou to compose some verse on it, Zang came up with four poems, one of which contains the line, "The Rolling Stone Cavern domain is no more, but the hill surrounded by water remains."

32

周暹，字叔弢，扬州人，周馥孙。新中国成立后，历任天津市长、第一至第五届全国人大常委会委员等。同治五年，与父亲住进小盘谷，辛亥革命爆发后与祖父离开家乡。1963年，视察扬州古典园林时重访故园。

Zhou Xian (1891-1984), style name Shutao, a grandson of Zhou Fu. After the People's Republic was founded, he was, among other important posts he had assumed, mayor of Tianjin and a five-time member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

A native of Yangzhou, he moved with his father in 1866 to live in the Small Meandering Valley and left his hometown with Zhou Fu after the Revolution of 1911 broke out. In 1963, he paid a return visit to the estate on an inspection tour of traditional gardens in Yangzhou.

33

周煦良，周馥曾孙，叔弢之侄。著名英国文学翻译家、诗人、作家。叔侄二人童年皆在小盘谷度过。

Zhou Xuliang (1905-1984), a great grandson of Zhou Fu and a nephew of Zhou Xian, an accomplished translator of English literature, poet and writer. Both Xian and Xuliang had spent their childhood at the Small Meandering Valley.

34

李松龄，字鹤生，经营钱庄，1910年购得旧宅，三年后拓成逸圃。

Li Songling (1871-1937), style name Hesheng, owner of several private banks, bought an old estate in 1910, renovated it and completed the Garden of Matchless Talent three years later.

35

原文作“月门”，门实为八角。

The original text put it as a moon gate, which is actually octagonal.

36

苏轼，号东坡居士，宋朝大文豪，诗文书画集大成者。

Su Shi (1037-1101), sobriquet Retired Scholar of Eastern Slope, a great man of letters whose literary accomplishments represented the epic of

poetry, prose, calligraphy and painting of the Song.

37

孔武仲，北宋诗人、多产作家，与文学名宿欧阳修、苏轼、苏辙、黄庭坚等过从甚密。撰《芍药谱》，北宋王观、刘攽亦著芍药谱。而时，扬州芍药声名鹊起。

Kong Wuzhong (1042-1097), a poet and prolific writer of the Northern Song closely associated with such literary luminaries as Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, Su Zhe(1039-1112), and Huang Tingjian (1045-1105). His *Compendium of Herbaceous Peony* was one of the three compendia on herbaceous peony in the Northern Song, during which time Yangzhou rose to fame with the plant. The other two compendia were written separately by the poet Wang Guan (1035-1100) and the historian Liu Ban (1023-1089).

38

一枝一花为兰，香气馥郁；一枝数花为蕙，香气清淡。二者并称，喻高洁之士。

The orchid has one blossom on a stem with rich aroma, while the *hui* orchid has several blossoms on a stem with faint aroma. Both flowers are often mentioned in the same breath in ancient Chinese literary works in celebration of men of virtue.

39

此区域包括湖北南部、湖南、重庆东南部、广东北部及广西部分地区，谚有“湖广熟，天下足”。杉木在此地区生长迅速，木材广泛用于建造屋舍、桥梁、船只等。

This region encompasses south Hubei and Hunan provinces, southeastern Chongqing, north Guangdong and a small part of Guangxi, where, as the saying goes, "When farm harvests are good in Hu-Guang, the whole country will stay free from hunger." China fir grows fast in this region, and its timber is widely used in the building of houses, bridges and ships.

40

汪泰阶，字伯屏，于民国初年构建了建筑的东路部分；其父汪竹铭早在晚清末年构建了中西两路。

Wang Taijie (1889-1935), style name Boping, actually had the eastern column of the estate built at the beginning of the Republican years, while his father Wang Zhuming had had the central and western columns built at the end of the Qing.

41

名字出自《中庸》：赞天地之化育。

The name of the palace derives from a line in *The Way of the Mean* , "able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth."

42

郑燮，号板桥，诗人、书画家，与汪士慎、黄慎、李鱓、金农、罗聘、高翔及李方膺并称扬州八怪。各博物馆争相珍藏其所画兰、松、菊、石，其竹尤为出色。

Zheng Xie (1693-1765), sobriquet Banqiao, a poet, calligrapher and painter, and one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou of the mid-Qing

together with Wang Shishen (1686-1759), Huang Shen (1687-1768), Li Shan (1686?-1756), Jin Nong (1687-1764), Luo Pin (1733-1799), Gao Xiang (1688-1753) and Li Fangying (1696-1755). Zheng's paintings of orchids, pines, chrysanthemums and stones are much soughtafter museum pieces, and his bamboo paintings are the most outstanding.

43

贾沅，字颂平，光绪年间购得二分明月楼作为后花园。

Jia Yuan (1880-1944), style name Songping, bought the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight as his back garden during the Guangxu reign of the Qing.

44

吴廷扬，字熙载，扬州人，篆刻家、书画家，实际是此园的第二任主人。前任主人为许公澍。吴氏之后住其园中的有书画家陈含光、牙雕大师黄汉侯等。20世纪60年代，陈从周考察扬州园林时曾拜访黄汉侯，并名其园为侯庐。

Wu Tingyang (1799-1870), style name Xizai, a seal cutter, calligrapher and painter and Yangzhou native, was actually the second owner of the garden. His predecessor was a salt merchant by the name of Xu Gongshu. Those who lived in it after Wu included the renowned painter and calligrapher Chen Hanguang (1879-1957), and the ivory carving expert Huang Hanhou (1902-1976), who was visited by Chen Congzhou during his Yangzhou garden inspection tour in 1960s and after whom the estate was named by Chen.

45

卢殿虎，弃官从商，请造园名家俞继之为其构筑宅园。卢为镇扬汽车公司董事长，倡议并修筑了江北第一条公路，是真正意义上的“开路先锋”。

Lu Dianhu (1876-1936), an official-turned businessman, had his estate built by the famous landscape gardener Yu Jizhi. General manager of the Car Company of Zhenjiang-Yangzhou, Lu was a pathbreaker in the real sense thanks to his initiative and effort in building the first highway north to the Yangtze.

46

【从周案十一】《魏源集》中有记扬州园林盛衰之诗。《扬州画舫曲十三首》之一云：“旧日鱼龙识翠华，池边下鹄树藏鸦，离宫卅六荒凉尽，不是僧房不见花。”（凡名园皆为园丁拆卖，唯属僧管之桃花庵、小金山、平山堂三处，至今尚存。）《江南吟》注云：“平山堂行宫属园丁者，皆拆卖无存，惟僧管三处如故。故有“岂独平山僧庵胜园隶”句。魏氏于清道光十五年（公元1835年）构园于扬州新城仓巷，甃石栽花，养鱼饲鹤，名曰絜园。其时尚在太平天国革命战争之前。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 11] Poems on the rise and fall of the gardens in Yangzhou are found in the *Collected Works of Wei Yuan* . One of his "Thirteen Lyrical Pomes of Yangzhou's Painted Pleasure Boats" has it, "In old days fish and dragons befriended emerald verdure, swans dived into the pools and crows nested in the trees; with the land of summer palaces lost in total desolation, no flowers can be seen where there are no monk's abodes." (All the famous gardens were dismantled and sold by garden owners. Only the Peach Flower Nunnery, Lesser Golden Hill, and Mountain-Level Hall survived because they were under the care of

local monks.) The footnote to his "Song of Jiangnan" says, "At the Mountain-Level Hall all the summer palaces owned by gardeners were torn down and sold, and only the three properties managed by monks remained intact." This gives rise to the line, "Isn't it that the monks and nuns of the Mountain-Level Hall are better than garden slaves?”

Wei Yuan (1794-1857), an enlightenment thinker of the late Qing who was a friend of Lin Zexu (1785-1850), built a garden at Granary Lane in the New City of Yangzhou, which he named "Pristine Garden." In it he had rocks piled up, flowers planted, fish bred and cranes raised. This happened before the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising.

Small-Rock Mountain Abode, Yangzhou—Shitao's Craft of Artificial Mountains扬州片石山房——石涛叠山作品

1

【从周案十二】应作王庭余。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 12] It should be Wang Tingyu.

2

傅抱石，现代山水画家，笔力虬劲飘逸，善画祖国的名山大川，尤擅雨景。崇拜石涛，对其一生、画作、理论多有研究。

Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), a modern-time landscape painter known for his robust and untrammeled brushwork and splendid portrayals of his motherland's mountain cliffs, waterfalls, and rainy scenes. An admirer of Shitao, he did a great deal of research into the painter's life, works, and theory.

3

署名原有“一枝阁”，一枝阁在南京而非扬州。——许少飞

The original list also includes the Lone-Twig Belvedere, which is actually a building in Nanjing.—Xu Shaofei

4

据傅抱石研究，石涛生于崇祯三年，即1630年，但近来研究认为其生于1642年。——许少飞

According to Fu Baoshi, Shitao was born in 1630, the third year of Emperor Chongzhen's reign (1628-1644), but recent researches put it as 1642.—Xu Shaofei

5

【从周案十三】据友人扬州牙刻家黄汉侯说，石涛墓在平山堂后，其师陈锡蕃画家在世时，尚能指出其地址，后渐湮没。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 13] According to my friend, Huang Hanhou (1902-1976), an ivory-carving specialist in Yangzhou, Shitao's tomb is found behind the Mountain-Level Hall. When Huang's teacher, the painter Chen Kanghou (1866-1937) , style name Xifan, was around, he could point out its location, but the tomb had since fallen into oblivion.

6

【从周案十四】1820年刊酿花使者纂著《花间笑语》谓：“片石山楼为廉使吴之黼字竹屏别业，山石乃牧山僧所位置，有听雨轩、瓶櫑斋、蝴蝶厅、海楼、水榭诸景，今废，只存听雨轩、水榭，为双槐茶园。”此说较迟，乃酿花使者小游扬州时所记，似为传闻之误。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 14] In *Banters Amidst Flowers* , a book published in 1820, the author Flower-Fermenting Envoy says, "The Mountain Loft of Small Rocks was the estate of the surveillance commissioner Wu Zhifu, style name Zhuping. The artificial mountain in it was arranged by Monk Mushan. The other sceneries in it, such as the Rain-Listening Verandah, the Chamber of Bottles and Winecups, the Butterfly Hall, the Oceanic Loft, and the Waterside Gazebo, have fallen into oblivion today. Only the Rain-Listening Verandah and the Waterside Gazebo are still there in the Twin Pagoda Trees Tea House." Since the author noted down this piece of information during a hasty visit to Yangzhou, it might be mere hearsay.

Qiao's Garden, Taizhou　泰州乔园

1

此处天王指佛教的护世四天王：东方持国天王持琵琶，南方增长天王持宝剑，西方广目天王右手捉龙、左手持塔，北方多闻天王左手持银鼠、右手持伞。寺庙里，天王殿在正殿即大雄宝殿之前。
The heavenly kings here refer to the four guardian gods who protect the four quarters of the universe: Dhrtarashtra holding a stringed instrument (east); Virudhaka holding a sword (south); Virupaksha holding a serpent and a stupa(west), and Vaishravana holding an umbrella and a mongoose (north). The Heavenly Kings' Hall is always situated in front of the main hall, or the Hall of Sakyamuni, in a temple.

2

蒋科，字士登，号瀛洲，泰州人士，隆庆二年（1568年）进士。

Jiang Ke (1533-1584), style name Shideng, sobriquet Yingzhou, a native of Taizhou and a successful candidate of the imperial examination in 1568.

3

同光是后唐年号。

Tongguang, a reign title (923-926) of the Later Tang (923-936).

4

嘉定桥与乐真桥相对而斜，状如八字，故名八字桥。

The Jiading Bridge and the Lezhen Bridge are characterized by the flare-wing abutments that resemble the Chinese character 八 on their bank piers, hence the name.

5

陈应芳，字元振，号兰台，宅园原属其祖陈鸢。万历年间，应芳将园并入宅中。

Chen Yingfang (1534-1601), style name Yuanzhen, sobriquet Lantai. The mansion used to belong to Chen Yuan, his grandfather. During the Wanli reign, Yingfang added the garden to the mansion.

6

陈应芳曾孙陈志纪上书触怒龙颜，刑部任职的田敬锡奉旨来抄陈家，并成为日涉园主人。

Chen Zhiji, a great-grandson of Chen Yingfang, greatly offended the emperor with his improper memorial. Tian Jingxi, then with the Ministry of Punishments, confiscated the Chens' property under orders

and became the garden's owner afterwards.

7

吴文锡，号莲芬，其仪征故宅破败，故买下此园。经三月修整，园子焕然一新。

Wu Wenxi (1800-1870), sobriquet Lianfen, bought the garden after he found his house in Yizheng dilapidated. The garden took on a new look after three months' renovation.

8

乔松年，字健候，号鹤侪，儒商。乔居于高位，且距今最近，因此乔园之名留存至今。

Qiao Songnian (1815-1875), style name Jianhou, sobriquet Hechai, a scholar official and merchant in one. Due to his high rank and closeness to our time, the garden has been known as the Qiao's Garden ever since.

9

据《道光泰州志》记载，高凤翥，字象六，号果亭，泰州人士。高垂庆，字麓庵，凤翥曾孙。高家阔绰，苦心经营此园，终成十四景。

According to the *Annals of Taizhou in the Daoguang Reign* , Gao Fengzhu (1707-1771), style name Xiangliu, sobriquet Guoting, a native of Taizhou. Lu'an is the style name of Gao Chuiqing, Fengzhu's great grandson. The well-off Gaos took great pains in planning and improving the garden, which culminated in the fourteen sights.

10

周庠，字西苓，书画家，嘉庆十五年（1810年）举人。东台人士，距泰州较近。

Zhou Xiang, style name Xiling, a provincial graduate in 1810 and a painter and calligrapher of his time in nearby Dongtai.

11

堂名源于王维诗：万壑树参天，千山响杜鹃。

The name derives from a line of Wang Wei's poem, "Trees reach out to the sky in ten thousand valleys, / Cuckoos cry in a thousand mountains."

12

堂下原有一井，故名。

There used to be a well below the hall, hence the name.

13

阁下原有一松，故名。

There used to be a towering pine below the belvedere.

14

此屋在竹林中部，将竹林一分为二。

Located in the center of the bamboo forest, this cottage divides the forest in two.

15

亭旁树上原有一鸟巢。梅兰芳大师祖籍泰州，1956年返乡祭祖、演出，下榻因巢亭。

There used to be a nest on the tree beside the pavilion. Mei Lanfang, a

native of Taizhou, stayed here in the spring of 1956 when he came back for an ancestral sacrifice and a special performance.

16

此处“午”通“抚”，是主人抚琴处。

The character 午 here is interchangeable with 抚. This was where the master played his zither.

17

堂名源自老莱子，楚国隐士，行年七十，常著五色斑斓之衣，为婴儿戏于亲侧。陈应芳希望陈家人都能高寿。实际上，陈家是个长寿家族，曾祖陈佐为百岁翁，祖父陈鸢年九十八岁，兄应旂年九十六岁。

The name derives from Lao Laizi, a hermit of the Kingdom of Chu in his seventies who himself in patterned clothes entertained his parents with children's games. Chen Yingfang cherishes the hope that his family could enjoy the blessing of longevity. Actually, the Chens have produced quite a few centenarians or the like over the years. For example, Chen Zuo, Yingfang's great grandfather, lived over one hundred years; Chen Yuan, his grandfather, died at 98 and Chen Yingqi, Yingfang's brother, at 96.

18

舫上一联曰文思如潮堪折桂。桂花在古代象征着科举高中。

A line of the couplet flanking the boat reads: He is endowed with so many literary inspirations in writing that he can reap the osmanthuses. The osmanthus is a symbol of the championship in imperial

examinations in ancient China.

A Note on Rebuilding Water-Inked Garden 重修水绘园记

1

冒襄，字辟疆，号巢民，如皋人，明清之际文学家。少有文名，然科场失意，后参加复社这个青年士子兴复古学、反对清朝的文学、政治团体。毛主席说他“具有民族气节……隐居山林，不仕清朝”。

Mao Xiang (1611-1693), style name Pijiang, sobriquet Chaomin (Den Dweller), a native of Rugao and a man of letters in the Ming-Qing transition. A total failure at the imperial examinations despite his high literary reputation since his teens, he joined the Rejuvenation Society, a literary and political organization of young intellectuals aimed at the revival of traditional learning and resistance against the newly-established Qing government. As Chairman Mao remarked, Mao Xiang was a man of real integrity because he, as a diehard of the Ming, refused to assume offices in the Qing and chose to live in seclusion.

水绘园实为冒一贯在万历年间筑成；辟疆是一贯的四世孙，邀请名家张涟对园子进行扩建，并臻于完善。一时名流云集，在园内吟诗唱和。其挚友杜爽有诗曰：大地绘草木，天汉绘文章，雄赋绘扬马，丽翰绘钟王，此庵胡奇绝，乃绘明月光。

As a matter of fact, this garden was built by Mao Yiguan during the Wanli reign of the Ming, but it was his fourth-generation grandson, Mao Xiang, who had it expanded and brought to excellence by Zhang Lian, the famous garden crafter. Since then the garden was thronged with men of letters who came to compose and recite poems. Du Shuang, one of Mao Xiang's best friends, remarked, "The earth is painted by grass and

woods, the Milky Way by patterns and figures. Yang Xiong and Sima Xiangru compose rhapsodies; Zhong Yao and Wang Xizhi wield brushes. Why this place is so bewitchingly exotic? Because it is an ideal site to paint under bright moonlight."

2

董白，字小宛，秦淮名妓。嫁入冒家，与上下相处融洽，帮忙料理家务，陪辟疆游于诗画。清兵南下，合家逃难，备受艰辛。辟疆身染重疾，小宛昼夜随侍，半年时日下来，身体不堪一击。

Dong Bai (1624-1651), style name Xiaowan, a renowned courtesan on the Qinhuai River before she was finally married to Mao Xiang. Well received by the whole family, she helped attend to household affairs besides keeping company with her husband in literary pursuits. The family endured great hardships when taking refuge in other places when the Qing troops stormed down to the south. Her health completely broke down after her painstaking care of the seriously sick Mao Xiang in half a year.

3

冒孝鲁，字景璠，冒广生三子。精通俄语、英语、法语等外语，曾任驻苏大使颜惠庆的一等秘书，后在复旦大学、安徽大学教授外语。徐悲鸿、梅兰芳分别于1934年、1935年去苏联进行文化交流，冒效鲁全程陪同翻译。

Mao Xiaolu (1909-1988), style name Jingfan, the third son of Mao Guangsheng. Well-versed in Russian, English, French and other foreign languages, he was First Secretary to Yan Huiqing, the then Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and then professor in Fudan and Anhui

Universities. He served as interpreter and translator to Xu Beihong and Mei Lanfang when they went on their cultural exchange tours in the Soviet Union in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

4

冒广生，字鹤亭，著名学者。冒家书香门第，其为官一方，便搜集当地文献刻印集子，保存了地方文献。共和国元首对其礼敬有加，建国初期重大事情上多次征集他的意见。

Mao Guangsheng (1873-1959), style name Heting, an erudite scholar among his other achievements. Brought up in the literary Mao family, he reserved local archives in his capacities of scholar-officials in different places. The leadership of the People's Republic held him in respect and solicited his advice on matters of importance in the beginning years of the country.

5

陈从周二十二岁那年与老师夏承焘拜谒了冒广生。

Chen Congzhou joined his teacher Xia Chengtao to visit Mao Guangsheng in Shanghai when he was twenty-two.

Gratification Garden, Inner Garden, Shanghai 上海的豫园与内园

1

潘允端，上海人，嘉靖年间任四川布政使。嘉靖三十八年（1559年）开始修建豫园，万历五年（1577年）解职回乡，扩大园林规模以奉养老亲。豫园当时占地70亩，曾为江南园林之冠。

Pan Yunduan (1526-1601), a native of Shanghai and provincial administrative commissioner of Sichuan during the Jiajing reign of the Ming. He began building the garden in 1559; when he was discharged from his officialdom in 1577, he returned to Shanghai and expanded the garden to what was known as the Gratification Garden to take care of his aging father. The 70-*mu* garden was one of the best traditional gardens in the Jiangnan area.

2

张南阳，号卧石生，明朝画家、造园家。南阳晚年三大杰作：潘允端豫园、陈所蕴日涉园及王世贞弇山园。

Zhang Nanyang (1517-1596), sobriquet Hermit Reclining on a Stone, a Mingdynasty painter turned garden-maker whose masterpieces were found in Pan Yunduan's Gratification Garden, Chen Suoyun's Garden for Daily Saunters and Wang Shizhen's Yanshan Garden.

3

祝允明，因骈枝号枝山。擅诗，工草书，与文征明、唐寅、徐祯卿并称江南四大才子。

Zhu Yunming (1460-1526), sobriquet Zhishan for the extra finger growing on his hand. Well-versed in poetry and deft in cursive-script calligraphy, he was one of the Four Talented Scholars of Central Suzhou together with Wen Zhengming(1470-1559), Tang Yin (1470-1523) and Xu Zhenqing (1479-1511).

4

【从周案十五】在1958年的兴修中，玉玲珑湖石及九狮亭、得月楼

等皆复原，并在中部开凿了大池。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 15] The Exquisite Jade Boulder, the Nine Lions Pavilion and the Moon-Bestowed Loft were restored, with a big pond dug in the center of the garden in a 1958 refurbishment project.

Shen's Garden, Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing 绍兴的沈园与春波桥

1

禹迹寺，在绍兴城东南四里。大禹（夏朝第一位君主）治水有功，遂建寺祭之。东晋郭姓将军建寺，至今约1600年。

The temple, located two kilometers southeast of Shaoxing, is devoted to King Yu (or the Great Yu, the King of Xia, the first Chinese dynasty from the 22nd to 16th centuries BC) for his extraordinary flood control feats. Built by a general surnamed Guo in 416 in the Eastern Jin, the temple has been around for about 1,600 years.

2

【从周案十六】绍兴同样尚有一座春波桥在城外。宝庆《会稽志》云：“在会稽县东南五里，千秋鸿禧观前，贺知章诗云：‘离别家乡岁月多，近来人事半消磨，唯有门前鉴湖水，春风不改旧时波。’故取此桥名。”现在沈园前的春波桥，正对禹迹寺，嘉泰《会稽志》及乾隆《绍兴府志》均名禹迹寺桥，清光绪时重修，改名为春波桥。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 16] There is another Vernal Waves Bridge in the suburbs of Shaoxing. *The Gazetteer of Kuaiji County* of the Baoqing reign (1225-1227) says that it is situated "five *li* to the southeast of the

county seat of Kuaiji, and in the front of the Taoist Temple of Immortal Well-being." As He Zhizhang (659-744), a poet of the Tang and a native of Shaoxing, says in his poem, "Upon Returning Home," "Being absent from my hometown for so long, / I learn recently old folk's been half out-worn. / Yet before my door the Mirror Lake retains its way, / Whose waves changed not, even under spring wind's sway." From these lines comes the bridge's current name. The Vernal Waves Bridge in front of the Shen's Garden sits opposite the Temple of King Yu's Footprints. Hence the bridge's original name, "Bridge of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints," which appears in the Gazetteer of Kuaiji County of the Jiatai reign (1201-1204) of the Song and the *Gazetteer of Shaoxing Prefecture* of the Qianlong reign of the Qing. It was not until the bridge was rebuilt during the Guangxu reign of the Qing that it was given its present name.

3

陆游，号放翁，南宋史学家、散文家、诗人，作诗万首，著文许多。诗尤为多产，简易晓畅，关切实际。
Lu You (1125-1210), sobriquet Fangweng (Old Man Set Free), a great historian, prose writer and poet of the Southern Song (1127-1279) noted for his production of ten thousand poems as well as numerous prose pieces. Primarily a prolific poet, Lu gained renown for his simple, direct expression and for his attention to realistic details.

4

唐婉未能给陆氏传宗接代，兼与陆游夫妻恩爱恐会阻碍仕途，故陆母大怒。

The mother's wrath stemmed, among other things, from Tang Wan's failure to bear a son for the family and the fear that her intimacy with Lu You was getting in the way of his pursuit of officialdom. The causes of the divorce remain in dispute.

5

红酥手，或曰为红色手形面点，或曰为红焖猪蹄。无论如何，这句都表达了陆游对前妻无法克制的爱和对劳燕分飞的悔恨。
The term *hongsushou* may be interpreted as a tasty food in red color, either handshaped pastry or braised pork trotters. In either way, the line expresses Lu's insuppressible love for his ex-wife and his remorse for the divorce.

6

此处指潘岳，曾任西晋河阳县令，作《悼亡诗三首》哀悼亡妻。
This refers to Pan Yue (247-300), who once served as the Heyang Magistrate in the Western Jin. Pan composed the "Three Poems in Dirge" in memory of his belated wife.

7

中国古典文学中，常以此喻指美人走路神态貌似惊鸿，文人骚客认为美女体态轻盈，会令大雁自惭形秽飞走。典出曹植《洛神赋》。
In traditional Chinese literature, this metaphor is repeatedly used to stand for a lady who walks with the grace of "a startled swan," since scholars believe that such a light-footed beauty would shame wild geese into fleeing. The term originally appeared in "A Rhapsody for the Goddess of Luohe River" by Cao Zhi (192-232), a poet of the Three

Kingdoms period.

West Lake Gardens, Hangzhou 西湖园林风格漫谈

1

汪为霖，号春田，清中期书画家、造园家。其《小山泉阁诗存》，集诗近千首，共八卷。晚年，雇戈裕良为其在江苏如皋建文园。

Wang Weilin (1763-1822), sobriquet Chuntian, a calligrapher, painter and landscape gardener of the mid-Qing, renowned for his *A Repository of Verse of the Small Mountain Fountainhead Belveder* e, an eight-volume collection of close to a thousand poems written by him. In his late years he employed the most famous artificial mountain builder Ge Yuliang (1764-1830) and paid him generously to refurbish the Literary Garden in his hometown Rugao in Jiangsu province.

2

传说，湖底有头金牛，故西湖亦名金牛湖。湖水干涸，则金牛吐水，把湖填满。金牛所现之处即为涌金门。

Legend has it that a gold bull habitats at the bottom of the lake, so the West Lake is also known as the Gold Bull Lake. Whenever the lake runs dry, the bull will fill it up by pouring water out from its mouth. The Gold-Revealing Gate is where the bull is revealed.

3

王勃，《滕王阁序》：四美具，二难并。四美指“良辰、美景、赏心、乐事”，二难指“贤主、嘉宾”。

The "four elements" refer to beautiful day, beautiful scenery, joyfulness,

and happy event, which are hard to come by all at once along with the "two difficult components" (an esteemed host and a horde of graceful guests), but which were all available at a banquet held at the Prince Teng's Pavilion. Wang Bo (*c* . 650-*c* . 676), "A Tribute to Prince Teng's Pavilion": "Both the 'four beautiful elements' and the 'two most wanted components' are available today."

4

据《淳祐临安志》载，旧有郡人雷就筑庵所居，故名雷峰。

According to the *Annals of Lin'an in the Chunyou Reign* , a native of Lin'an known as Lei Jiu once inhabited in a hut on the peak, hence the name, Lei's Peak.

5

韬光，诗僧，唐长庆间自蜀至钱塘，行前其师嘱曰，“遇天可前，逢巢则止。”游至巢枸坞时，正值白居易（字乐天）任杭州刺史，遂止，于灵隐山西北筑寺，与白交游。寺中有观海亭，是山中观海佳处。

Taoguang (*fl* . 9th century), a monk poet who traveled from Sichuan to Hangzhou during the Changqing reign (821-824) of the Tang. It was said when Taoguang arrived in Hangzhou, he found himself at a col with a bird-nest amid twisted trees, where he chanced upon a man whose sobriquet was "Happy Man from Heavens," who turned out to be the great poet Bai Juyi. The place and the man reminded him of his mentor's advice before his departure, "Go ahead when you reach the heavens, and stop right away when you come across a bird's nest." Thus he built a temple northwest of the Soul's Retreat Mountain, settled down in it, and

made friends with Bai. The temple has long been famous for its Sea-Watching Pavilion, where is the best place to watch the sea in the mountain.

6

传说，南宋年间，西湖西有官家酿酒作坊，取金沙涧溪水造曲酒。夏日荷花盛开，荷香酒香沁人心脾，遂有此景。

It is said that in the Southern Song, an official winery west of the West Lake was making wine with water from the nearby Golden Sand Creek, so that when lotuses in the lake bloomed in summer, the air would become heady with a mixture of the aromas of flowers and wine. Hence the name of the scenery.

Slender West Lake, Yangzhou 瘦西湖漫谈

1

王士祯，号渔洋山人，曾任扬州府推官、左都御史、刑部尚书，颇有政声。清初著名诗人，一生著述500余种，诗作4000余首。《渔阳古诗选》三十二卷，几乎囊括自汉至五代以来约150位诗人所有著名的五言及七言诗。康熙三年上巳节主持虹桥修禊，流芳中国文学史。此处所引是其《冶春绝句》的最后一句。

Wang Shizhen (1634-1711), sobriquet Hermit from Yuyang, was a successful official who held a series of important positions, including chief justice of Yangzhou, president of the Censorate, and minister of punishments of the early Qing. But he is better known as a preeminent early-Qing poet who authored over 500 literary works and 4,000 and more poems. The Selected Ancient Poems of Yuyang of 32 volumes

contains virtually all the renowned five- and seven-character poems by 150 or so poets from the Han (206 BC-220 AD) to the Five Dynasties (907-960). The spring outing at Rainbow Bridge he hosted on the third day of the third lunar month of 1664 has come down in Chinese literary history as a legendary event. What is quoted here are the concluding lines of his classic "Spring Outing Quatrain."

South-and-North Lakes, Haiyan 南北湖

1

20世纪80年代，南北湖生态环境遭受严重破坏。这里大肆炸山砍树，滥采石材木料，连山鸟野禽也多遭捕杀。陈从周听闻后，在《人民日报》《解放日报》《新民晚报》上，呼吁拯救南北湖，还奔波于杭嘉湖一些领导机关，陈述保护南北湖之必要。后来，陈从周直接上书江泽民，言“浙江海盐南北湖为有名风景区，自从周呼吁后略有好转，但地方破坏风景太甚，民情愤怒，附上《中国环境报》印件一张，公可抽空一阅，给浙江省与海盐一批示，望还我自然，珍惜风景，以公之威望，必能救大好河山也……敬恳泽公开恩，救救南北湖！”1991年3月，主席批转省长阅。随后，文件从省里传达到地方，立即停止炸山捕鸟，南北湖终于得救。可以说没有陈从周，就没有今天风光秀美的南北湖。陈从周虽不是海盐人，却在前前后后近三十年的时间里，为南北湖奔走呼号。为纪念陈从周教授，海盐人在南北湖建造了陈从周艺术馆。

In the 1980s, the South-and–North Lakes suffered serious environmental woes in the aftermath of rampant detonation of mountains, quarrying, denudation of woods, and bird hunting. Upon hearing the bad news, Chen Congzhou appealed for rescue efforts through newspapers such as

the *People's Daily, the Jiefang Daily* and the *Xinmin Evening News* , and lobbied local governments for preservation of this scenic resort. When the situation came to a head in January 1991, he wrote directly to President Jiang Zemin, in which he said, "The South-and-North Lakes in Haiyan, Zhejiang is a celebrated scenic zone, but it is being gravely damaged in spite of slight improvements since my appeal for its protection, which has roused mounting public indignation. Please find attached a print copy of the *China Environment News* for Your Excellency to get around to having a look. I sincerely hope that you issue an instruction to the local governments of Zhejiang and Haiyan to ask them to cherish the scenery and bring the Mother Nature back. I believe, with the high prestige of Your Excellency, this fascinating place will surely have its day… Show some mercy, Your Beneficent Excellency, and do something to save the South-and-North Lakes!" In March, 1991, an urgent instruction from the president was delivered to the Provincial Governor of Zhejiang and relayed to the local government of Haiyan county, calling for an immediate end to mountain detonation and bird killing. The South-and-North Lakes were finally rescued. It is fair to say that the fascinating South-and-North Lakes would have been no more without Chen Congzhou's three-decade efforts for its protection and reservation. For this reason an art museum in commemoration of him was built on the spot in 1998.

2

南北湖，因湖中有堤将湖分为南北两半而得名。堤阔10米，长500米，乃清康熙、乾隆年间海盐知县张素仁、鲍鸣凤两次竣湖时修筑而成。

Ten meters wide and five hundred meters long, the dyke runs across the lake and divides it in two. Hence its name. The dyke was built for water dredging purposes, first by Magistrate Zhang Suren in 1672, the 11th year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing, and then by Magistrate Bao Mingfeng in 1770, the 35th year of the Qianlong reign.

3

落雁指落雁轩，垂虹指垂虹桥。

The wild goose here refers to the Wild Goose Verandah, and the sinking rainbow stands for a bridge with the same name.

4

藏书家蒋光堉为避战乱，将海宁老家藏书转至海盐西涧草堂。陈从周先生夫人蒋定，亦是海宁蒋家后人。

The hut used to be a library of the book collector Jiang Guangyu (1825-1895), who moved his collections from his native Haining to this hut in Haiyan to avoid the chaos of war. Jiang Ding (1918-1986), Mr. Chen Congzhou's wife, was a descendant of the Jiangs in Haining, with her tomb built by the side of the South-and-North Lakes.

5

顾况，唐代海盐诗人，生前常来此赏景。

Gu Kuang (c. 730-806), a famous Tang-dynasty poet born in Haiyan, who often came here to admire the scenery during his lifetime.

6

据《澉水志》记载：上有谭仙庙，相传为南唐道家谭峭炼丹得道之

处。

According to the *Gazetteer of Ganshui County* , there used to be a temple in memory of Tan Qiao (860/873-968/976), a famed Taoist alchemist of the Tang dynasty, who made pills of immortality and attained the Way.

7

北京八达岭是明长城中保存最好的一段。

The Badaling Fort in Beijing is situated on the best preserved section of the Ming-dynasty Great Wall.

8

明嘉靖三十二年（1553年），海宁卫指挥徐行健率军出谈仙岭，追歼倭寇，大张国威。三年后一役，寡不敌众，死于阵前。

Xu Xingjian (?-1556), a subordinate of Qi Jiguang and a Haining county garrison commander, headed his legions out of the Celestial Tan's Mountain, and pursued and wiped out Japanese pirates, greatly enhancing national prestige in 1553. He died a heroic death in a hopelessly out-numbered fight against the Japanese invaders three years later.

9

云岫庵建于北宋建隆年间，坐落于鹰窠顶山腰，内供观音菩萨。庵名源自陶渊明《归去来辞》中的“云无心以出岫，鸟倦飞而知返”。

Built in the early Jianlong reign (960-963) of the Northern Song, and situated 150 meters above sea level on the slope of the Eagle Nest Peak, this nunnery enshrines Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara. Its name is derived

from Tao Yuanming's "Homecoming Rhapsody": Free from care, clouds surge from behind the peaks; / Tired of flying, birds know it's time to go home.

10

传说，普陀山香火旺盛，观音菩萨劳累异常。她依计晚上跨海来此休息。可后来走漏了风声，善男信女遂夜里到庵里来烧香拜佛。故名。

Legend has it that Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, much fatigued from receiving hordes of worshippers to her mythical domain at Mount Potalaka, she decided to retire across the sea to the Cloud-Enshrouded Nunnery for a good rest every night. But the secret was divulged in due time, so devout believers made their nightly pilgrimages to the nunnery. Hence the name.

Notes on Prince Gong's Mansion 恭王府小记

1

何其芳，现代诗人、散文家、文学评论家、红学家。初为新月社诗人，后来成为马克思主义文学理论家，是新中国文学研究的领军人物，为祖国的文学艺术事业做出巨大贡献。据说，恭王府就是《红楼梦》里的大观园，此说存疑。

He Qifang (1912-1977), a modern poet, prose writer, literary critic and Redologist. A Crescent Moon Society poet-turned-Marxist literary theoretician, he was a leading figure in New China's literary study, contributing tremendously to the country's literature and art. It is said that descriptions of the Grand View Garden, a major garden in *A Dream*

of Red Mansion s, was based on Prince Gong's Mansion, but such an opinion is still being questioned.

2

王昆仑，政治家、红学家。其《红楼梦人物论》是最早从历史唯物主义角度来研究《红楼梦》的一部专著，其昆剧《晴雯》（晴雯是小说《红楼梦》中的一个丫鬟）亦深得观众喜爱。1962年，王昆仑陪同周总理再次参观了恭王府。

Wang Kunlun (1902-1985), a political figure and a Redologist whose *On the Figures in "A Dream of Red Mansions"* was the first work on the novel from a historical materialist perspective and whose Kunqu Opera *Qingwen* (a maid in the novel) met with considerable acclaim. In 1962, Wang paid another visit to the Prince Gong's Mansion, accompanying Premier Zhou Enlai.

3

朱家溍，南宋理学家朱熹的25世孙。朱家书香门第，凭其对古籍碑帖的熟稔，故宫博物院成立初期即被聘为专门委员。朱老不仅是文物专家，还是清史专家、戏剧研究家。

Zhu Jiajin (1914-2003), the 25th generation grandson of Zhu Xi (1130-1200), a Neo-Confucianist of the Southern Song. Hailing from a scholastic family, he served as a professional committee member in the Palace Museum in its beginning years with his profound knowledge about ancient books and tablets and calligraphy models. A cultural relics expert, he was also a Qing history expert and opera researcher.

4

奥斯伍尔德·喜仁龙，瑞典艺术史家、汉学家，芬兰出生，主要研究18世纪的瑞典、文艺复兴时期的意大利及中国艺术史。中国专著不计其数，包括《中国园林》《中国和十八世纪的欧洲园林》《中国绘画：大师与准则》《北京的城墙与城门》等。《中国园林》一书由纽约的罗纳德出版公司于1949年出版，印刷精美，内有许多喜仁龙拍摄的珍贵图片。陈从周先生或许记错了出版地点。

Osvald Sirén (1879-1966), a Finnish-born, Sweden art historian whose forte was the art of 18th-century Sweden, Renaissance Italy, and China. A Sinologist known by his Chinese name, Xi Renlong, he wrote prolifically about China, and his major books in this field include *Gardens of China*, *China and Gardens of Europe of the 18th Century*, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* , and the *Walls and Gates of Peking* . The *Gardens of China* published by the Ronald Press, New York, in 1949, was beautifully printed, with many precious photos taken by Sirén. Mr. Chen Congzhou could have mistaken the place of publishing.

5

海子四周原有佛寺十座，故原名为“十刹海”，与“什刹海”读音相同。

The name used to be 十刹海, pronounced the same as 什刹海, for there used to be ten Buddhist temples around the lake.

6

和珅，号嘉乐堂，大学士、外交官、乾隆谗臣。乾隆帝年老昏聩，对其宠信有加，和珅借机垄断朝野、收受贿赂。嘉庆登基，没收和珅财产，故有“和珅跌倒，嘉庆吃饱”。和珅应为有记录的恭王府最

早的主人。后来，园归乾隆之子庆禧王永璘。第三任主人恭王奕訢对园子加以整修扩建，恭王府之名延续至今。

Heshen (1750-1799), sobriquet Haller of Auspicious Joy, a Grand Secretary, diplomat and an infamous courtier whose influence with the aged Qianlong emperor allowed him to monopolize major governmental posts and accept bribes. When Emperor Jiaqing ascended the throne, his property was confiscated, hence the saying, "When Heshen stumbles, Jiaqing had eaten his fill." He was perhaps the earliest recorded owner of the estate. Later the garden came under Yonglin(1766-1820), Prince Qingxi, a son of Qianlong. The current name of the mansion derived from its third owner, Prince Gong, or Yixin (1833-1898), who refurbished and expanded it as it now stands.

7

锡晋斋的“晋”指晋朝陆机的《平复帖》。此帖为草隶体，共9行84字。陆机是三国西晋之交的著名文学家、文学评论家、书法家。

The "prized Jin calligraphy model" refers to the "Recover" Copy Model, featuring a cursive script of eighty-four Chinese characters in nine lines in the handwriting of Lu Ji (261-303), a renowned writer, literary critic, and calligrapher of the period that spanned the Three Kingdoms and the Western Jin.

8

原诗为“南归路极天连海，唯有相思明月同”。

The original poem goes as 南归路极天连海，唯有相思明月同**.**

9

传说此为《红楼梦》女主人公居处。

Legend has it that the lodge was where the heroine of the novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* lived.

10

传说此为《红楼梦》男主人公居处。

As the legend goes, the court was where the protagonist of the novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* lived.

11

实际上，嘉庆帝只赐给庆禧王半个和珅的宅子，因为和孝公主与其夫丰绅殷德居于另一半宅子中。公主殁于道光三年（1823年），宅子才完全归到庆禧王名下，可惜庆禧王已于三年前逝去。

As a matter of fact, only half of Heshen's mansion was given by Emperor Jiaqing to Prince Qingxi, because Princess Hexiao and her husband Fengshenyinde were living in the other half of it. It was not until the princess' death in 1823 that the whole estate came under the name of Prince Qingxi, who died three years earlier though.

12

单士元，文物专家，致力于文物研究和保护，为明清建筑、档案研究做出了突出贡献。其《恭王府沿革考略》（陈从周先生或许将名字简记为《恭王府考》）一文发表于1938年，当时，此园为辅仁大学校舍。

Shan Shiyuan (1907-1998), a cultural relics expert. Devoted to the research and protection of cultural relics, he did great contribution to the

study of architecture and archives of the Ming and the Qing. Shan's article, "A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion" (Mr. Chen Congzhou, could have remembered the name of the article as "A Study of Prince Gong's Mansion" for short), was published in 1938 when the estate served as the schoolhouse of Fu Jen University.

13

纳兰明珠，康熙帝时的重臣。传说，其宅子的西花园即为《红楼梦》大观园的原型。其子纳兰性德，字容若，是个才华横溢的诗人。据说性德是《红楼梦》主角贾宝玉的原型。

Nalanmingzhu (1635-1708), one of the influential officials under the reign of Emperor Kangxi. It is said that the western garden in his mansion was the prototype of the Grand View Garden in Cao Xueqin's *A Dream of Red Mansions* . Mingzhu's son, Nalanxingde (1655-1685), style name, a talented poet, was said to be the prototype of Jia Baoyu, the protagonist of the novel.

14

俞铭衡，字平伯，现代诗人、文人、红学家，晚清著名学者俞樾曾孙。好昆曲，其妻许宝驯乃业余昆曲家。随昆曲大家吴梅、陈延甫拍曲。1934年仲夏夜，与陈在清华工字厅举行曲集，次年初春第二次雅集。

Yu Mingheng (1900-1990), style name Pingbo, a modern poet, man of letters and Redologist. A great-grandson of Yu Yue (1821-1907), a renowned scholar of the late Qing, he was also a Kunqu Opera enthusiast together with his wife, Xu Baoxun (1895-1982), a better opera amateur. He learned singing the opera from two masters, Wu Mei

(1884-1939) and Chen Yanfu (*fl* . early 20th century). On a mid-summer night in 1934, Yu and Chen hosted a gathering of Kunqu Opera fans in the I-Shaped Parlor of Tsinghua University, which was followed by a second gathering in early spring the following year.

15

金山寺住持法海将其丈夫诱到寺内，白娘子为救夫君才水淹金山寺。

In order to save her husband, who was lured into the Golden Hill Temple by its abbot Dharma Sea, the White Maiden practiced witchcraft to flood the temple.

16

东汉末期三国鼎立，刘备为蜀国的开国之君。在孙权安排下，刘备娶了孙权妹妹。传说，刘备于甘露寺初见孙母，孙母满意异常，答应了女儿的婚事。这个传说虽不尽真实，却因《三国演义》和同名京剧而在民间广为流传。

Liu Bei (161-223), founder of the Shu Kingdom (221-263), one of the Three Kingdoms into which China was divided toward the end of the Eastern Han. Under Sun Quan's arrangement, Liu married Sun's sister. It is said that Liu first met Sun's mother in the Sweet Dew Temple. The old lady, feeling satisfied with Liu, agreed to her daughter's marriage. The story about the Temple, though not necessarily real, was widely known in the past, thanks partly to the influence of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and of a Peking opera (actually an act of the whole play) named after this Temple.

17

孙权，三国吴的开国君主。吴国位于华东南京附近，建于222年，亡于280年。吴国都城建业即今天的南京。孙吴蜀汉势不两立，孙权安排妹妹婚事应出于政治军事目的。

Sun Quan (182-252), the founding emperor of the Wu, one of the Three Kingdoms. His kingdom occupied the area in eastern China around Nanjing and lasted from 222 to 280. Its capital, Jianye, was in present-day Nanjing. Sun arranged his sister's marriage probably for political-military purposes because Sun and Liu were rivaling rulers.

Summer Palace, Beijing 颐和园

1

米万钟，号友石，明末画家、书法家、造园家。书画家米芾后裔，亦是北京海淀勺园主人，北京大学校园里的夕园亦为其所规划。

Mi Wanzhong (1570-1628), sobriquet Youshi (A Pal of Rocks), a painter and calligrapher, garden designer in the late Ming. A descendant of the reputed calligrapher and painter Mi Fu (1051-1107), he was the owner of the Ladle-ofWater Garden in Haidian district, Beijing. The Sunset Garden on the Peking University campus is also a famous example of the gardens he designed.

2

陶渊明，即陶潜，东晋末至南朝宋伟大的山水诗人。中国第一位田园诗人，被称为“古今隐逸诗人之宗”。

Tao Yuanming (c. 365-427), aka Tao Qian, a great landscape poet of the interregnum between the Eastern Jin and the Song of the Southern

Dynasties. The first landscape poet China ever produced, he is considered the great master of recluse poetry past and present.

3

瓮山是燕山余脉，金海指山前的湖。乾隆帝为母做寿，将山改名“万寿山”，将湖改名“昆明湖”。

The "Jug Hill" is an extension of the Yanshan Mountain, and the "Gold Sea" refers to the lake in front of it. Emperor Qianlong renamed the hill "Longevity Hill" and the lake "Kunming Lake" to mark his mother's birthday.

Mountain Summer Resort, Chengde 避暑山庄

1

【从周案十七】《四库全书》是清代乾隆年间（公元1772—1782年）编的一部大型丛书，内容广泛，保存并整理了大量中国古籍文献。全书共收古籍3503种，79337卷。分经史子集四部，故名《四库全书》。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 17] The largest collection of books in Chinese history, the *Complete Library of Four Branches of Books* features 79,000 chapters in 36,000 volumes and was produced in seven manuscript copies between 1773 and 1782 by more than 3,800 scribes. The four branches are: warehouse, storehouse, treasury and repository, which are in correspondence to the imperial library divisions of "Classics" (Chinese classic texts), "Histories" (histories and geographies in Chinese history), "Masters" (philosophers, artists, and scientists in Chinese philosophy, and "Collections" (anthologies of Chinese

literature). The collection stored in the Belvedere of Literary Way (built in 1774-1775) was completed in 1784 as the fourth copy, the best preserved of all the copies. It was transported back to Beijing and kept in the Capital Library in 1914; today, it is housed in the China National Library, Beijing.

On Gardens 1　说园

1

【从周案十八】此文系作者1978年春应上海植物园所请的讲话稿，经整理而成。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 18] This article is adapted from a speech delivered at the invitation of Shanghai Botanical Garden in 1978.

2

《论语·子路第十三》：朋友切切偲偲，兄弟怡怡。

The Analects (Book Thirteen): "Critical and exacting with regard to the conduct of his friends; indulgent towards his brothers."

3

【从周案十九】见刘蓉峰（恕）《寒碧山庄记》："予因而葺之，拮据五年，粗有就绪。以其中多植白皮松，故名寒碧庄。罗致太湖石颇多，皆无甚奇，乃于虎阜之阴砂碛中获见一石笋，广不满二尺，长几二丈。询之土人，俗呼为斧擘石，盖川产也。不知何人辇至卧于此间，亦不知历几何年。予以百觚艘载归，峙于寒碧庄听雨楼之西。自下而窥，有干霄之势，因以为名。"此隶书石刻残碑，我于1975年12月发现，今存留园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 19] Liu Shu (1759-1816), style name Rongfeng, "Notes on the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode": "To restore [the Mountain Abode], I toiled for five years until everything fell roughly into place. As I had planted many lacebark pines on the premises, I named it 'Abode of Wintry Emerald.' I had also erected quite a few Lake Tai rocks there, but none of them looked interesting until I came across a stalagmite no more than two feet in girth and some seven yards in length in a pile of sand and gravel at the north of the Tiger Hill. A local man told me that it probably came from Sichuan and they called it 'Axe-wrought Stone,' but nobody knew when it was carted to the place and by whom. I had the stalagmite shipped with a boat one hundred gu [One gu equals three liters] in loading capacity and erected to the west of the Listening-to-Rain Loft at the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode. When observed at its foot, it seems to be soaring into the skies. Hence its name." I found a fragment of this stalagmite inscribed in the official script, during a December 1975 visit, which can still be seen in the Lingering Garden today.

4

秦耀，明万历年间右副都御史、湖广巡抚，因诬陷获罪。获释回原籍无锡，继承曾叔祖秦金别业，秦金乃北宋秦观后人。他重整园林成二十景，并寄情其间。感于王羲之《答许椽》中“取欢仁智乐，寄畅山水阴”的旨趣，给园子起名寄畅园。

When Qin Yao (1544-1604) was released from prison after losing his positions as censor-in-chief and governor of the Hu-Guang region on false charges during the Wanli reign (1573-1620) of the Ming, he returned to Wuxi, his hometown, and settled down in a garden left

behind by his paternal great granduncle Qin Jin (1467-1544), a descendent of the Northern Song poet Qin Guan (1049-1100). He rebuilt the garden and sought solace from the twenty new sights he had built into it. Inspired by the line, "I delight myself from the joy of benevolence and knowledge, and find solace in the coolness of mountain and water" in the sage calligrapher Wang Xizhi's poem, "In Reply to Xu Chuan," he gave the garden its present name, "Solace-Imbued Garden."

5

苏轼，《咏芍药》：多谢化工怜寂寞，尚留芍药殿春风。
Su Shi (1037-1101), "Ode to Herbaceous Peony": "Thanks to the Creator who, lest the goddess of spring feel lonely, leaves peony to bring up the rear of spring wind."

6

西泠饭店建于1962年，七层，西式风格。1985年并入香格里拉饭店，成为其东翼。
The Xiling Hotel is a seven-storied structure in Western style built in 1962, but its name has gradually fallen into oblivion after it was incorporated into the ShangriLa Hotel and renamed "Eastern Wing" in 1985.

7

园名来自蠡湖，蠡湖形状颇似一只蚌壳挖出的浅勺。明末，人们附会蠡园与范蠡有关。范蠡为春秋末期军事家，辅佐越王勾践灭吴后，与西施泛舟湖上。
The garden is named after the Ladle Lake, which takes the shape of a

shallow ladle fashioned out of a freshwater clamshell. Toward the end of the Ming, the name was reinterpreted as "Memorial Garden of Fan Li" (536-448 BC), a celebrated strategist of the late Spring and Autumn period, who went boating on the lake with his sweetheart Xi Shi (*fl* . 5th century) after assisting Gou Jian (520-465 BC) in vanquishing the dukedom of Wu (c. 12th century-473 BC).

8

舜以天下让善卷，善卷曰："余立于宇宙之中……日出而作，日入而息，逍遥于天地之间而心意自得。吾何以天下为哉！悲夫，子之不知余也！"遂不受。于是去而入深山，莫知其处。

Some 4,000 years ago, a poet by the name of Shan Juan turned down King Shun's offer of throne to become a hermit in this cave. Hence the name. *Zhuangzi* ("Giving Away a Throne"): "Shun tried to cede the empire to Shan Ch'uan but Shan Ch'uan said, "I stand in the midst of space and time…. When the sun comes up, I work; when the sun goes down, I rest. I wander free and easy between heaven and earth, and my mind has found all that it could wish for. What use would I have for the empire? What a pity that you don't understand me!" (Trans. by Lin Yutang) In the end he would not accept, but went away, entering deep into the mountains, and no one ever knew where he had gone.

On Gardens 2　续说园

1

郑广文即为郑虔，盛唐作家、画家。天宝九年，唐玄宗设立广文馆，郑任博士。

Academician Zheng is Zheng Qian (691-759), a prominent high-Tang writer and painter. In 750, Emperor Xuanzong established the Academy for the Extension of Literary Arts with Zheng as "Chief Academician."

2

江湜，字弢叔，苏州人，清末诗人、官员，其诗语言简洁，多理学思想，亦精书画素描。诗论与当时正统不符，诗作风格多样，自成一家。

Jiang Shi (1818-1866), style name Taoshu, a native of Suzhou and a poet-official of the late Qing known primarily for his use of simple language in the general context of Neo-Confucianism. He was also expert in calligraphy, line drawing and brush painting. His theoretical views on poetry did not conform to the orthodox of his time, and his varied poetic styles established him as a master of poetry in his own right.

3

东晋画家顾恺之尝为西晋裴楷画像，颊上添三毛。问之，答曰益觉有神。

When the legendary figure painter Gu Kaizhi (c. 344-406) of the Eastern Jin (317-420) did a portrait of Pei Kai (237-291), a prominent official of the Western Jin(266-316), he added three hairs to Pei's cheek. When asked why, Gu replied that the addition embodied exactly the man's ability and insight, and it was a lot better than without the three hairs.

4

张岱，号陶庵，明清之际散文家、史学家，亦通茶道。江苏绍兴人

士，以《陶庵梦忆》《西湖梦寻》最为人知，文字清新活泼，形象生动。

Zhang Dai (1597-1689), sobriquet Taoan, a prose writer and historian who is also well-versed in tea ceremony in the Ming-Qing period. A native from Shaoxing, Zhejiang province, he is best known for the refreshingly lucid, lively and vivid writing style of his two essay collections, *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an and Searching for the West Lake in Dreams* .

5

龚自珍，浙江杭州人，清朝思想家、诗人、改良主义先驱。以《己亥杂诗》名世，述其仕途不顺之意。

Gong Zizhen (1792-1841), a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, was a thinker, poet, and reformist of the Qing. He is most remembered for his *Miscellaneous Poems Written in a Year of* "Ji-hai," in which he vented his frustrations with officialdom.

6

徐凝，《忆扬州》：天下三分明月夜，二分无赖是扬州。

Xu Ning (*fl* . 9th century), "Remembering Yangzhou": "If the shiny moon's light is to be divided into three shares under heaven, Yangzhou won't be happy even if offered two thirds of it."

7

钟惺，字伯敬，明末散文家。万历四十七年，游友人许自昌的梅花墅，三年后撰成《梅花墅记》。

Zhong Xing (1574-1624), style name Bojing, a prose writer of the late

Ming. He visited the Plum Flower Villa as a friend of its first owner Xu Zichang (1578-1623) in 1619 and wrote these notes three years later.

8

三吴指吴郡、吴兴、会稽三地，是一个地理统称，自晋以来沿用。今指代江南地区。

The "three former Wu counties," referring to the three former counties of Wujun, Wuxing and Kuaiji, is a collective geographic term handed down from the Jin(265-420). Nowadays it is a byname for the Jiangnan area.

9

甫里即今日苏州吴中区角直镇。

Fuli is Luzhi in present-day Wuzhong district, Suzhou.

10

童寯，建筑学家、建筑教育家。对东西现代建筑颇有研究，吸收西方建筑理论和技巧，发展了中国建筑。20世纪30年代研究古典园林，写成《造园史纲》和《江南园林志》。

Tong Jun (1900-1983), an architect and educator in architecture. An accomplished researcher on contemporary architecture in the East and the West, he contributed a lot to developing Chinese architecture by drawing on Western architecture theories and techniques. His studies of traditional gardens in the 1930s culminated in two writings, *An Outline of the History of Garden-Making* and *A Record of Jiangnan Gardens* .

11

杨兆鲁，近园主人。园建成后，邀请画家恽格、王翚、笪重光等雅集园内。杨作《近园记》，王作《近园图》，恽书石，笪为之题跋。

Yang Zhaolu (*fl* . 17th century), the owner of the Approximate Garden. Upon completion of the garden, he invited calligraphers and painters for a gathering of forty or so days, which produced a record written by himself and inscribed in stone in the handwriting of Yun Ge (1633-1690), and a painting by Wang Hui(1632-1717), with a colophon by Da Chongguang (1623-1692).

12

梁思成，梁启超之子，建筑家、建筑教育家，中国营造学社创始人。营造学社对研究古代中国建筑作出重大贡献。与妻子林徽因参与设计了国徽和人民英雄纪念碑。伉俪二人保护古建筑，研究古代建筑，为人所敬仰。

Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), an architect and educator in architecture, one of the initiators of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture which did a considerable share in the studies of ancient Chinese architecture. A son of Liang Qichao (1873-1929), Sicheng was deeply involved in the designing of the emblem of China and the Monument to the People's Heroes together with his first wife Lin Huiyin (1904-1955). The couple are always remembered for their effort in the protection of ancient structures and their work in ancient Chinese architecture.

On Gardens 3　说园（三）

1

李商隐，字义山，晚唐诗人，擅长讽刺诗、幽默诗、情感诗，但部分诗歌以过于隐晦迷离，难于理解。

Li Shangyin (813-858), style name Yishan, a late-Tang poet who is remembered for his satirical, humorous or sentimental poems, which, however, are often too allusive and obscure to be understood.

2

四王指王时敏（四人中年最长、成就最高）、王鉴（清朝推翻明朝后，由官员转为书画家）、王原祁（王时敏之孙）、王翚（王鉴、王时敏之徒，吸收古画的画法、布局、色彩等终成清初画圣）。与四王迥异的是同时代的四僧：石涛、朱耷、髡残、弘仁。四僧重视对生活、自然的真实感受，强调独抒性灵。

This refers to the four painters surnamed Wang, namely Wang Shimin (1592-1680), the oldest and most accomplished of the four; Wang Jian (1598-1677), a lateMing official who became a calligrapher and painter after the Ming was toppled by the Qing; Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), who was Wang Shimin's grandson; and Wang Hui (1632-1717), a disciple of Wang Jian and Wang Shimin who drew on the approaches, layouts and coloration of ancient paintings and eventually established himself as the "Sage Painter of the early Qing." Categorically different from the Four Wangs are their contemporary Four Monk Painters, Shitao, Zhu Da (c. 1626-1705), Kuncan (1612-1692) and Hongren (1610-1664), who advocated the painters' own feelings about life and nature with an unrestrained style.

3

晏殊，婉约派词人，北宋宰相。

Yan Shu (991-1055), a lyrical poet of the euphemistic and graceful school, and a high official who once served as a prime minister for a Northern Song emperor.

4

常建，盛唐诗人，诗作以田园风光主题为多。

Chang Jian (*fl* . 8th century), a poet of the high Tang whose main themes are rural sceneries and landscape.

5

马致远，元代著名戏曲家。因《天净沙·秋思》被称为秋思之祖。

Ma Zhiyuan (*c* . 1250-*c* . 1324), a renowned playwright of the Yuan whose poem "Autumn Nostalgia: To the tune of Heaven-Cleansed Sand" has established him as the "Father of Autumn Nostalgia."

6

叶梦珠，明代松江人，年十二往上海私塾就读，据其康熙二十七年《续编绥寇纪略》自序推知，康熙中叶尚在世。

Ye Mengzhu (1623-?), a native of Songjiang county who was educated during the Ming at age twelve in a private school in Shanghai and became an active writer who, judging from his 1688 preface to *A Sequel to Brief Records of Pacification of Bandits* , was still around during the mid-Kangxi reign.

7

恽格，字寿平，号南田，清初书画家，常州画派开山鼻祖。此段引自其《拙政园图》跋。

Yun Ge (1633-1690), style name Shouping, sobriquet Nantian, a calligrapher and painter of the early Qing and founder of the Changzhou school of painting. This passage is quoted from the colophon to his "Picture of the Humble Administrator's Garden."

8

《庄子·秋水》：庄子与惠子游于濠梁之上。庄子曰："儵鱼出游从容，是鱼之乐也。"惠子曰："子非鱼，安知鱼之乐？"庄子曰："……我知之濠上也。"

Zhuangzi ("Autumn Floods"): Zhuangzi and Huizi were strolling along the dam of the Hao River when Zhuangzi said, "See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That's what fish really enjoy!" Huizi said, "You're not a fish—how do you know what fish enjoy?" Zhuangzi said, "… I know it by standing here beside the Hao."

9

贯休，俗名姜德隐，浙江兰溪人，唐末五代初期画僧。

Guanxiu (823-912) was the monastic name of Jiang Deyin, a native of present-day Lanxi, Zhejiang province, and a famous monk painter active during the late Tang and the early Five Dynasties.

On Gardens 4　说园（四）

1

钱澄之，号田间老人，明末爱国志士、文学家，诗文尤负重名。

Qian Chengzhi (1612-1693), sobriquet Farmfield Oldie, a patriotic fighter of the late Ming and an outstanding man of letters who had a

major impact on Chinese poetry.

2

范允临，号长白，明代书画家，范仲淹17世孙，徐泰时（留园第一任园主）女婿。

Fan Yunlin (1558-1641), sobriquet Changbai, a calligrapher and painter of the Ming, the 17th-generation grandson of Fan Zhongyan (989-1052), and son-in-law of Xu Taishi (1540-1598), the first owner of the Lingering Garden.

3

毛奇龄，字大可，号西河先生（郡望西河），康熙十八年举博学鸿儒科，授翰林院检讨、国史馆纂修等职。所著《西河合集》分经集、史集、文集、杂著，共四百余卷。

Mao Qiling (1623-1716), style name Dake, style name Master of Xihe (for the Maos were a prominent family in Xihe), an economist who was appointed Erudite Literatus and Examining Editor of the Imperial Academy for the compilation of the *Ming History* in 1679, the 18th year of the Kangxi reign. *The Collected Works of Xihe* of over 400 volumes contains his writings on Confucian classics, history, prose, poetry, and many other fields.

4

店名来自南宋林升《题临安邸》诗句：山外青山楼外楼，西湖歌舞几时休。

The name of this restaurant is derived from the poem "Inscription on a Mansion in Lin'an" by Lin Sheng (*fl* . 12th century) of the Southern

Song, "Mountain beyond mountain, loft beyond loft; / When could singing and dancing stop at West Lake?"

5

排云殿名字源自郭璞诗句：神仙排云山，但见金银台。

The name of this building, Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds, is derived from the lines in a poem by Guo Pu (276-324), "As immortals line up in clouds that enshroud a mountain, all they could see are terraces of gold and silver."

6

王西野，系作者同济大学建筑系同事，对中国古典文学、美术史、古建筑及园林艺术均深具造诣，兼擅书画。

Wang Xiye (1914-1997), a colleague of the author in Architecture Department, Tongji University, was well versed in classical Chinese literature, fine arts history, classical architecture, calligraphy, painting and landscape gardening.

7

王珣，字元琳，东晋大臣、书法家，出身琅琊王氏，与王羲之同宗。工草书，其《伯远帖》为三希帖之一，历来为书家所重。其祠堂在苏州。

Wang Xun (350-401), style name Yuanlin, an Eastern-Jin official and calligrapher who hailed from a family of renowned calligraphers including Wang Xizhi (303-361). An expert in the cursive script, he was author of *Letter to Boyuan Copy Model*, one of the Three Rare Calligraphic Copy Models revered by calligraphers through the

generations. The temple in honor of him is located in Suzhou.

8

汪琬，苏州人，清初学者、散文家。此诗提及两处苏州名胜：长洲苑、短簿祠。

Wang Wan (1624-1691), a native of Suzhou, a scholar and prose writer of the early Qing. He mentioned in this poem two places of historic interests, the Long Isle Garden and Short Magistrate's Temple.

9

陈鹏年，湖南湘潭人，进士出身，历任要职，卒于河道总督任上。

Chen Pengnian (1663-1723), a native of Xiangtan in Hunan, a scholar-official who was a metropolitan graduate of top-level imperial examinations, had served a series of government posts before he died in his tenure as Waterway Superintendent.

10

据传，吴王阖闾在此以三千宝剑殉葬。后世秦始皇、孙权等凿石求剑，遂成深池。

It is said that 3,000 swords were buried at the site as funerary objects for Helü(514-496 BC), a king of Wu. The pool was resulted from diggings by later rulers like Qinshihuang (259-210 BC) and Sun Quan (182-252 BC) in search of treasures here.

11

西施，本名施夷光，亦称西子，春秋末期绝代佳人。此处借指荷花。

Xi Shi (*fl* . 5th century BC), original name Shi Yiguang, also known as Xizi, was a stunning beauty who lived during the late Spring and Autumn period, but here her name is used as a figure of speech for lotus flowers.

12

光绪十年，凤六泗兵备道任兰生落职，归乡同里退思补过，建退思园。退思园为世界文化遗产。

After Ren Lansheng (1837-1888) was impeached and dismissed from his position as superintendent of the Military Defense Circuit of Fengyang, Liu'an and Sizhou Prefectures in 1879, the tenth year of the Guangxu reign, he returned to his hometown Tongli to reflect upon his errors, and named the garden he had built there Retreat and Reflection Garden, now a UNESCO Cultural Heritage Site.

13

许宗彦，号周生，好藏书，精天文历算。

Xu Zongyan (1768-1818), sobriquet Zhousheng, a book collector well versed in astronomy, calendric system and arithmetic.

14

齐鲁指今山东，地域大抵为先秦齐鲁两国所辖。公元前256年楚国灭鲁，公元前221年秦国灭齐。

Qi-Lu is a byname of present-day Shandong province, whose land largely belonged to the states of Qi and Lu in the pre-Qin period. The state of Lu was wiped out by the state of Chu in 256 BC, and the state of Qi met its demise at the hands of the state of Qin in 221 BC.

15

岩山东北一支，伸入江中，成一巨石，高36米。山石直立江上，三面临空，形似燕子展翅欲飞，故名燕子矶。

The northeastern end of the Limestone Hill stretches into the Yangtze, resulting in a boulder 36 meters tall that overlooks the river like a swallow to be on the wing. Hence the name, Swallow-Shaped Boulder.

16

阮元，清学者、文学家、思想家。疏浚西湖，淤泥筑成阮公墩。

Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), a scholar, man of letters and thinker of the Qing, bestowed upon posterity the "Ruan's Mound" made of the West Lake-bottom silt.

17

郁达夫，中国20世纪20年代著名短篇小说作家，创造社发起人之一，提倡现代文学。其首部短篇小说集，是中国现代文学史上第一部白话短篇小说集。

Yu Dafu (1896-1945), a popular short-story writer of the 1920s in China, a founding member of the Creation Society devoted to the promotion of modern literature, and author of modern China's first collection of vernacular short stories.

18

建康，今南京，孙吴、东晋、刘宋、萧齐、萧梁、陈朝六代京师之地。

Jiankang, present-day Nanjing, was the capital city of the Kingdom of

Wu (222-280) of the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), the Eastern Jin (317-420), as well as the Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Chen (557-589) of the Southern Dynasties period (420-589).

19

韦庄，晚唐诗人，韦应物（盛唐田园诗人）四世孙。

Wei Zhuang (836-910), a poet of the late Tang and a fourth-generation grandson of Wei Yingwu (737-792), a pastoral and scenic poet of the high Tang.

20

蒲松龄，清代小说家，著有短篇小说集《聊斋志异》。

Pu Songling (1640-1715), a novelist of the Qing who authored the famous collection of short stories *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* .

21

王时敏曾任太常寺卿，此职原名奉常，故称其为奉常公。

Wang Shimin once served as a Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, originally known as Flagbearer, hence the address Respected Flagbearer.

22

五岳指东岳泰山（山东）、西岳华山（陕西）、南岳衡山（湖南）、北岳恒山（山西）、中岳嵩山（河南）。

The Five Holy Mountains are Mount Tai in Shandong province to the east; Mount Huashan in Shaanxi province to the west; Mount Hengshan

in Hunan province to the south; Mount Hengshan in Shanxi province to the north; and Mount Songshan in Henan province in the center.

On Gardens 5 说园（五）

1

李思训，中唐山水画家，明代画家董其昌推其为山水画北宗之祖。其子昭道亦善丹青。父子并称大小李将军。

Li Sixun (651-716), a mid-Tang landscape painter whom the Ming painter Dong Qichang (1555-1636) lauded as the father of the Northern School of Chinese painting. His son Li Zhaodao (*fl* . 7th century) was another famous landscape painter. Father and son are popularly known together as Senior and Junior Generals Li.

2

左思，字太冲，西晋文学家。其《三都赋》，大家竞相传抄，一时洛阳纸贵。

Zuo Si (250-305), style name Taichong, a major prose-poet of the Western Jin (265-316), whose long work, "Three Capitals Rhapsody," was copied by so many people that paper fell into short supply in the capital city of Luoyang.

3

沈秉成，苏松太兵备道，光绪二年于一废园上建成此园，与第三任妻子严永华居此八载。沈曾给豫园点春堂题堂匾。

Shen Bingcheng (1823-1895), superintendent of the Suzhou-Songjiang Military Defense Circuit, built this garden on a deserted one in 1876,

where he lived a hermit's life with his third wife Yan Yonghua for eight years. It is Shen who wrote the horizontal board of the Spring Adorning Hall in the Gratification Garden.

4

伊东忠太，日本建筑师、建筑史学家，日本20世纪初顶级建筑史和建筑理论家。常盘大定，研究中国佛教，1920年至逝世前，五次赴中国调查，著成《支那佛教史迹》《支那佛教史迹踏查记》。关野贞，建筑史学家，为中国建筑、文化遗产的分类和历史研究作出了贡献。

Itō Chūta (1867-1954), a Japanese architect, architectural historian, and critic who is recognized as the leading architect and architectural theorist of early 20thcentury imperial Japan; Tokiwa Daijō (1870-1945) devoted much of his life to the study of Chinese Buddhism, visited China five times between 1920 and his death, and authored *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki* (6 vols., 1925-1929) and *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki Tōsaki* (1938), among others; Sekino Tadashi (1868–1935) was an architectural historian, and one of the influential minds behind the classification and historical studies of Chinese architectural and cultural legacies.

Poetry, Prose, Craft of Gardens 中国诗文与中国园林艺术

1

汤显祖，明代戏曲家，以《紫钗记》《南柯记》《邯郸记》《牡丹亭》四剧闻名。

Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), a great playwright of the Ming who made a name for himself with a collection of four major dramas, *The Story of*

the Purple Hairpin, *A Dream under a Southern Bough*, *A Dream in Handan* , and the all-time famous *The Peony Pavilion* .

2

此名源自韩愈《秋怀诗十一首》的第五首：归愚识夷涂，汲古得修绠。

This name is derived from the fifth poem of "Autumn Remembrances: Eleven Poems" by Han Yu (768-824): "Even a foolish man knows how to find the road home; one can always enrich his learning with literature the way he draws water from a deep well with a long rope."

3

作者原文作"怡园"，疑为纳兰明珠的"自怡园"。明珠是康熙帝的堂姑父，曾任大学士。

Chen Congzhou's original text put the name as 怡园, but it is supposed to be 自怡园 in Beijing, owned by Nalanmingzhu, an uncle of Kangxi and once a Grand Secretary of the emperor.

4

园子最初由曹雪芹祖父曹寅所建，曾是江南最大园林。康熙年间，第二任园主为织造，隋氏，改名隋园。后袁枚买下，易名随，取"适应"之意。

Originally built around 1706 by Cao Yin (1658-1712), Cao Xueqin's grandfather, the garden was for a time the largest in the Jiangnan area. By the Kangxi reign, its second owner, an imperial silk manufacturing superintendent surnamed Sui, renamed it "Sui's Garden." Yuan Mei, its third owner, changed its name with a homophone, sui, meaning

"accommodation."

5

文震孟，文徵明曾孙，震亨之兄，万历四十八年在醉颖堂基础上构药圃。康熙十二年，园主姜实节更名艺圃。

On the premises of the Hall of Drunken Talent, Wen Zhenmeng (1574-1636), a great-grandson of Wen Zhengming and elder brother of Wen Zhenheng, built the Herbal Garden in 1620. It was not until 1673 that its owner Jiang Shijie (1647-1709) gave it the present name of the Garden of Cultivation.

6

俞振飞，20世纪上半叶最杰出的昆曲大师。古典文学修养极高，将京剧、昆曲精华熔于一炉，舞台表演儒雅、深邃、有活力。在业内以“儒雅表演”著称。

Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993), the best-known maestro of Kunqu Opera in the first half of the 20th century. Well accomplished in classic literature, he blended perfectly the quintessence of Peking Opera and Kunqu Opera and imbued his stage performances with cultural refinement, elegance, profundity and vigor. He was especially celebrated for his "scholarly theatric rendition" in the opera circle.

7

俞宗海，字粟庐，晚清金石学家、书法家、昆曲名家，俞振飞之父。光绪年间任张履谦家塾师达四十年之久。

Yu Zonghai (1847-1930), style name Sulu, an epigrapher, calligrapher and Kunqu Opera master of the late Qing and father of Yu Zhenfei. He

was the private tutor for Zhang Lüqian's family for almost forty years during the Guangxu reign.

8

光绪三年，苏州盐商张履谦置产，日后成为拙政园西部。两年后，他邀请顾沄、陆廉夫、俞宗海等书画家、昆曲家谋划，根据文徵明所绘此园三十一幅图画及其《王氏拙政园记》对园子大加修葺，十年后得成补园。

In 1877, Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), a salt merchant in Suzhou, bought the estate that was to become the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. Accepting suggestions of painters, calligraphers and Kunqu masters such as Gu Yun (1835-1896), Lu Lianfu (1851-1920) and Yu Zonghai, availing himself of the thirty-one pictures of the Humble Administrator's Garden done by Wen Zhengming and Wen's "Record of the Wang's Humble Administrator's Garden,”he refurbished the property on a large scale in 1879, and completed the Additional Garden a decade later.

9

吴文英，号梦窗，南宋末年词人。其《梦窗词》收词340首，数量仅次于辛弃疾的《稼轩长短句》（573首）。

Wu Wenying (c. 1200-1260), sobriquet Mengchuang, a lyical poet toward the end of the Southern Song. His *Mengchuang's Lyrical Poems* features more than 340 elegant lyrical poems, second only to *Jiaxuan's Lyrical Poems* , a collection of Xin Qiji's 573 lyrical poems.

Gardens and Landscape Painting 园林与山水画

1

王蒙，号黄鹤山樵，书画家赵孟頫　外孙。元四家中属第二代，集诸家之长自创风格。倪瓒笔法疏简，王蒙则用墨稠密。

Wang Meng (1308-1385), sobriquet Woodcutter from Yellow Crane Mountain, a grandson of the great painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322). Though belonging in the second generation of the Big Four, he developed a personal style without so much as emulating ancient masters. Unlike Ni Zan's typically thin and spare strokes, his thick and dense brushwork is achieved through profuse use of ink.

2

李成，北宋初期画家，开创齐鲁画派，其独创的营丘（李成出生地，今山东青州）山水画法成为后世画家楷模。董源，南唐李璟时任北苑（今福建建瓯）副使，南派山水画开山鼻祖，与范宽、李成并称北宋三大家。黄公望，号大痴道人，元四家之一，作《富春山居图》。此画清初焚烧成两段，现一段藏台北，一段藏浙江。

Li Cheng (919-967), a painter living in the early years of the Northern Song, who founded the Qi-Lu school of Chinese painting. The techniques he invented for his paintings of the extensive and misty woodland of Yingqiu (his birthplace in present-day Qingzhou, Shandong) are still being emulated by landscape painters today. Dong Yuan (?-*c* . 962) once served as vice-commissioner of Beiyuan (presentday Jian'ou, Fujian province) under the reign of Li Jing (916-961) of the Southern Tang; as the father of the Southern school of Chinese landscape painting, he was celebrated as one of the Three Master Painters of the early Northern Song along with Fan Kuan (?-1031) and Li Cheng. The "Great Eccentric Taoist" is the sobriquet of

Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), a famed painter and calligrapher among the Four Master Painters of the Yuan (1279-1368), and painter of *Abode in the Fuchun Mountain* , a precious painting that was burned in two in early Qing, with one section kept in Taibei and the other section in Zhejiang now.

Gardens and Kunqu Opera: Beauty's Tour de Force 园林美与昆曲美

1

朱自清，散文家、诗人、学者，新中国成立前民主主义战士。1927年于清华执教，作《荷塘月色》，遂成名篇。

Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948), an essayist, poet, scholar and staunch fighter for democracy in pre-1949 years who composed "Moonlight over the Lotus Pond,”one of his most famous essays, as a professor of Tsinghua in 1927.

2

梅兰芳，舞台表演艺术家、京剧大师、唱念做打绝佳。祖、父皆为京剧名家，主攻旦角，与荀慧生、尚小云、程砚秋合称四大名旦。表演风格独特，称为梅派。

Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), a theatrical performer, one of the most reputed Peking Opera artists and one of the greatest singer-actor-dancers in Chinese history. The son and grandson of noted opera singers, Mei played mostly female roles, becoming one of the Four Superstars in the Dan Role along with Xun Huisheng(1900-1968), Shang Xiaoyun (1900-1976) and Cheng Yanqiu (1904-1958). His distinctive style of

performance won such acclaim over the years that it came to be known as the "Mei School."

Joy of Daily Rambling of Gardens 园日涉以成趣

1

黄至筠，亦名黄应泰，字个园，个园主人，淮东淮西商总。

Geyuan is the style name of the garden's owner, Huang Zhiyun (1770-1838), General Commercial Commissioner of East and West Huai Circuits during the Jiaqing reign of the Qing. He is also known by another name Huang Yingtai.

2

陈维崧，江苏宜兴人，举博学鸿词科，授官翰林院检讨。曾至扬州与王士祯等修禊红桥。

Chen Weisong (1625-1682), a native of Yixing, Jiangsu province, and a lyrical poet and parallel prose writer who became Erudite Literatus and Examining Editor of the Imperial Academy. He joined Wang Shizhen in one of the spring outings at Rainbow Bridge in Yangzhou.

3

古代帝王、诸侯举行典礼时手执之长方形玉牌，头三角形或圆形。

A jade tablet held by ancient emperors and ministers in ceremonial services, which is rectangular with a triangular or round top.

4

【从周案二十】太湖石产于中国江苏省太湖区域，是一种多孔而玲

珑剔透的石头，多用以点缀庭院之用，是建造中国园林不可少的材料。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 20] Named after the Taihu Lake, Jiangsu province, where they are discovered, the Lake Tai stones are riddled with pores and holes and come in exquisite shapes and images through long years of washing and pounding by swift water currents. An indispensable decorative material in Chinese gardens, they are mostly used to grace courtyards and build dainty sceneries.

5

刘鹗，字铁云，清末实业家、教育家、小说家。联合国教科文组织认定其《老残游记》为世界文学名著。

Liu E (1857-1909), style name Tieyun, a businessman involved in education and novelist in the late Qing. His *The Travels of Lao Can* is designated by the UNESCO as a world classic of literature.

6

大明是宋孝武帝的年号，宋是南朝第一个朝代。

Daming is the title of the reign of Emperor Xiaowu (457-464) of the Song (420-479), the first of the four Southern Dynasties (420-589).

7

宣石产自安徽宣城、宁国山区，颜色以白为主，最适宜作表现雪景的假山或盆景石。

Produced in the mountains of Xuancheng and Ningguo counties in Anhui province, the Xuan stone is white in most cases, and makes choice material for the making of snow-crested artificial mountains or

potted miniature landscapes.

View Borrowing in Garden Architecture 建筑中的“借景”问题

1

徐弘祖，号霞客，明代地理学家、旅行家。游历广泛，著有《徐霞客游记》，记载各地人情、地理、动植物等。

Xu Hongzu (1587-1641), sobriquet Xiake, a geographer and traveler of the Ming. He traveled extensively in the country and came up with *Travel Notes of Xu Hongzu* , documenting local cultures, topography, plants and animals, etc.

2

沈复，字三白，清代文人。林语堂称其妻陈芸为“中国文学史上最可爱的女人”。

Shen Fu (1763-1825), style name Sanbai, a man of letters in the Qing. Chen Yun, his wife, was considered the most lovely woman in Chinese literary history by the translator Lin Yutang (1895-1976).

3

厉鹗，号樊榭，清代诗人，浙江杭州人。著有《宋诗纪事》《辽史拾遗》，其《樊榭山房集》十诗九山水。

Li E (1692-1752), sobriquet Fanxie, a poet in the Qing and a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. His most famous works are *Accounts of Song Poems* and *Supplements to the Liao History* , and scenic poems account for nine tenths of his *Fanxie's Mountain Abode Collection* .

4

元宗简（元八），唐朝诗人，与白居易结交二十年。传说，白居易与其邻居之前，作诗《欲与元八卜邻，先有是赠》，书写对结邻之后的美丽憧憬：明月好同三径夜，绿杨宜作两家春。

Legend has it that when Bai Juyi was to live next door to Yuan Zongjian (Yuan Eight), a pal of twenty years who was also a famed poet, he dreamed of their good days ahead in the poem "To Yuan Eight in Hope of Becoming His Neighbor," "The moon shall be as shiny as at my hermitage; the green willows shall bring vernal comfort to both families."

5

三海：指位于紫禁城和景山西边的北海、中海、南海，明清时称西苑。三海是国内现存历史悠久、规模宏大、布置精美的宫苑之一，总体布局继承了中国古代造园艺术的传统：水中布置岛屿，以桥堤同岸边相连，在岛上和沿岸布置建筑物和景点。

Three Seas, the Northern Sea, the Middle Sea and the Southern Sea located west of the Forbidden City and the Coal Hill, collectively known as the Western Garden in the Ming and the Qing. One of the oldest, largest and most splendid gardens extant in the country, the general layout of the garden conforms to the norm of traditional landscape gardening, that is, to lay islets in the water and scatter buildings and sceneries on the islets and banks which are connected by bridges and dykes.

6

袁中道，字小修，湖北公安人，明代文学家。与兄弟袁宗道、袁宏道并称公安三袁。其游记直接晓畅，日记体散文对后世文人有重大影响。

Yuan Zhongdao (1570-1626), style name Xiaoxiu, a literary figure of the Ming from Gong'an county, Hubei province. One of the Three Yuans of the Gong'an School of Literature with his two brothers, Yuan Zongdao (1560-1600) and Yuan Hongdao (1568-1610), he wrote direct and lucid travel notes and his diary-style essays have a major impact on poets and writers of later generations.

7

安徽宣城，古称宛陵，三国时亦名丹阳。东临苏浙，地近沪杭，为安徽之东南门户。

Wanling is the ancient name of Xuancheng, Anhui province, also known as Danyang during the Three Kingdoms period. Bordering Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces to the east, and in close proximity to Shanghai and Hangzhou, it is the gateway to southeast Anhui province.

8

六朝时（东吴、西晋、宋、齐、梁、陈）为帝王的游乐之地。出于帝都“四神布局”——东方青龙，西方白虎，南方朱雀，北方玄武——的需要，又由于宋元嘉年间湖中两次出现所谓的“黑龙”，湖名改为“玄武”。

A pleasure ground for feudal lords when Nanjing was the capital for the six dynasties—the Eastern Wu, the Western Jin, and the Song, Qi, Liang and Chen of the Southern Dynasties. The need to deploy the four gods of the four directions—Azure Dragon in the east, White Tiger in the

west, Vermilion Bird in the south, and Black Tortoise-Snake in the north—in the capital city, coupled with the two appearances of the "Black Dragon" in the lake during the Yuanjia reign (307-453) of the Song, prompted the rulers to rename the lake after "Xuanwu," the Black Tortoise-Snake.

9

据说，吴越王钱俶为北宋皇帝诏入京中，为保其平安返回而建此塔。

It is said that the pagoda was built in hopes of the peaceful return of Qian Chu(929-988), the last king of the Wu-Yue Kingdom, from the capital when he was summoned there by the Northern Song emperor.

10

砖框实际上为椭圆形。

Actually this brick frame is oval.

11

姚鼐，安徽桐城人，散文家，与方苞、刘大櫆并称桐城三祖。

Yao Nai (1731-1815), a prose writer and a native of Tongcheng, Anhui province, who is one of the Three Patriarchs of the Tongcheng School of prose writing, the other two being Fang Bao (1668-1749) and Liu Dakui (1698-1780).

12

明代开国皇帝朱元璋与马皇后墓，名字源于皇后谥号“孝慈皇后”。

The name of the tomb of the founding emperor of the Ming, Zhu

Yuanzhang, and Empress Ma (1331-1382), is derived from her posthumous name, "Empress of Filial Piety and Motherly Love."

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GLOSSARY　专有名词总汇

人物　Authors, Artists and Garden Owners

白居易　Bai Juyi
贝聿铭　Ieoh Ming Pei
蔡正仁　Cai Zhengren
曹雪芹　Cao Xueqin
常建　Chang Jian
常盘大定　Tokiwa Daijō
陈鸿寿　Chen Hongshou
陈康侯　Chen Kanghou
陈鹏年　Chen Pengnian
陈维崧　Chen Weisong
陈应芳　Chen Yingfang
陈之遴　Chen Zhilin
程德全　Cheng Dequan
程梦星　Cheng Mengxing
仇好石　Qiu Haoshi
崔伯亨　Cui Boheng
达桂　Da Gui
戴熙　Dai Xi
单士元　Shan Shiyuan
董道士　Taoist Priest Dong
董玉书　Dong Yushu
董源　Dong Yuan

杜甫　Du Fu
杜牧　Du Mu
范允临　Fan Yunlin
傅抱石　Fu Baoshi
高凤翥　Gao Fengzhu
戈裕良　Ge Yuliang
耿鉴庭　Geng Jianting
龚自珍　Gong Zizhen
顾辟疆　Gu Pijiang
顾文彬　Gu Wenbin
顾沄　Gu Yun
关野贞　Sekino Tadashi
贯休　Guanxiu
郭思　Guo Si
郭熙　Guo Xi
何其芳　He Qifang
何维键　He Weijian
何亚农　He Yanong
和珅　Heshen
黄公望　Huang Gongwang
黄汉侯　Huang Hanhou
黄省曾　Huang Xingzeng
黄至筠　Huang Zhijun
计成　Ji Cheng
计镇华　Ji Zhenhua
蒋科　Jiang Ke
姜夔　Jiang Kui

江湜　Jiang Shi
金安清　Jin Anqing
金立初　Jin Lichu
金农　Jin Nong
金松岑　Jin Songcen
孔武仲　Kong Wuzhong
李白　Li Bai
李成　Li Cheng
李德裕　Li Deyu
李斗　Li Dou
李格非　Li Gefei
李商隐　Li Shangyin
李思训　Li Sixun
李蔚如　Li Weiru
李渔　Li Yu
李育　Li Yu
厉鹗 Li E
梁冀　Liang Ji
梁思成　Liang Sicheng
梁孝王　Prince Xiao of Liang
凌景埏　Ling Jingyan
刘大观　Liu Daguan
刘敦桢　Liu Dunzhen
刘鹗 Liu E
刘恕　Liu Shu
卢绍绪　Lu Shaoxu
陆叠山　Lu the Rockery Piler

陆锦　Lu Jin
陆游　Lu You
骆在田　Luo Zaitian
马致远　Ma Zhiyuan
毛奇龄 Mao Qiling
梅兰芳　Mei Lanfang
梅宣义　Mei Xuanyi
梅尧臣　Mei Yaochen
米万钟　Mi Wanzhong
纳兰明珠　Nalanmingzhu
倪瓒　Ni Zan
欧阳修　Ouyang Xiu
欧阳兆熊　Ouyang Zhaoxiong
潘岳　Pan Yue
潘允端　Pan Yunduan
裴谌　Pei Chen
蒲松龄 Pu Songling
戚继光　Qi Jiguang
钱澄之　Qian Chengzhi
钱大昕　Qian Daxin
钱泳　Qian Yong
乔松年　Qiao Songnian
任传薪　Ren Chuanxin
任兰生　Ren Lansheng
阮元　Ruan Yuan
阮中　Ruan Zhong
沈秉成　Shen Bingcheng

沈复　Shen Fu

沈元禄　Shen Yuanlu

沈周　Shen Zhou

盛康　Sheng Kang

石崇　Shi Chong

石涛　Shitao

宋鲁儒　Song Luru

宋之问　Song Zhiwen

苏轼　Su Shi

苏舜钦　Su Shunqin

孙承佑　Sun Chengyou

汤显祖　Tang Xianzu

陶渊明　Tao Yuanming

田敬锡　Tian Jingxi

童寯　Tong Jun

汪伯屏　Wang Boping

汪琬　Wang Wan

汪为霖　Wang Weilin

汪应庚　Wang Yinggeng

王国维　Wang Guowei

王昆仑　Wang Kunlun

王蒙　Wang Meng

王时敏　Wang Shimin

王士祯　Wang Shizhen

王世襄　Wang Shixiang

王世贞　Wang Shizhen

王庭余　Wang Tingyu

王维　Wang Wei
王西野　Wang Xiye
王献臣　Wang Xianchen
王珣　Wang Xun
王应麟 Wang Yinglin
王原祁　Wang Yuanqi
王振世　Wang Zhenshi
韦庄　Wei Zhuang
魏次庚　Wei Cigeng
文震亨　Wen Zhenheng
吴昌硕　Wu Changshuo
吴璥　Wu Jing
吴梅　Wu Mei
吴廷扬　Wu Tingyang
吴伟业　Wu Weiye
吴文锡　Wu Wenxi
吴文英　Wu Wenying
喜仁龙 Osvald Sirén
谢溶生　Xie Rongsheng
徐弘祖　Xu Hongzu
徐勉　Xu Mian
徐泰时　Xu Taishi
徐孝穆　Xu Xiaomu
徐行健　Xu Xingjian
徐湛之　Xu Zhanzhi
许宗彦　Xu Zongyan
晏几道　Yan Jidao

晏殊　Yan Shu

杨兆鲁 Yang Zhaolu

姚鼐　Yao Nai

姚正镛　Yao Zhengyong

叶恭绰　Ye Gongchuo

叶梦珠　Ye Mengzhu

叶洮　Ye Tao

伊东忠太　Itō Chūta

余继之　Yu Jizhi

俞澂　Yu Cheng

俞铭衡　Yu Mingheng

俞同奎　Yu Tongkui

俞樾　Yu Yue

俞振飞 Yu Zhenfei

俞宗海　Yu Zonghai

庾信　Yu Xin

郁达夫　Yu Dafu

袁中道　Yuan Zhongdao

恽格　Yun Ge

臧谷　Zang Gu

曾朴　Zeng Pu

张岱　Zhang Dai

张国泰　Zhang Guotai

张涟　Zhang Lian

张履谦　Zhang Lüqian

张伦　Zhang Lun

张南阳　Zhang Nanyang

张然　Zhang Ran

张爰　Zhang Yuan

张泽　Zhang Ze

赵海山　Zhao Haishan

赵翼王　Zhao Yiwang

赵之璧　Zhao Zhibi

郑侠如　Zheng Xiaru

郑燮　Zheng Xie

郑元化　Zheng Yuanhua

郑元嗣　Zheng Yuansi

郑元勋　Zheng Yuanxun

钟惺　Zhong Xing

周馥 Zhou Fu

周密　Zhou Mi

周暹　Zhou Xian

周庠　Zhou Xiang

周煦良　Zhou Xuliang

朱长文　Zhu Changwen

朱家溍　Zhu Jiajin

朱勔　Zhu Mian

朱自清　Zhu Ziqing

祝允明　Zhu Yunming

左思　Zuo Si

著作　**Works of Literature and Art**

哀江南赋　Lament for the South

白蛇传　Legend of the White Snake
伯远帖　*Letter to Boyuan Copy Model*
钗头凤　Phoenix Hairpin
长物志　Treatise on Superfluous Things
重过何氏五首　He's Garden Revisited: Five Stanzas
重葺文园诗　Refurbishing the Literary Garden
春霁晚望　Gazing Afar after the Spring Rain
大可合集　*Collected Works of Dake*
大清工部工程做法则例　*Construction Regulations of the Ministry of Works of the Great Qing*
悼亡诗三首　Three Poems in Dirge
登泰山记　Notes on Breasting Mount Tai
滇游日记　*Diaries on Travels in Yunnan*
东城杂记　*Miscellaneous Notes on the Eastern City*
樊榭山房集　*Fanxie's Mountain Abode Collection*
浮生六记　*Six Records of a Floating Life*
辅仁学志　*Journal of Fu Jen Catholic University*
富春山居图　*Abode in the Fuchun Mountain*
个园记　Notes on the Geyuan's Garden
工段营造录　*Notes on Sections of Construction Projects*
恭王府沿革考略　A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion
龚自珍集　*Collected Works of Gong Zizhen*
古猗园记　Notes on the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos
癸辛杂识　*Miscellaneous Discoveries from Guixin Street*
邯郸记　*Record of Handan*
寒碧山庄记　Notes on the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode
汉制考　*A Study of the Han Institutions*

红楼梦　*A Dream of Red Mansions*

红楼梦人物论　*On the Figures in "A Dream of Red Mansions"*

虎门条约　Treaty of the Bogue

花间笑语　*Banters Amidst Flowers*

黄海云涛　Cloud Waves over Mount Huangshan

黄山图卷跋　Postscript to the Album of Mount Huangshan Paintings

会稽志　*Gazetteer of Kuaiji County*

己亥杂诗　*Miscellaneous Poems Written in a Year of "Ji-hai"*

稼轩长短句　*Jiaxuan's Lyrical Poems*

江都县续志　*The Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County*

江南胜迹　*Scenic Sites of the Jiangnan Area*

江南吟　Song of Jiangnan

江南园林志　*A Record of Jiangnan Gardens*

江宁条约　Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing

戒子嵩书　A Warning Letter to Song

芥子园画谱　*Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings*

金玉琐碎　*Masters of Gold and Jade in Odds and Bits*

苦瓜和尚画语录　*Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*

苦瓜小景　A Small Landscape Painting by Palsam Pear

老残游记　*Travels of Lao Can*

乐郊园分业记　Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights

梁书　*Book of Liang*

辽史拾遗　*Supplements to the Liao History*

聊斋志异　*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*

林泉高致集　*The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*

漏窗　*Latticed Windows*

庐山草堂记　Notes on the Thatched Hut on Mount Lushan

履园丛话　*A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*
洛阳名园记　*A Record of the Celebrated Gardens in Luoyang*
梅花墅记　Notes on the Plum Flower Villa
孟子　*Mencius*
梦窗词　*Mengchuang's Lyrical Poems*
名胜园亭图说　*An Illustrated Manual on Scenic Gardens and Pavilions*
牡丹亭　*The Peony Pavilion*
南柯记　*The Record of Southern Bough*
南巡盛典　*Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours*
能改斋漫录　*Random Notes of "That Can Also Be Changed" Studio*
孽海花　*A Flower in the Sea of Sin*
瓯香馆集　*A Compendium of Fragrant Cup Studio*
陪郑广文游何将军山林十首　Visiting General He's Wooded Mountains as Companion to Academician Zheng: Ten Stanzas
平复帖　*"Recover" Copy Model*
平山览胜志　*Records of the Mountain-Level Hall*
平山堂图志　*An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*
平山堂小志　*A Compact Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*
人间词话　*Poetic Remarks on the Human World*
日涉园笔记　*Jottings from the Daily Rambler's Garden*
三国演义　*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*
三字经　"Three Character Classic"
芍药谱　*Compendium of Herbaceous Peony*
绍兴府志　*Gazetteer of Shaoxing Prefecture*
石涛上人年谱　*A Chronicle of Shitao the Venerable Buddhist*
水窗春呓　*A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window*
说文解字　*Interpreting and Dissecting the Chinese Characters*

说园　*On Gardens*

思归引序　Preface to Longing to Return

四库全书　*Complete Library of Four Branches of Books*

宋诗纪事　*Accounts of Song Poems*

宋书　*Book of Song*

送孟浩然之广陵　Seeing Meng Haoran off to Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower

岁暮梦游沈氏园　Touring Shen's Garden in a Year-End Dream

桃花源记　The Peach Blossom Spring

陶庵梦忆　*Dreamy Memories from the Studio of Contentment*

题破山寺后禅院　An Inscription to Posterior Meditation Chamber in Cleaved Mountain Temple

题扬州禅智寺　To the Chan Wisdom Temple of Yangzhou

彤史拾遗记　*Gleanings from Female Scribes' Records of Daily Lives Inside Imperial Chambers*

王氏拙政园记　Record of the Wang's Humble Administrator's Garden

网师园记　Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden

网师园序　Preface to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden

望岳　View of Mount Tai

魏源集　*Collected Works of Wei Yuan*

文心雕龙 *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature*

吴风录　*Record of Wu Customs*

吴兴园林记　Records of Gardens in Wuxing

芜城怀旧录　*Nostalgic Memories of a City Deserted*

五代史　*History of the Five Dynasties*

西湖梦寻　*Searching for the West Lake in Dreams*

习苦斋题画　*Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice*

闲居赋　Idle Life Rhapsody
小窗幽记　*Leisure Sketches by a Little Window*
小山词　*Xiaoshan's Collection of Lyric Poems*
小山泉阁诗存　*A Repository of Verse of the Small Mountain Fountainhead Belvedere*
小园赋　Small Garden Rhapsody
撷秀楼匾额跋　Postscript to the Inscription on Beauty-Garnering Loft's Nameboard
新唐书　*New Book of Tang*
行宫图说　*Illustrated Interpretations of Temporary Royal Palaces*
徐霞客游记　*Travel Notes of Xu Xiake*
续编绥寇纪略　*A Sequel to Brief Records of Pacification of Bandits*
荀子　Xunzi
扬州府志　*Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign*
扬州画舫录　*Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*
扬州画舫录跋　*Postscript to The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*
扬州画舫曲　Thirteen Lyrical Pomes of Yangzhou's Painted Pleasure Boats
扬州览胜录　*Records of Scenic Fascinations of Yangzhou*
扬州慢　The Yangzhou Adagio
扬州名胜图　*Paintings of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou*
扬州名胜图记　*An Illustrated Record of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou*
扬州名园记　*Records of the Celebrated Gardens of Yangzhou*
扬州园林史话　*A Historical Account of Gardens in Yangzhou*
养疴闲记　*Idle Notes Written in Recuperation*
冶春绝句　*Spring Outing Quatrain*
一家言　*One Man's Account*

义山杂纂　*Yishan's Records of Miscellaneous Things*
艺能编　*Compendium of Artistic Craftsmen*
营造法式　*Treatise on Architectural Methods*
游金陵诸园记　A Tour of Gardens in Jinling
渔阳古诗选　*Selected Ancient Verse of Yuyang*
玉海　*The Sea of Jade*
玉簪记　*The Story of the Jade Hairpin*
园冶　*The Craft of Gardens*
圆明园则例　*Engineering Specifications of the Garden of Perfect Splendor*
袁小修日记　*Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao*
阅世编　*A Compendium on Living the World*
造园史纲　*An Outline of the History of Garden Building*
张南垣传　Biography of Zhang Nanyuan
蛰园记　Notes on the Hibernation Garden
中国园林　*Gardens of China*
周礼　*The Rites of Zhou*
庄子　*Zhuangzi*
拙政园记　Record of the Humble Administrator's Garden
拙政园图　Picture of the Humble Administrator's Garden
紫钗记　The Story of the Purple Hairpin

园林与景点　**Gardens and Scenic Views**

阿房宫　Epang Palace
安澜园　Billow-Tranquilizing Garden
安远庙　Temple of Frontier Pacification
八卦塘　Eight Diagrams Pond

八旗奉直会馆　Guild of Eight-Banner Members from Fengtian and Metropolitan Provinces
八音涧　Eight-Tone Gully
八咏园　Garden of Eight Stanzas
白堤　Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi
白沙翠竹江村　White Sand, Emerald Bamboos and Riverside Village
白塔晴云　White Pagoda in Clouds on a Fine Day
百尺梧桐阁　Belvedere of Hundred-Feet Phoenix Tree
拜石轩　Verandah in Obedience to Rocks
半青阁　Half Green Belvedere
半山园　Garden Half Way up the Mountain
半园　Half-Garden
傍花村　Flower-Leaning Village
宝石山　Precious Stone Mountain
保安寺　Bao'an Temple
保俶塔　Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu
趵突泉　Spouting Spring
北高峰　Northern Peak
北麓园　Northern Foothill Garden
北寺塔　Northern Temple Pagoda
碧峰寺　Green Peak Temple
避暑山庄　Mountain Summer Resort
卞园　Bian's Garden
汴京公园　Bianjing Park
汴园　Bianyuan Garden
别峰庵　Hut on Another Peak of Jiao's Mountain
别有洞天　Pavilion of Celestial Vistas

补园　Additional Garden
沧浪亭　Dark Blue Waves Pavilion
沧州别墅　Cangzhou Estate
苍筤馆　Dark Green Bamboo Chamber
藏经阁　Scripture Library
长春园　Garden of Perennial Spring
长堤春柳　Long Dyke Flanked by Spring Willows
长廊　Long Corridor
长洲苑　Long Isle Garden
畅春园　Unimpeded Spring Garden
畅园　Comfort-Giving Garden
承光殿　Light -Sustaining Palace
城东公园　East City Park
城隍庙　City God's Temple
城闉清梵　Sutra-Chanting at City Wall
程氏园　Cheng's Garden
澄波叠翠　Manifold Verdure Reflected in Crystal Waves
澄观楼　Loft of Cloudless Vistas
澄心堂　Heart-Cleansing Chamber
尺五楼　Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies"
船舫厅　Hall of Painted Boat
吹台　Flute-Playing Terrace
垂虹落雁　Wild Goose Diving at Sinking Rainbow
锤峰落照　Pestle-Shaped Peak at Sunset
春波桥　Vernal Waves Bridge
春台明月（熙春台）　Spring Terrace Under Bright Moon (Propitious Spring Terrace)

崔伯亨园　Cui Boheng's Garden
崔致远纪念馆　Memorial Hall of Cui Zhiyuan
萃秀堂　Profuse Beauty Hall
萃园　Emerald Garden
翠云岭　Green Cloud Mountain
大滌草堂　Great Mind-Cleansing Thatched Hut
大观园　Garden of Grand View
大荷池　Greater Lotus Pond
大宏寺　Temple of Grand Preachers
大明宫　Great Light Palace
大明湖　Daming Lake
岱庙　Dai Temple
岱瞻草堂　Thatched Hut for Revering Mount Tai
待霜亭　Frost Awaiting Pavilion
倒影楼　Loft of Inverted Reflections
蹈和馆　Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability
稻香村　Paddy-Sweet Cottage
得月楼　Moon-Bestowed Loft
得真亭　Truth Attaining Pavilion
点春堂　Spring Adorning Hall
殿春簃　Late-Spring Peony Lodge
钓鱼台　Anglers' Platform
蝶湖公园　Butterfly Lake Park
东半亭　East Half-Pavilion
东城草堂　Thatched Hut of East City
东山庙　East Hill Shrine
东园　Eastern Garden

冬荣园　Wintry Luxuriance Garden
斗姥阁　Belvedere in Honor of the Mother of Big Dipper
断桥残雪　Remnant Snows on a Broken Bridge
朵云峰　Cloudlet-Enshrouded Peak
二分明月楼　Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight
二分竹屋　Bamboo Cottage that Splits a Forest in Two
二十四桥　Bridge of Twenty-Fours
法净寺　Dharma Purity Temple
法林寺　Dharma Forest Temple
范长白园　Fan Yunlin's Garden
芳草园　Fragrant Grass Garden
芳林园　Fragrant Forest Garden
芳渚临流　Fragrant Islet on a Gurgling Brook
飞来峰　Peak Flown In from Afar
风亭　Wind-Bathing Pavilion
凤凰岛风景区　Scenic Zone on the Phoenix Isle
凤舞鸾鸣阁　Belvedere of Female Phoenix Waltzing and Male Phoenix Wobbling
佛香阁　Buddhist Incense Belvedere
凫庄　Mallard Manor
浮翠阁　Floating Emerald Belvedere
符望阁　Belvedere in Keeping with Original Wish
福州鼓山　Drum Mountain of Fuzhou
蝠厅　Bat Hall
复园　Fuyuan Garden
富郑公园　Garden of Duke Fu of Zheng
馥园　Fragrance Garden

甘露寺　Sweet Dew Temple
甘泉山庄（陈园）　Sweet Spring Mountain Abode (Chen's Garden)
甘泉苑　Sweet Springs Park
皋园　Gao Yu Garden
高义园　Lofty Righteousness Garden
个园　Geyuan's Garden
艮岳　Northeast Mount Garden
绠汲堂　Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well
耕心草堂　Heart Ploughing Thatched Hut
恭王府　Prince Gong's Mansion
孤山　Gushan Mountain
古猗园　Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos
鼓楼　Drum Tower
顾辟疆园　Gu Pijiang's Garden
顾氏园　Gu's Garden
顾宅艮庵　Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's Estate
瓜洲古渡公园　Ancient Ferry Park at Guazhou
观海亭　Sea-Watching Pavilion
观涛楼　Wave-Watchers' Loft
观音山　Avalokitesvara Mountain
冠云峰　Cloud-Crowned Peak
冠云楼　Cloud-Crowned Loft
冠云台　Cloud-Crowned Terrace
冠云亭　Cloud-Crowned Pavilion
冠云沼　Cloud-Crowned Pool
广安寺　Temple of Universal Pacification
广元宫　Palace in Honor of the Resourceful Female Immortal

归园田居　Return-to-Farming Abode
归云别馆　Homecoming Cloud Chamber
桂花厅　Osmanthus Hall
国清寺　National Purification Temple
海楼　Oceanic Loft
海棠春坞　Vernal Crabapple Yard
涵碧山房　Green-Soaked Mountain Villa
涵碧园　Greenness Containing Garden
寒碧山庄　Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode
韩蕲王祠　Memorial Shrine of King of Qi
韩氏小园　Han's Small Garden
汉陵苑　Garden of Prince of Guangling's Mausoleum
汉庐　Hanhou's Hut
濠濮亭　Hao & Pu Pavilion
好山园　Garden of Good Mountains
郝氏园　Hao's Garden
何园　Ho Family Garden
和煦堂　Hall of Balmy Sunshine
荷风四面亭　Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides
荷花厅　Lotus-Flower Hall
贺园　He's Garden
红梅阁园　Red Plum Belvedere-Garden
虹桥　Rainbow Bridge
虹桥坊　Rainbow Bridge Lane
虹桥修禊　Venue for Spring Outings at the Rainbow Bridge
壶春园　Spring-in-Kettle Garden
壶园　Kettle Garden

湖山真意亭　True-Meaning Lake and Mountain Pavilion
蝴蝶厅　Butterfly Hall
虎丘白莲池　White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill
虎丘塔　Tiger Hill Pagoda
花神阁　Flower Goddess Belvedere
花文化展示馆　Floral Culture Showroom
华步小筑　Tiny Lodge at Floral Wharf
华藏寺　Hwa Dzan (Amitabha Buddhist) Temple
华林园　Flowery Forest Garden
华氏园　Hua's Garden
还我读书处　Return-to-Read Study
环谿　Loop Stream Gully
环秀山庄　Beauty-Encircled Mountain Adobe
黄檗山居　Cork Tree Mountain Abode
惠荫园　Garden of Salubrious Shades
活泼泼地　Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising
汲古得绠处　Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw"Water" from "Ancient Well"
集芳　Fragrance Collection Garden
集虚斋　Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber
寄畅园　Solace-Imbued Garden
寄啸山庄　Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode
佳晴喜雨快雪亭　Pavilion of Fine Weather, Beloved Rain and Timely Snow
嘉乐堂　Hall of Auspicious Joy
嘉实亭　Pavilion of Fabulous Fruits
嘉树园　Propitious Trees Garden
贾宅　Jia's Residence

见山楼　Mountain-in-View Loft
建章宫　Jianzhang Palace
剑池　Sword Pool
鉴湖　Mirror Lake
鉴园　Mirror Garden
鉴真纪念堂　Ganjin Memorial Hall
鉴止水斋　Studio of Tranquil Mirror-like Water
蕉雨轩　Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah
结草庵　Thatched Nunnery
皆绿山房　Evergreen Mountain Abode
金谷园　Garden of Golden Valley
金海　Gold Sea
金牛洞　Golden Buffalo Cave
金沙港　Golden Sand Harbor
金沙溪　Golden Sand Creek
金山寺　Golden Hill Temple
锦淙滩　Gurgling Brocade Shoal
锦泉花屿　Flower Isle on Two Brocade Springs
近园　Approximate Garden
荆陵初晓　Dawn at Jing Mound
景阳山　Scenic Sun Mountain
静慧寺　Quiet Prajna Temple
静香书屋　Quiet and Aromatic Study
静心斋　Tranquil Mind Chamber
静宜轩　Verandah of Reposed Comfort
镜水云岑　Mirror-like Water and Cloudy Hills
九峰园　Nine Peaks Garden

九龙池　Nine-Dragon Pond
九曲流芳　Fragrance Flowing Along a NineBend Brook
九曲桥　Nine-Bend Bridge
九狮池　Nine-Lion Pond
九狮山　Nine-Lion Mountain
九狮亭　Nine Lions Pavilion
九狮图山　Mountain of Nine-Lion Picture
九溪涧　Nine Creeks Gully
掬花楼　Flower-Holding Loft
聚景　Prospects Assembly Garden
卷石洞天　Rolling Stone Cavern
看山楼　Mountain-Watcher's Loft
看松读画轩　Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings
康山草堂　Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain
康山文化园　Kangshan Cultural Garden
可亭　Pavilion for Scenic Enjoyment
快阁　Belvedere of Delight
昆明湖　Kunming Lake
来禽馆　Pavilion for Birds Flying In
来青阁　Imminent Greenness Belvedere
莱庆堂　Laizi Blessing Hall
蓝田别墅　Lantian Villa
狼山公园　Wolf Hill Park
乐郊园　Garden of Suburban Delights
乐圃　Lepu's Garden
乐寿堂　Hall of Joyful Longevity
雷峰塔　Lei's Peak Pagoda

雷峰夕照　Sunset Beyond the Lei's Peak Pagoda
楞伽峰　Lankavatara Mountain
冷泉　Cool Spring (Pavilion)
蠡园　Memorial Garden of Fan Li
历代帝王庙　Shrine of Monarchs of Various Dynasties
丽芳园　Aromatic Beauty Garden
隶园　Kerria Garden
荔枝湾　Lichee Bay
笠亭　Bamboo Hat Pavilion
莲花桥（五亭桥）　Lotus Bridge (FivePavilion Bridge)
莲性寺　Lotus Character Temple
林泉耆硕之馆　Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned
林香草堂　Forest Aroma Thatched Hut
临漪槛　Balustrade over Ripple Water
灵谷寺　Linggu Temple
灵隐山　Soul's Retreat Mountain
灵隐寺　Soul's Retreat Temple
玲珑馆　Hall of Dainty Rocks and Delicate Bamboos
玲珑花界　World of Delicate Peonies
刘宅　Liu's Residence
留听阁　Retain-and-Listen Belvedere
留园　Lingering Garden
柳浪闻莺　Orioles Singing in Weeping Willows
柳荫路曲　Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway
龙眠山　Dragon-Sleeping Mountain
龙泉寺　Dragon Spring Temple
陇西后圃　Back Garden of Longxi

楼外楼　Louwailou (Loft-Beyond-Loft) Restaurant
楼园　Multistoried Building Garden
卢氏意园　Lu's Imagination Garden
卢宅　Lu's Mansion
鲁迅纪念馆　Memorial Museum of Lu Xun
鹭云寺　Temple of Herons in Clouds
绿漪亭　Green Ripples Pavilion
绿荫　Green Shade (Verandah)
罗汉堂　Arhats Hall
洛春堂　Luoyang Peony's Spring Hall
满觉陇　Perfect Enlightenment Gully
漫园　Water-Brimmed Garden
毛宅　Mao's Residence
梅舫　Painted Boat Docked in a Plum Sea
梅花岭　Plum Flower Ridge
梅花书院　Plum Flowers Academy
梅花铁石山房　Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode
梅岭春深　Plum Ridge in Deep Spring(Lesser Golden Hill)
梅园　Plum Garden
妙隐庵　Miaoyin Nunnery
明道堂　Hall to Understand the Way
明瑟楼　Bright and Clear Loft
明孝陵　Filial Piety Tomb of the First Ming Emperor and His Empress
明星亭　Star Pavilion
明轩　Astor Court
明月湖公园　Bright Moon Lake Park
明月桥　Bright Moon Bridge

幕府山　Grand Secretariat Mountain
南北湖　South-and-North Lakes
南山寺　Southern Mountain Temple
南轩　Southern Verandah
南园　South Garden
南苑　Southern Park
囊云洞　Cloud Enshrouded Cave
鸟还亭　Homecoming Birds' Kiosk
凝晖阁　Sunshine Condensing Belvedere
暖流暄波　Warm Stream and Hot Waves
耦园　Loving Couple's Garden
藕花水榭　Lotus Root Flower Gazebo
藕香榭　Lotus Root Fragrance Gazebo
排云殿　Hall of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds
匏庐　Gourd Hut
盆景园　Garden of Miniature Landscapes
枇杷园　Loquat Courtyard
片石山房　Small-Rock Mountain Adobe
片石山楼　Mountain Loft of Small Rocks
平湖秋月　Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake
平泉别墅　Pingquan Villa
平山堂　Mountain-Level Hall
平野轩　Flat Wilderness Verandah
瓶櫑斋　Chamber of Bottles and Winecups
普乐寺　Temple of Universal Happiness
普宁寺　Temple of Universal Peace
普陀宗乘之庙　Temple of Potaraka Doctrine

普佑寺　Temple of Universal Blessing
溥仁寺　Temple of Omnipresent Benevolence
溥善寺　Temple of Omnipresent Goodwill
七星岩　Seven Star Crags
七子峰　Seven-Peak Mountain
栖灵塔　Soul's Retreat Pagoda
栖霞山　Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain
栖霞寺　Evening Glow's Dwelling Temple
杞菊斋　Wolfberry and Aster Chamber
憩园　Garden to Rest In
千秋鸿禧　Taoist Temple of Immortal Wellbeing
钱塘门　Qiantang Gate
乔氏东园　Qiao's East Garden
乔园　Qiao's Garden
秦氏意园　Qin's Imagined Garden
琴室　Lute-Playing Chamber
青莲草阁　Thatched Belvedere Amidst Green Lotuses
青藤书屋　Green Vine Studio
青溪旧屋　Old House on a Green Brook
清波门　Clean Waves Gate
清风池馆　Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah
清凉山　Cool and Refreshing Mountain
清秘阁　Pure Rarity Belvedere
清漪园　Limpid Ripples Garden
情话室　Room for Private Dialogue
晴雪堂　Sunny Snow Hall
琼花坞　Jade Flower Col

琼华岛　Jade Flowery Islet
秋声馆　Sound-of-Autumn Mansion
秋霞圃　Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden
曲江公园　Loop River Park
曲水荷香　Aromatic Lotuses in a Bending Stream
曲豁楼　Sinuous Gully Loft
曲园　Twisted Garden
曲院风荷　Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery
仁寿殿　Benevolence and Longevity Hall
任宅　Ren's House
日涉园　Garden for Daily Saunters
如意洲　S-Shaped Scepter Sandbar
润扬森林公园　Runyang Forest Park
卅六鸳鸯馆　Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks
三峰草堂　Three Peaks Thatched Hall
三峰园　Three Peaks Garden
三潭印月　Three Pools Mirroring the Moon
三湾湿地公园　Sanwan Village Wetland Park
扇面亭　Fan-Shaped Pavilion
善卷洞　Shan Juan's Hermitage Cave
山响草堂　Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains
上林苑　Shanglin Park
勺园　Ladle-of-Water Garden
射鸭廊　Ringtossing-at-Ducks Corridor
沈尚书园　Minister Shen's Garden
沈园　Shen's Garden
狮子沟　Lion's Gully

狮子林　Lion's Grove
狮子园　Lions' Garden
十八曼陀罗花馆　Hall of Eighteen Camellias
十笏园　Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets
十七孔桥　Seventeen-Arch Bridge
十三陵　Thirteen Ming Tombs
什刹海　Lake of Ten Temples
石林别径　Rock Forest Trail
史公祠　Shrine of Shi Kefa
适园　Obedience-to-Parents Garden
寿芝园　Garden of Longevity Fungus
瘦西湖　Slender West Lake
殊像寺　Temple of Manjushri's Statue
舒啸亭　Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers
蜀冈晚照　Shugang Hillock in Evening Glow
蜀冈西峰生态园　West Peak Ecology Garden of the Shugang Hillock
数帆亭　Sails Counting Pavilion
数鱼亭　Fish Enumerator's Pavilion
双峰插云　Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks
双峰云栈　Cloud-Enveloped Plank Trail Between Twin Peaks
双槐茶园　Twin Pagoda Trees Tea House
双槐园　Twin Pagoda Trees Garden
水北胡氏园　Hu's Two Gardens North of the River
水文化博物馆　Hydrology Museum
水榭　Waterside Gazebo
水心榭　Midstream Gazebo
水月庵　Nunnery of Moon in Water

水云胜概　Scenic Water and Cloud
四桥烟雨　Mist and Rain over Four Bridges
四照阁　Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides
思顾岭　Ridge in Remembrance of Gu Kuang
松吹阁　Howling Pine Belvedere
耸翠亭　Pavilion of Manifold Verdure
宋夹城遗址公园　Garden on Song-Dynasty Ruins of a Wall-Sandwiched Passageway
宋氏园　Song's Garden
苏堤春晓　Spring Sets In on Memorial Causeway of Su Shi
苏公祠　Memorial Shrine of Su Shunqin
随园　Accommodation Garden
随月读书楼　Loft for Reading with the Moon
岁寒草堂　Thatched Hut of Wintery Friends
塔影亭　Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion
太和殿　Hall of Supreme Harmony
太和楼　Tower of Supreme Harmony
太液池　Grand Fluid Pond
谈仙岭石城　Stone Fort of Celestial Tan's Mountain
唐城遗址　Tang-Dynasty Site of Yangzhou
唐代玉钩亭　Tang-Dynasty Jade Hook Pavilion
桃花庵　Peach Flower Nunnery
桃花坞　Peach Blossom Lowland
题襟馆　Literati's Embosoming Studio
天宁寺　Heavenly Peace Temple
天寿山　Heavenly Longevity Mountain
天童寺　Heavenly Boy Temple

天王殿　Heavenly Kings Hall
天香庭院　Celestial Fragrance Court
听涛处　Wave-Listening Place
听雨轩　Rain-Listening Verandah
同乐园　Garden of Universal Joy
菟园　Hare Garden
团城　Round City
退思园　Retreat and Reflection Garden
万壑松风 Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies
万花楼　Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers
万花园　Garden of Ten Thousand Flowers
万卷堂　Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes
万柳堂　Hall with Ten Thousand Willows
万柳园　Ten Thousand Willows Garden
万石园　Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks
万氏园　Wan's Garden
万寿山　Longevity Hill
万树园　Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
汪氏小苑　Wang's Small Garden
汪园　Wang's Garden
王洗马园　Garden of Librarian Wang
网师小筑　Net Master's Tiny Court
网师园　Master-of-Fishnets Garden
辋川别业　Wangchuan Villa
望春楼　Spring Gazing Loft
望江亭　River-Watcher's Pavilion
尉氏之园　Wei's Garden

蔚圃　Li Weiru's Garden
魏宅　Wei's Mansion
文桂舫　Literary Osmanthus Landboat
文津阁　Belvedere of Literary Way
文澜阁　Literary Waves Belvedere
文园（避暑山庄）　Literatus Garden
文园（汪为霖）　Literary Garden
闻木樨香轩　Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah
问秋馆　Autumn Inquiry Chamber
瓮山　Jug Hill
吴道台宅第　Circuit Intendant Wu Yinsun's Mansion
吴宅　Wu's House
梧桐园　Phoenix Tree Garden
梧竹幽居　Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion
五百名贤祠　Shrine of Five Hundred Sages
五峰书屋　Five-Peak Study
五峰仙馆　Five-Peak Celestial Hall
五峰园　Five Peaks Garden
五龙亭　Five Pavilions Arranged to Assimilate a Dragon
五亩园　Five-"Mu" Garden
午韵轩　Zither Playing Verandah
武静园　Garden of Wu and Jing
武烈河　Wulie River
夕园　Sunset Garden
西半亭　West Half-Pavilion
西方寺（八怪纪念馆）　Temple of Sukhavati(Memorial Hall of Eight Eccentrics)

西湖烟霞洞　Twilight Mist Cave at the West Lake
西湖玉皇山　Jade Emperor Mountain at the West Lake
西涧草堂　Thatched Hut on Western Brook
西郊公园　Western Suburb Park
西泠印社　Xiling Seal Engravers Society
西溪　Western Brook Wetland
西园　Western Garden
西园曲水　Winding Stream of the Western Garden
西苑　Western Park
锡晋斋　Chamber of a Prized Jin Calligraphy Model
仙鹤池　Celestial Crane Pool
仙鹤寺　Celestial Crane's Temple
香山饭店　Fragrant Hill Hotel
香洲　Fragrant Isle
潇湘馆　Bamboo Lodge
小沧浪　Lesser Canglang (Gazebo)
小成就塔　Small Attainment Pagoda
小刀会　Small Dagger Society
小飞虹　Lesser Flying Rainbow (Bridge)
小金山月观　Moon Platform on the Lesser Golden Hill
小李将军画本　Junior General Li's Landscape Painting
小莲庄　Small Lotus Village Garden
小玲珑山馆（街南书屋）　Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode (South Street Reading Room)
小盘谷（秦氏意园）　Lesser Winding Gully
小盘谷（周馥）　Small Meandering Valley
小蓬莱　Lesser Islet for Immortals

小秦淮　Lesser Qinhuai River
小山丛桂轩　Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses
小宛亭　Memorial Pavilion of Dong Bai
小有天园　Small Sky Garden
筱园　Slim Bamboo Garden
谐趣园　Garden of Harmonious Charms
絜园　Pristine Garden
撷秀楼　Beauty-Garnering Loft
辛园　Toiler's Garden
新建蜀冈草堂　Thatched Hut on Shugang Hillock
兴福寺　Thriving Bliss Temple
休园　Leisure Garden
岫云峰　Riddled-Through Peak Enveloped in Clouds
绣绮亭　Embroidered Damask Pavilion
须弥福寿之庙　Temple of Sumeru, Happiness and Longevity
虚廓园　Ethereal Outline Garden
徐园　Xu's Garden
玄武湖　Xuanwu Lake
雪窦泉　Snow-Hole Spring
雪香云蔚亭　Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion
烟雨楼　Mist and Rain Tower
延和阁　Prolonged Harmony Belvedere
延清楼　Loft of Prolonged Serenity
严家花园　Yan's Garden
盐宗庙　Salt God Shrine
弇山园　Yanshan Garden
艳雪亭　Bright Snow Pavilion

燕园　Homecoming Swallow Garden

燕子矶　Swallow-Shaped Boulder

扬派盆景艺术博物馆　Yangzhou-Style Miniature Landscape Art Museum

杨氏小筑　Yang's Tiny Nook

仰山堂　Mountain-Admiring Hall

药圃　Herbal Garden

冶春园　Spring Outing Garden

一庭秋月啸松风亭　Pavilion in a Yard of Pines Howling in Wind under Autumn Moon

一枝阁　Lone-Twig Belvedere

揖峰轩　Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah

宜两亭　Good for Both Families Pavilion

宜园　Congenial Garden

怡红院　Happy Red Court

怡庐　Mind Cheering Hut

怡性堂　Hall of Mental Serenity

怡园　Garden of Brotherly Indulgence

颐和园　Summer Palace, or Garden for Nourishing Harmony of Heaven and Earth

倚虹桥　Rainbow-Leaning Bridge

倚虹亭　Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion

倚虹园　Rainbow-Leaning Garden

倚玉轩　Leaning-on-Jade Verandah

艺圃　Garden of Cultivation

逸圃　Garden of Matchless Talent

因巢亭　Nest Pavilion

银锭桥　Silver Ingot Bridge

鹰窠顶　Eagle-Nest Pinnacle
樱桃园　Cherry Garden
影园　Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden
涌金门　Gold-Revealing Gate
余园　My Half-"Mu" Garden
榆关　Elm Pass
与谁同坐轩　"With Whom Shall I Sit"Verandah
雨湖公园　Rainy Lake Park
禹迹寺　Temple of King Yu's Footprints
禹迹寺桥　Bridge of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints
玉带桥　Jade Belt Bridge
玉津　Jade Ford Garden
玉兰堂　Yulan Magnolia Hall
玉玲珑　Exquisite Jade Boulder
玉龙花苑　Yulong's Flower Garden
玉泉山　Jade Spring Mountain
御碑亭　Imperial Stele Pavilion at the Fan's Memorial Shrine
御码头　Royal Wharf
豫园　Gratification Garden
员园　Yuan's Garden
圆明园　Garden of Perfect Splendor
援松阁　Towering Pine Pavilion
远翠阁　Distant Emerald Belvedere
远近泉声　Splashing Spring Far and Near
远香堂　Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance
约园　Garden Scraped Together
月到风来亭　Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming

月观　Moon-Watching Platform
月色江声　River Murmuring in Moonlight
樾香楼　Loft in Aromatic Tree Shade
云冈　Cloudy Ridge
云栖　Cloud Dwelling (Valley)
云容水态　Clouds' Looks and Water's Postures
云山阁　Cloudy Mountain Belvedere
云岫庵　Nunnery at Cloud-Enshrouded Peak
簪花亭　Hairpin Flower Pavilion
旃檀林　Temple of Sandalwood Forest
湛华楼　Pure Luster Loft
湛园　Crystal Garden
招爽亭　Beckoning for Cosiness Pavilion
赵翼王园　Garden of Zhao Yiwang
赵宅　Zhao's Mansion
珍珠泉　Pearl Spring
郑御史园　Garden of Censor Zheng
芝径云堤　Zigzagging Trails on a Cloudy Causeway
至乐亭　Pavilion of Uttermost Delights
中山公园　Sun Yat-sen Park
中山陵　Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum
种纸山房　Paper Planter's Mountain Abode
朱草诗林　Hut of Vermilion Grass and Poetic Forest
茱萸湾公园　Cornel Bay Park
珠源寺　Source of Pearl Waterfall Temple
竹外一枝轩　Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos
竹西公园　West Bamboo Grove Park

伫云庵　Cloud-Anticipating Hut

注经堂　Sutra Annotation Hall

拙政园　Humble Administrator's Garden

濯缨水阁　Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere

自怡园　Garden to Amuse Myself

醉颖堂　Hall of Drunken Talent

建筑名称　**Architectural Terminology**

包浆　patina

避弄　avoidance alleyway

扁作　rectangular beam

匾对　inscribed board/couplet

匾额　inscribed name board

冰纹　cracked-ice pattern

草架　rough-frame superstructure

垂花门　floral pendant gate

垂脊　vertical ridge

大木梁架　main beam

倒座　converse room

磴道　stone stairway

地穴　gate in a wall

点景　view highlighting

垫板　underboarding

动观　in-motion viewing

洞曲　cave

斗栱　corbel bracket

舫　land boat

复廊　double-lane loggia/walkway

阁　belvedere

槅扇　floor-length window

勾连搭　continuous-span construction

挂落　hanging fascia

拐子纹　shaped reel pattern

馆　studio

和合窗　detachable window

花墙　latticed wall

花厅　parlor

环洞桥　arch bridge

黄石　yellow stone

回廊　corridor

槛　balustrade

角梁　hip rafter

借景　view borrowing

静观　in-situ viewing

卷棚　round ridge roof

卷杀　entasis

廊　loggia; roofed corridor/walkway

廊庑　colonnade

联屏　antithetical couplets

梁架　purlin truss

梁式石桥　stone beam bridge

龙墙　dragon-topped wall

楼　storied building; loft

楼廊　storied walkway
楼厅　storied hall
漏窗　latticed window
乱石墙　riprap
门屋　portal
摩崖　cliff inscription; stone inscription
暖阁　small heating room
戗角头　end of pavilion ridge
三架梁　three-purlin beam
山墙　gable
书条石　rectangular stone slab with calligraphic inscriptions
水口　water outlet
水磨转　finely ground brick
四合头　quadrangle
踏跺　staircase
台　terrace
堂　hall
天井　atrium
亭　pavilion
通长额枋　full-length horizontal tablet/ architrave
凸形线脚　convex molding
土太湖　local Lake Tai rock
瓦花窗　tile-latticed window
湾头　bend
望砖　sheathing tile
屋架　truss
五架梁　five-purlin beam

线脚　skintled brickwork

泄景　view diverting

榭　gazebo

轩　verandah

寻景　view finding

引景　view ushering

鸳鸯厅　twin hall

月梁　crescent beam

藻井　caisson ceiling

斋　chamber

罩　latticed screen

柱础　plinth

柱顶　capital

砖门楼　brick archway

Symposium on Chinese Historical Geography

英汉对照

中国历史地理论集

侯仁之 著

外语教学与研究出版社
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侯仁之　（1911-2013），历史地理学家，北京大学教授、中国科学院院士。侯仁之是中国现代历史地理学的重要奠基者和开拓者，主要从事城市历史地理、沙漠历史地理、中国古代地理学史、历史地理学方法论方面的研究，在理论与实践方面为中国历史地理学的发展作出了重要贡献。

主要代表作有《历史地理学的理论与实践》、《历史地理学四论》、《侯仁之文集》、《北平历史地理》等，主编《北京历史地图集》、《北京城市历史地理》等。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People* （《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* ），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last*

Confucian ），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* ）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince* ），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

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① B EIJING: ITS CHARACTERISTICS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION*

Introductory Remarks

Mr. President of the University of British Columbia,

First or all, allow me to express my deep gratitude to you, and to Mr. Chairman and to all members of the Committee of the Cecil H. and Ida Green Visiting Professorships. Thanks to all of you. It's my great honor to visit your beautiful country. And I feel especially happy to be here, for Canada is the fatherland of the great internationalist, Dr. Norman Bethune, of whom we Chinese people will always deeply cherish the memory. Just forty years ago, Dr. Norman Bethune gave his whole life to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. He made himself an important bridge linking China and Canada, which has become the symbol of the ever-lasting friendship between our two peoples. The cause to which he had dedicated his own life has turned out to be victorious in China; and the ideal for which he had worked hard has come to be brought to fruition on the land where he had fought bravely. A new China is forging ahead on a new long march towards her modernization, in spite of all the interferences and obstacles from both inside and outside. To attain our goal, we must learn from the West with modesty all their advanced things. Of course, in this respect, there is quite a lot for us to learn from your country. On the other hand, we must also conserve all the valuable and useful items of the cultural legacy left to us by our own ancestors. Thus in the course of forming our new socialist culture, learning from our own past has

been found even more significant and complicated.

On this issue, I want to give a simple but concrete example. That is how we are to build up our people's capital in the new socialist era on the basis of the ancient city of Beijing.

Today I am going to deal with my first topic: "The City of Beijing—A Historical Perspective".

Next time I'll come to my second topic: "The New Metropolitan Planning of the City of Beijing".

The City of Beijing—A Historical Perspective

The city of Beijing has been the capital of the People's Republic of China for only thirty years. But her history can be traced back to remote antiquity.

●Part One: The Pioneers Who Opened Up Beijing Area

As early as half a million years ago, in the place now called Zhoukoudian District, which is located in the southwestern suburbs of Beijing, there lived Chinese ape-men, who are now well-known as "Beijing Man".

In the caves inhabited by Beijing Man were excavated fossils of the skulls and bones of primitive ape-men. Simple tools used by the primitive ape-men and animal fossils were also found out there. These discoveries have provided very important scientific basis for the study of the origin and evolution of mankind. They are not only gems of China's ancient cultural legacy, but also rarities in the treasure-house of the world's culture.

Among these discoveries there are traces of fire used by Beijing Man. In that vast and wild world, Beijing Man succeeded in starting a fire and

burning it into raging flames, and learned how to keep fire, thus proclaiming the coming of the age when man would be free from darkness and begin his early cultivation.

Beijing Man made its appearance at the initial stage of primitive society and lived a gregarious life then. With the simplest tools made of sticks and stone, they engaged themselves in fruit-gathering and hunting, so as to keep themselves alive and breed and bring up their offspring. For this purpose, they had to carry on arduous and tenacious struggles against nature.

Hundreds of thousands of years passed and primitive society evolved into its last stage. About 4,000 years ago, it happened that a few tiny dwelling places began to emerge on the plain near the present-day city of Beijing. This is one of the places where those practicing farming and hunting first settled down. They no longer moved round in search of fruit and wild animals as food. Having settled down there, they started to farm and raise livestock as their chief means of life. These earliest settlers were pioneers who opened up the Beijing Area.

With the rise of productivity, the quantitative increase of surplus products, and the division of labour, there appeared private ownership and a few exploiters who lived on other people's labour. Then primitive society began to disintegrate. At the same time slave society which was the first society with class oppression in human history gradually came into being.

The appearance of the earliest cities marked the formation of slave society.

● Part Two: Beijing's Primitive Settlement—Ji & the Geographical Features of the City of Ji

Over 3,000 years ago, when China was still in her early days of slave

society, Beijing's primitive settlement came into existence. At that time, China was basically dominated by the emperors of the Shang Dynasty. In that period, written symbols were invented to keep a record of events. The territory under the rule of the Shang Dynasty covered the area which is now the central part of the North China Plain. The great plain was made up of the alluvial soil left mainly by the Yellow River and some other smaller rivers. So it is also called the Yellow River Alluvial Plain. The central part of the great plain has generally been called "Zhongyuan"(which means "The Central Plain") in history. The Shang rulers founded their capital on the Central Plain, and the primitive settlement in Beijing was located far in a remote place to its north. But the Shang culture which was chiefly characterized by fine bronze wares and was broadly disseminated also found its way to this far-away place.

At the beginning of the eleventh century B.C., the rulers of the Zhou Dynasty which first started in the highland areas of the middle reaches of the Yellow River and later expanded towards the east, eventually conquered the Shang Dynasty on the great plain. As a result, a more developed country with slave-owning system was established. Beijing's primitive settlement was then becoming larger and larger at a high speed, which was to turn into a famous principality called "Ji". And "Ji" is the earliest name of Beijing found in historical records.

Records of the Grand Historian says that Zhouwuwang, the founder of the Zhou Dynasty, for the first time enfeoffed the duke Zhaogong with the "Ji" area, and this realm was known as "Yan Princedom". Soon the realm Yan became one of the most important states in the north under the rule of the Zhou Dynasty. This state continued for more than 800 years.

Here arises a question we must pay special attention to, that is, how the

site of the city of Ji was selected. Or, let's put it in more exact words: what geographical features enabled the primitive settlement of Beijing to expand rapidly and remain prosperous for such a long time without declining.

This is a very interesting question, which has long attracted the attention of both Chinese and foreign geographers. There was scholarly guessing as to the reasons why this spot was chosen and all these can be ignored because we are now fortunate enough to have access to new source material unearthed recently.

Here I cannot but refer to a world-famous scholar who is well-known to the older generation of Canadian geographers. He is none other than Professor Griffith Taylor, who was engaged in teaching at Toronto University for some time.

Before he came to Canada, Professor Taylor had taught at Chicago University for a period of time. And he was elected President of the Association of American Geographers in 1941. In his presidential address delivered to the Association of American Geographers, Professor Taylor talked about the selection of the earlier site of the city of Beijing, on the basis of the result of his personal on-the-spot investigations and research in Beijing. The main content of his presidential address made to the Association of American Geographers was included into a book written by him, which was entitled *Urban Geography* , one of his books dealing with the study of site, evolution, pattern and classification in villages, towns and cities. He devoted several pages to the discussion of the geography of Beijing and paid special attention to the study of the origin and evolution of the city.

On page 26 of the book (2nd ed., 5th imp., 1968), he says,

> Pekin offers a fair example of a large city which has developed under temperate

> conditions in a gigantic plain.... It is difficult to point to any environmental factor which has led to Pekin's dominance over most of the towns in the deltaic deposits of the Huang-ho.... One would have expected the chief northern city to have developed either in the centre of the plain, or near the main river, or possibly at a good harbour on the coast. Pekin fulfils none of these conditions.

In the following two pages, he raised his point of view:

> It seems clear that a considerable 'human' element is involved in the choice of the site of Pekin. In early days necromancers ascribed to the site a peculiarly fortunate character.... The magical and political factors(briefly referred to earlier) led to the city's birth, perhaps as far back as 723 B.C. At this time 'Chi' was the capital of the Yen kingdom, according to the Encyclopedia Sinica. Given this start, no other city seems to have arisen to compete with it… (pp. 27, 28)

Finally, he came to the conclusion:

> It must be admitted that the choice of the site of Pekin is not due to any marked environmental factors.... We may perhaps grant that Pekin—situated in a vast region of *uniform* environment—is a good example to suggest that the possibility theory does, under such conditions, explain the facts of geographical distribution. (p. 29)

Forty years have since passed. Over this period, especially since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there have frequently been new archaeological finds and new results in scientific research, which are of great help to the study of the original site of the city of Beijing. It is a pity that Professor Taylor, a scholar so enthusiastic about the study of the geography of the city of Beijing had passed away before he could personally read these new materials. It would be unfair if we should make a criticism of some of

Professor Taylor's theses by basing ourselves on the newly-discovered materials. What we need to do is to make full use of all the new concerning materials we have so far grasped, and to make further investigations on the origin of the city of Ji and its characteristics.

For this purpose, it is necessary to make some essential explanations about the location of the city of Ji and its geographical features.

Firstly, the grounds of argument found in the special writings about the exact location of the site of Ji City, written either in Chinese or in other languages, were mostly insufficient and even unreliable. On the basis of the new materials hitherto grasped, the original site of Ji City can be located in the southwestern corner of the present-day Beijing city proper, that is, in the vicinity of the present-day Kwang'an Gate (The Gate of Extensive Peace).

Secondly, this original site is also situated in the southwestern corner of a vast stretch of flat land, which is called the Beijing Plain. To the west, north and northeast of the plain, there are continuous encircling mountains, which remind people of a bay. Seeing this topographical feature, people also name this plain "Beijing Bay". This plain was principally washed by two rivers, the Yongding River on the west, the Chaobai River on the east, which had cut through the hills and found their ways into the bay. Like the Yellow River, these two rivers are wellknown for their carrying large quantities of silt. The sand and mud carried along by the two rivers gradually silted up the ancient bay and turned it into flat land, which extended southward, linking itself with the alluvial plain formed by the Yellow River.

Thirdly, talking about the conditions for communications, we must take note of the relationship between the Beijing Plain and the great North China Plain. Over the last three thousand years, great changes have taken place geographically in this area. If we fail to see this, we won't be able to really

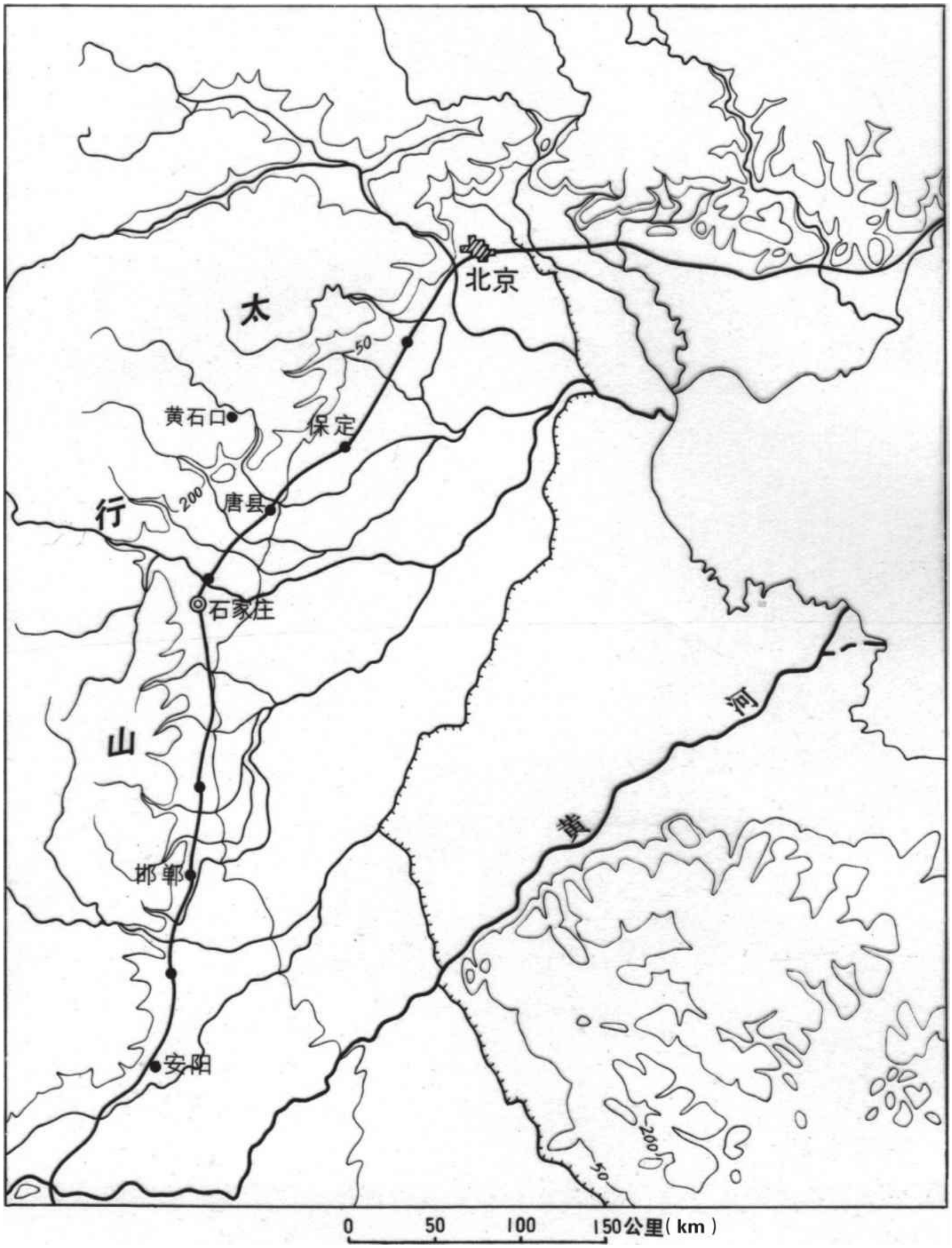
understand the reason why the ancient city of Ji should have developed here.

Now, from the viewpoint of the geographical conditions, it is very easy to go from the North China Plain northward to the Beijing Plain, and vice versa. But at the time when the city of Ji first rose over three thousand years ago, it was difficult for access. At that time, to the south and southeast of Ji City, there were lakes, ponds, swamps and marshes spreading all over, which isolated the city from the south. It was only thanks to the careful cultivation of the hard-working peasants from generation to generation that vast reaches of wet low land in this area were turned into fertile cultivated fields. This is one of the greatest geographical changes the last three thousand years have ever witnessed here. It is a pity that I have no time to elaborate on that point in this talk.

Over three thousand years ago, there was only one way leading from the North China Plain to the Beijing Plain. One had to walk northward along a path to the west of the North China Plain and to the east of the Taihang Mountains. The path was gradually trodden along a narrow belt between the plains and the mountains. The Taihang Mountains mark the east edge of the Shanxi Loess Plateau, from which numerous rivers run eastward, and cutting through the Taihang Mountains, surge over into the North China Plain, where they converge into several bigger rivers and flow into the sea. The rivers which ran through the mountains into the plains formed many alluvial fans, big or small, and then provided many good points of crossing for the long path on the east side of the Taihang Mountains. One could then walk northward along this long road, get over one crossing site after another, and finally come to the most difficult point for crossing which was situated on a large river. This is the exact place of the ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River. Crossing the river at this point, one would set foot into the Beijing

Plain. So this point of crossing was actually the gateway to the Beijing Plain. When he reached the north end of the plain, one would encounter a range of mountains lying to the north and northeast of the plain, which hindered him from going further northward into the mountainous regions.

As a Chinese old saying goes, "there is always a way for people in great straits." In the mountains situated to both the northwest and the northeast of the Beijing Plain there were two passes. The one located to the northwest is called the Nankou Pass (South Mouth Pass). If one entered the mountains by way of the Nankou Pass and went through a long valley, he would come to a place called the Badaling Hill, a part of the Great Wall which is near to Beijing and now frequently visited by tourists. If one got over the gently sloping Badaling Hill and went further northwestward, he would pass through a vast basin area among the mountains and finally get to the Inner Mongolian Plateau.

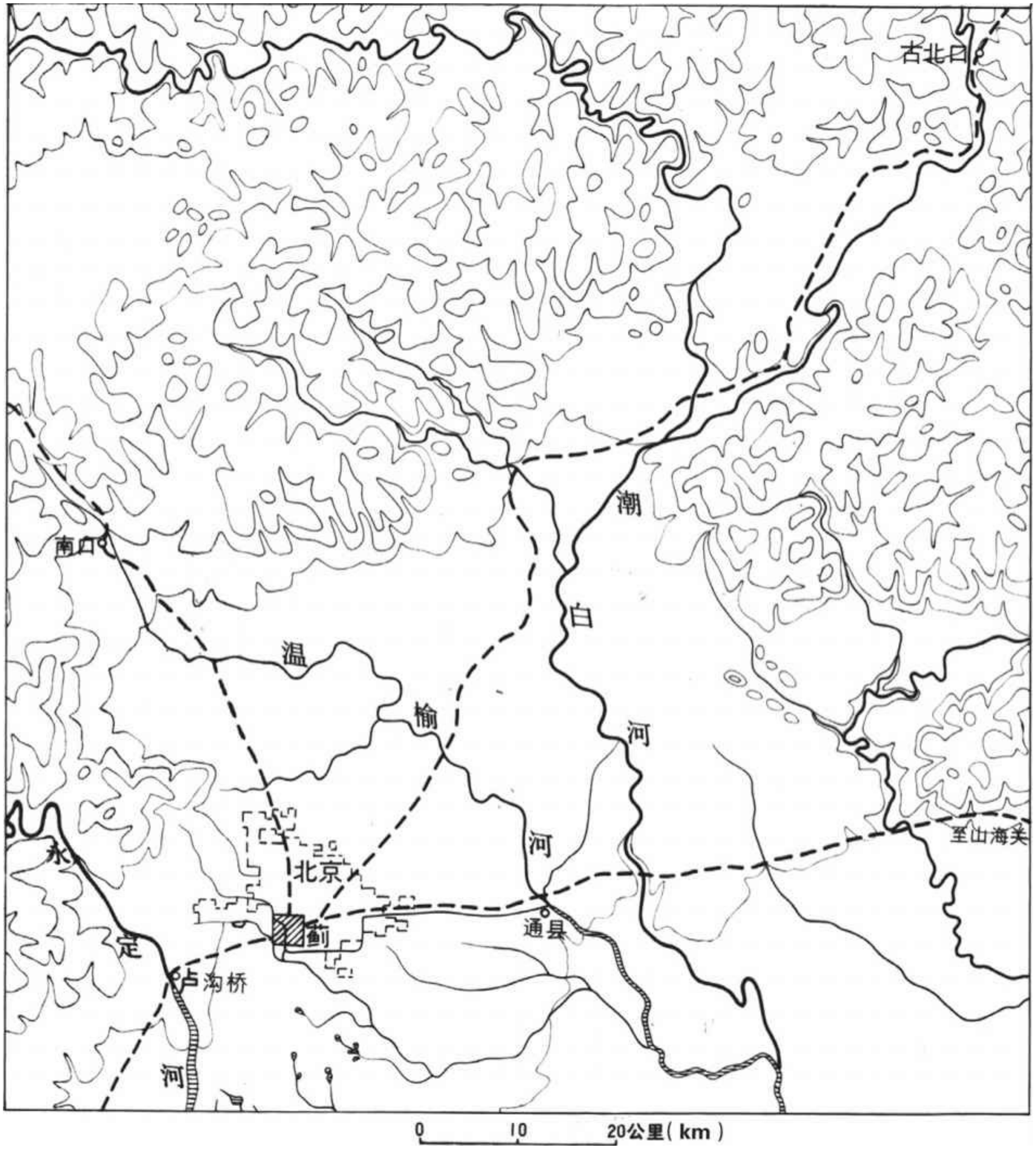


1-1 East side of the Taihang Mountains 太行山东麓地形略图

Beijing　北京

Taihang Mountains　太行山

Yellow River　黄河



1-2　Ancient way on the Beijing Plain　北京小平原古代大道示意图

Beijing　北京

Ji City　蓟城

Nankou pass　南口

Gubeikou Pass　古北口

Shanhaiguan Pass　山海关

Lugou Bridge　卢沟桥

Yongding River　永定河

Chaobai River　潮白河

The entrance to the northeastern mountains is called Gubeikou Pass. Starting from Gubeikou Pass and going northeastward in the mountains, one would cross a chain of hills in undulation and finally reach the Northeast China Plain.

Besides, there is another way leading to Northeast China. If one started from the Beijing Plain and went onward in an eastern direction along the southern edge of the Yan Mountains, he would come to the juncture of the mountain and the sea, which is now well-known as Shanhaiguan Pass (Mountain-Sea Pass). Getting out of Shanhaiguan Pass and walking northeastward along the coastal corridor, one could come to the plain located in the lower reaches of the Liao River.

From the above-mentioned facts, we can see that when one got across the ancient ferry on the Yongding River in the old times, he could take three different ways onward. Then here arises a very interesting question: Where was the actual juncture of this ancient road?

Under normal circumstances, the juncture of this road should be at this crossing site itself. As a ferry-place, the point of crossing was in effect a hub of communications. With the development of social economy and the ever-increasing exchange of commodities, such kind of the crossing site would provide favourable conditions for the growth and expansion of cities. This is not rare in the history concerning the development of cities in the world. One of the typical examples is the growth of the city of London which was built

on the basis of an ancient crossing place on the Thames. If such an inference was reasonable, then the ancient city of Beijing should have first risen on the basis of the ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River. But it was not the case. The ancient city of Beijing did not first start there. Instead of a city, a big stone bridge made its appearance there in 1192. In some Western historical documents, this big stone bridge was called "Marco Polo Bridge", for Marco Polo, the famous traveller from Venice was the first well-known guest from the West who had ever crossed the bridge. This eleven-arched bridge is 266.5 metres in length. This bridge is noted for its magnificent structure, graceful ornament and delicate carving. Marco Polo made detailed descriptions of it in his famous travelling notes. As a result, it became known to the West.

In Chinese, this big stone bridge is called "Lugou Bridge", which was after the original name of the Yongding River. Now the name of the river itself has long been changed, but the bridge across the river as well as its old name has always remained unchanged, and well-preserved. Here I'd like to mention one thing in passing. It is at "Lugou Bridge"that the Japanese imperialists launched their aggressive war against the Chinese people on July 7, 1937. That is the famous "Lugou Bridge Incident".

The ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River, running under the present "Lugou Bridge", provided favourable conditions for the development of a city. However, it had its disadvantages to the growth of a city at this very point as well. That was the threatening floods of the Yongding River. This is the reason why people altered the name of the river into "Yongding", whose literal meaning is "Tranquility Forever", showing the hope that the river would always remain tranquil and never overflow its banks.

The Yongding River, as a big river, had an unsteady rate of flow. In the

rainy season, the Yongding River rose higher and higher, swelled by the water running from the mountainous areas which were to the northwest of the Beijing Plain. Such ancient ferry-place as the crossing site where the present Lugou Bridge is situated stood in the way of the seething and rolling waters. The floods formed a constant menace and an incessant danger to the crossing point in the old times. The ancient people decided that they shouldn't build their city in such a place. They should have their city built up in a place which was close to the crossing site and free from the threat of floods. The place they found was the site of the original settlement which later turned into the city of Ji. As it was located at a hub of communications linking the north and the south, this place had more favourable conditions than its neighbouring settlements. That is why it could develop into a city at a greater speed.

Besides, the original settlement of Ji also had its own local and regional favourable conditions which enabled it to grow up smoothly in its early stage. For instance, it was positioned on a ridge of the alluvial fan formed by the ancient Yongding River. Moreover, it was situated to the east of a belt of overflowing phreatic water near the alluvial fan. In this area, there were rich sources of water underground. To the west of the city of Ji there was a lake formed by the overflowing phreatic water. It was called the West Lake in the past and is now called the Lotus Pond. The lake led to a stream which ran through the southwest part of Ji City. The small river provided a good source of surface water for the early development of the city of Ji.

From the analysis made above, we can see that the rise of Ji City depended not only on the decisive factors for the social and economic development, but also on the favourable geographical conditions of its own. As these geographical conditions existed objectively, their analysis is

possible. If we ignored these geographical conditions, we would find it difficult to explain why the original settlement of Ji should have risen up in this very place.

● Part Three: The Moving Away of the Original Site of the City and the Construction of Dadu City in the Yuan Dynasty

In this part, I'll talk about the historical development of the city at its later stages.

During the long years before the third century B.C. a small enfeoffed princedom called Yan had the city of Ji as its political centre. In the later part of the third century B.C. the State of Yan and all the other states which had been enfeoffed by the Zhou Dynasty were conquered successively by the newly-rising Qin. At this time China evolved into the early stage of feudal society. The first emperor of the Qin Dynasty Qinshihuang founded the first centralized and unified feudal empire with many nationalities living together in China's history.

Feudal society in China, starting from the Qin Dynasty, lasted over 2,100 years in which one dynasty was replaced by another. It was not until 1911 that the last feudal dynasty—the Qing Dynasty—was overthrown. Over these long years, China became split up politically from time to time. That is to say, two or more independent empires co-existed on this territory for some time and vied with one another. But for most of the time in this long period, China was in a state of unification, which promoted the economic and cultural development of the country.

The political centre of the whole country altered several times in the long history. Two out of the cities which acted as capitals were much more important. Chang'an which is known as Xi'an now, used to be the major

political centre of the country in the earlier period of feudal society. Only much later did Beijing become the major political centre of the whole country.

Though Chang'an served as the major political centre of the country, Beijing also played an important political role for it occupied a key position to link the Central Plain and the remote regions of the Northeast China. During this period, the dynasties which ruled the Central Plain were mostly established by members of the Han Nationality. As they took agriculture as their chief means of production, they came to a rather advanced stage in social economy and culture. In the meantime, the outlying areas of Northeast China were distributed with several national minorities who were still leading a nomadic life. They were under-developed in production, as they were in a developing stage of slave society. So within China there existed simultaneously two social structures which were in different stages of development and thus often in opposition to each other. Such contradictions could by no means be solved under the old social system. The valiant horsemen of the nomadic tribes, led by their militant and bellicose chieftains, often rode southward over to the Central Plain, forming a threat to the inhabitants who engaged in farming in these areas. Their intrusion threatened to overthrow the rulers of the areas of the Central Plain. Consequently, the rulers of the Central Plain, when powerful, would often send expeditionary forces against the nomadic tribes inhabiting the remote areas in the North. But they would more often act on the defensive rather than take the offensive. Hundreds of thousands of labourers were driven into the mountains in North China and were forced to build a long-distance bulwark in the mountainous areas for the sake of defence. This is the famous Great Wall. In fact the Great Wall is a witness to one of the most important national contradictions that

ever existed in history. And this colossal and magnificent Great Wall built by the ancient labouring people with their own hands has turned into a well-known interesting place which is frequently visited by numerous Chinese and foreign tourists with astonishment, admiration and joyfulness.

From the third century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., the rulers of different dynasties from the Central Plain, when they were powerful, would take the city of Ji as their springboard on their punitive expeditions against the nomadic tribes in the north and northeast. But when the imperial empires in the Central Plain were on the decline or in a state of disintegration, the nomadic tribes from the north and northeast would seize the chance to go all the way downward and ride roughshod over the Central Plain, robbing the people there of their property and even capturing many of them as slaves. In such cases, the rulers of the Central Plain would turn the city of Ji into a defence place of strategic importance. But once the chieftains of the nomadic tribes from the north succeeded in capturing the city of Ji, they would certainly, in their turn, make it a base for advancing onward to the south. Of course, for most part of this millennium, people lived in peace without any wars. In the time of peace and settlement, the city of Ji acted as an important trade centre to link the north and the south, and also played an active part in promoting the cultural exchange between the Central Plain and the remote areas in the north and northeast part of China.

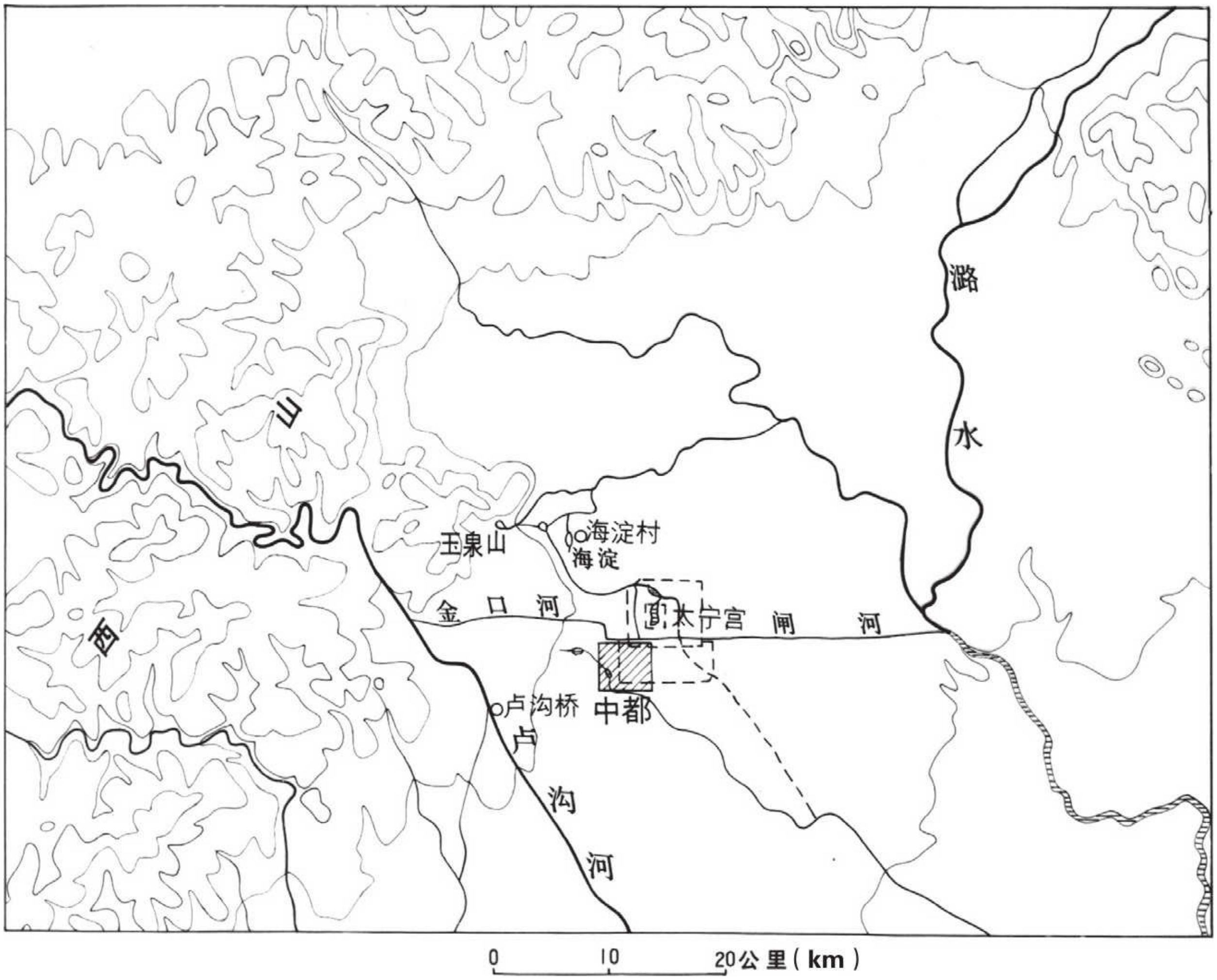
From the tenth century A.D. on, the national minorities living in Northeast China began to rise up one after another and got stronger and stronger. Soon the leaders of the Qidan Nationality (the Khitans) commanded their troops on a southward expedition and occupied the city of Ji. They changed the name of the city into Nanjing (South Capital) or Yanjing and proclaimed it their "accompanying capital" (the second important political

centre) and also took it as a military base for their further southward advancement. This took place in a period called the Liao Dynasty (916-1125) in China's history. At the beginning of the twelfth century, another national minority living in the northeast—the Nuzhen Nationality—sprang up. Before long, they defeated the Qidan rulers and conquered the city of Nanjing of the Liao Dynasty. Then the Nuzhen rulers officially moved their capital to the city of Nanjing and changed its name into Zhongdu (Central Capital). This historical period was called the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234).

The city of Zhongdu of the Jin Dynasty was the last and the biggest city which had ever been built on the original site of the city of Ji. The palatial buildings in the city were luxurious and magnificent. But this new city had a history of less than one hundred years only. Meanwhile, the Mongolian Nationality, a national minority living on the northern plateau, got stronger and stronger, with an outstanding brave man called Genghis Khan as their leader. In 1215, a large group of cavalrymen under Genghis Khan broke through the natural barrier at Nankou Pass and rode all the way to the city of Zhongdu. After fierce battle with the garrison troops of the Jin Dynasty, they forced their way into the city. The town was thrown into confusion and the huge and splendid palaces were burned down to the ground.

In 1260, Genghis Khan's grandson called Kublai Khan who was the founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China's history, came to the city of Zhongdu and chose to make it the capital of his dynasty. After careful considering, the emperor took the advice of a Han scholar named Liu Bing-zhong and decided not to build his imperial palace here. As a learned man with rich knowledge of and practical experience in city construction and with a mastery of many other branches of science and technology, Liu Bing-zhong suggested that a new city should be built on a new place selected in the northeastern suburbs

of the original site of the city of Zhongdu. Another brilliant scientist called Guo Shou-jing also took an active part in the planning and building of the new city. When Guo Shou-jing was young, he used to be a student of Liu Bingzhong. As a scientist, Guo Shou-jing was not only good at astronomy and the science of calendar, but also specialized in surveying and water conservancy. Guo Shou-jing and his teacher Liu Bing-zhong cooperated very well with each other and formed a core of leadership in the city construction. They also invited many skilled masons whose ancestors had engaged in masonry for generations from the Taihang Mountains to participate in the construction of the new city. Among these stonemasons, there were two noted folk artisans of stonework by the names of Yang Qiong and Yang Hao. Besides, assisting in the building of the city were some foreign craftsmen who were from Middle Asia. The construction of the new city started in 1267. The new city was named Dadu(Grand Capital), out of which the present city of Beijing grew.



1-3 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Zhongdu City of the Jin Dynasty 金中都城近郊河渠水道略图

Zhongdu City 中都

Taining Palace 太宁宫

Lugou Bride 卢沟桥

West Mountains 西山

Yuquan Hills 玉泉山

Lugou River 卢沟河

Here I'd like to raise the following two questions, whose answers may help us to have a better understanding of the development of the present city

of Beijing.

1. What made them decide to give up the old town of Zhongdu and build the new city of Dadu instead?

2. How was the site of the new city of Dadu selected? How was the planning of the new city made?

Let us discuss the first question now.

Obviously, the reason why they gave up the old town was that the original palaces had been burned down to the ground. They would rather build a new city with new palaces than to rebuild them on the ruins of the old town. But there was an even more important factor which made them build a new city in a new place. That was the need of new water sources.

When the city of Ji was in its early stage of development, its need for the sources of surface water was limited, as its size and population were not big. The West Lake located near the city and the small river running by the city could quite satisfy the city's demand for water. But great changes took place after the Jin Dynasty founded its capital in this place. To keep up China's ancient tradition, the emperors would have imperial gardens built in connection with the building of the imperial palaces in their feudal capitals. An important factor of building imperial gardens was that they must be embellished with streams, lakes, hills and mounds. If there weren't any natural hills or waters, then artificial lakes would be made by digging into the ground and artificial hills would be piled up with the earth dug out from the lakes. So the lakes and ponds in the imperial gardens were given a fixed name: "the Heavenly Water Pond", which meant that the water of the imperial lakes came directly from the Heaven and that this elemental force was the origin of life. To build imperial gardens, large quantities of water were needed. Thus larger and richer sources of surface water were required.

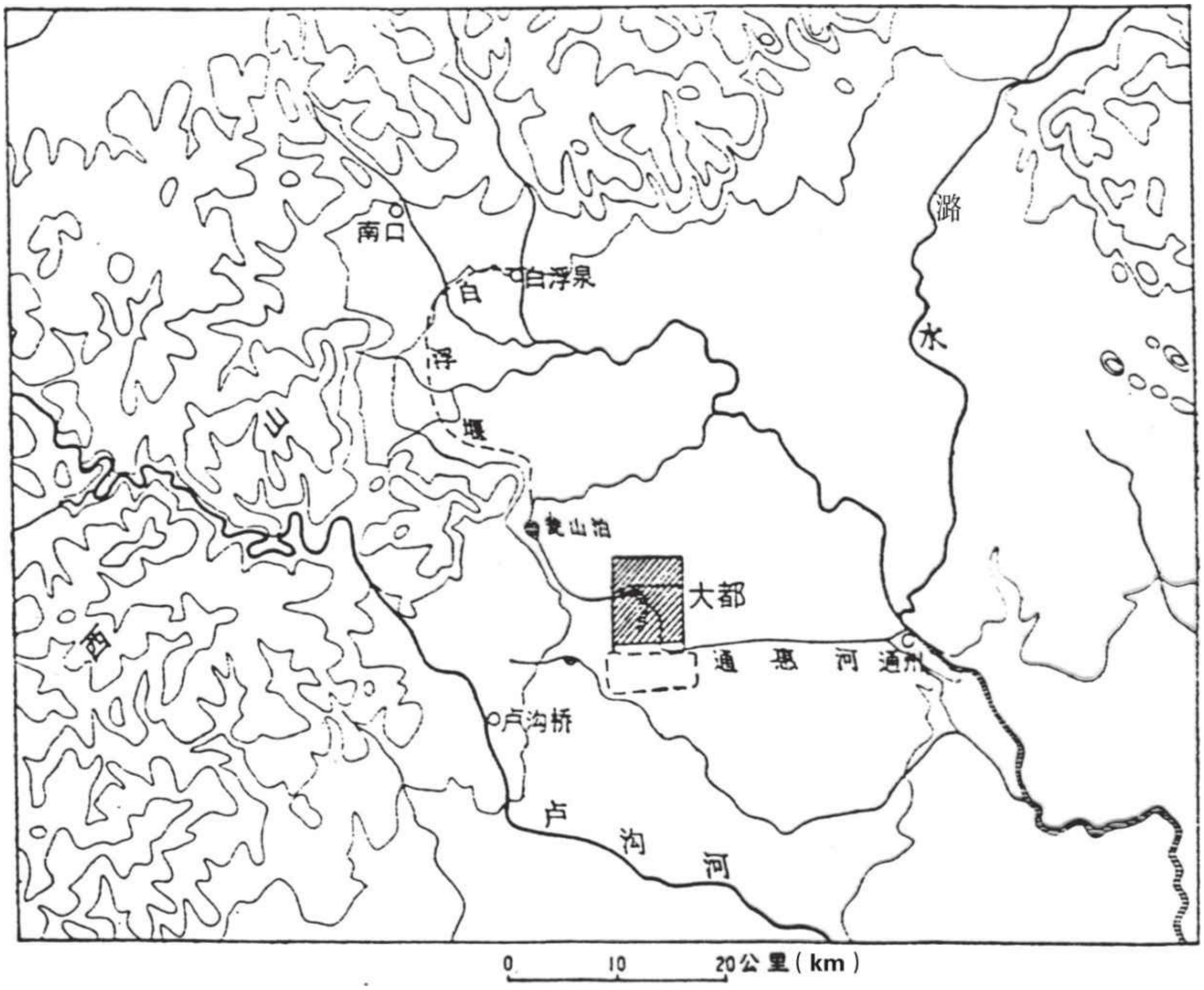
Besides, for the construction of canals leading to the capital sources with plenty of surface water were also needed. The man-made rivers were important channels by which grain collected from the peasants and other articles of daily necessity provided for the royal families, the central governmental institutions and the garrison troops were transported to the capital.

When the rulers of the Jin Dynasty expanded their capital of Zhongdu, they enclosed the river running into the lower part of the West Lake within the city. And they also built their imperial gardens in the west of the imperial palaces. The West Lake as a water source could supply enough water to fill in the imperial lakes. However, it was far from being able to provide the canals with sufficient water. The rulers of the Jin Dynasty did open up a canal linking the city of Zhongdu eastward to a river called the Chaobai River. Their original plan was to direct water from the Yongding River located to the west of the city. Dams and dykes were built to keep back water. Ditches were dug up to direct the controlled water running to the east. But because of the unsteady flow rate of the Yongding River and the limitation of the low-level technology then, they didn't achieve their desired results with these projects. All the attempts they had made to direct water into the canal all turned out to be unsuccessful. This was the most important reason why the Yuan rulers decided to give up the old town and build a new one.

Now let's come to the second question about the selection of the site of the new city and its planning.

Here I'd like to mention something interesting in passing. When Khublai first came to Zhongdu in 1260, he had no place to live in, as the palatial residence had been burned down to the ground. He had to live in a place not far from the ruined city. This fact was definitely recorded then. (Later the fact

was recorded again in the "Biography of Khublai"contained in *The History of the Yuan Dynasty* .) But the exact place where he lived was intentionally ignored for the sake of his security. Now over 700 years have since passed. Over this period, people had no idea where Khublai lived when he first came to Zhongdu. Now having made careful investigations, we discovered that he lived in a summer palace originally built for the emperors of the Jin Dynasty and their royal families, which was built on an expanse of waters on the northeastern outskirt of the capital. This palatial residence during the Jin Dynasty was called Taining Palace (Great Tranquility Palace) whose main building stood on an island in the middle of the lake. The building was named the Lunar Hall, which referred to the mythical palace on the moon. This name also suggested the scenery here which was as beautiful as on a fairy land. Fortunately, this temporary palatial residence outside the capital remained untouched when the Mongolian horsemen forced into the city of Zhongdu and set fire to the imperial palace inside the city in 1215. The construction of the city of Dadu started in 1267. According to the city planning, the lake around Taining Palace was taken as the centre of the plane designing. This lake was given the name of "the Heavenly Water Pond".



1-4 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty 元大都城近郊河渠水道略图

Dadu City 大都

Tonghui River 通惠河

Lugou Bridge 卢沟桥

Lugou River 卢沟河

Nankou Pass 南口

West Mountains 西山

From the planning of Dadu City, we can see clearly that on the east bank of the Heavenly Water Pond was built the emperor's palace while on its west

bank stood two groups of palatial buildings facing each other, which were respectively inhabited by the empress dowager and the crown prince. A small round island situated in the middle of the lake served as the link of the three palaces. A wooden bridge was put up to connect the east end of the island and the east bank of the lake, while another wooden bridge was built to link the west end of the island with the west bank of the lake. To the north of the small island, a stone bridge was built to span the water between the small island and the big island on which stood the main building of the old temporary palatial residence—the Lunar Hall. This big island was called "Jade Flower Island", which was suggestive of a place where there were richly decorated jade palaces and beautiful flowers in blossom. The buildings around the lake were well-distributed, around which was put up a square bulwark encircling these imperial palaces. The bulwark actually formed the imperial city wall.

To the north of the imperial city, there was a larger lake then called Jishuitan (the Water Storing Pond), which had previously interlinked with the Heavenly Water Pond in the imperial city. The construction of the imperial city cut the two lakes apart. A new canal was dug up to supply water for the Heavenly Water Pond. This canal was named the Golden Water River in keeping with the ancient tradition.

The water of the Water Storing Pond was originally from a natural river called the Gaoliang River. Its former course in the lower reaches supplying water for the Water Storing Pond was perhaps filled up or turned into an underground river, in the construction of the city of Dadu. So a new canal was opened up, which ran along the east wall of the imperial city and flew out of the city of Dadu. This new canal was the last part of the Grand Canal, through which the ships and boats carrying grain collected from South China

sailed into the city of Dadu and anchored in the Water Storing Pond. The ships and boats also transported goods from the south. So the place on the northeastern bank of the Water Storing Pond and its nearby streets became the most busy market-place in the city of Dadu.

Now we can see that superficially, the summer palace of the Jin Dynasty led to the construction of the city of Dadu in this area. But in fact, the new source of water from the Gaoliang River formed the decisive factor of the selection of city site in this very place.

Here is a thing we must pay special attention to, that is, the determination of the central axis of the city which was of the first importance in the plane designing of the city of Dadu. This central axis went along the east bank of the Water Storing Pond. And the centre of the emperor's palace was fixed on the central axis of the whole city and it occupied the most important position. The apex of the central axis was at the northeastern bank of the Water Storing Pond. This point was taken as the geometric centre of the plane designing of the whole city. Here at this very point was erected a designating building which was called "the Central Pavilion". On the right side of the pavilion was set up a stone tablet on which were inscribed four Chinese characters, meaning "the Central Platform". This shows that when the planning and designing of the whole of the new city were made, a precise plane survey was also made.

To the west of the Central Platform was put up the "Drum Tower". And to the north of the "Drum Tower" was built the "Bell Tower". The drum and the bell were instruments to give the standard time in old days. So the two towers became centres telling the time for the whole city. The fact was also clearly recorded in *Marco Polo's Travelling Notes* .

Once the geometric centre of the whole city was determined, the

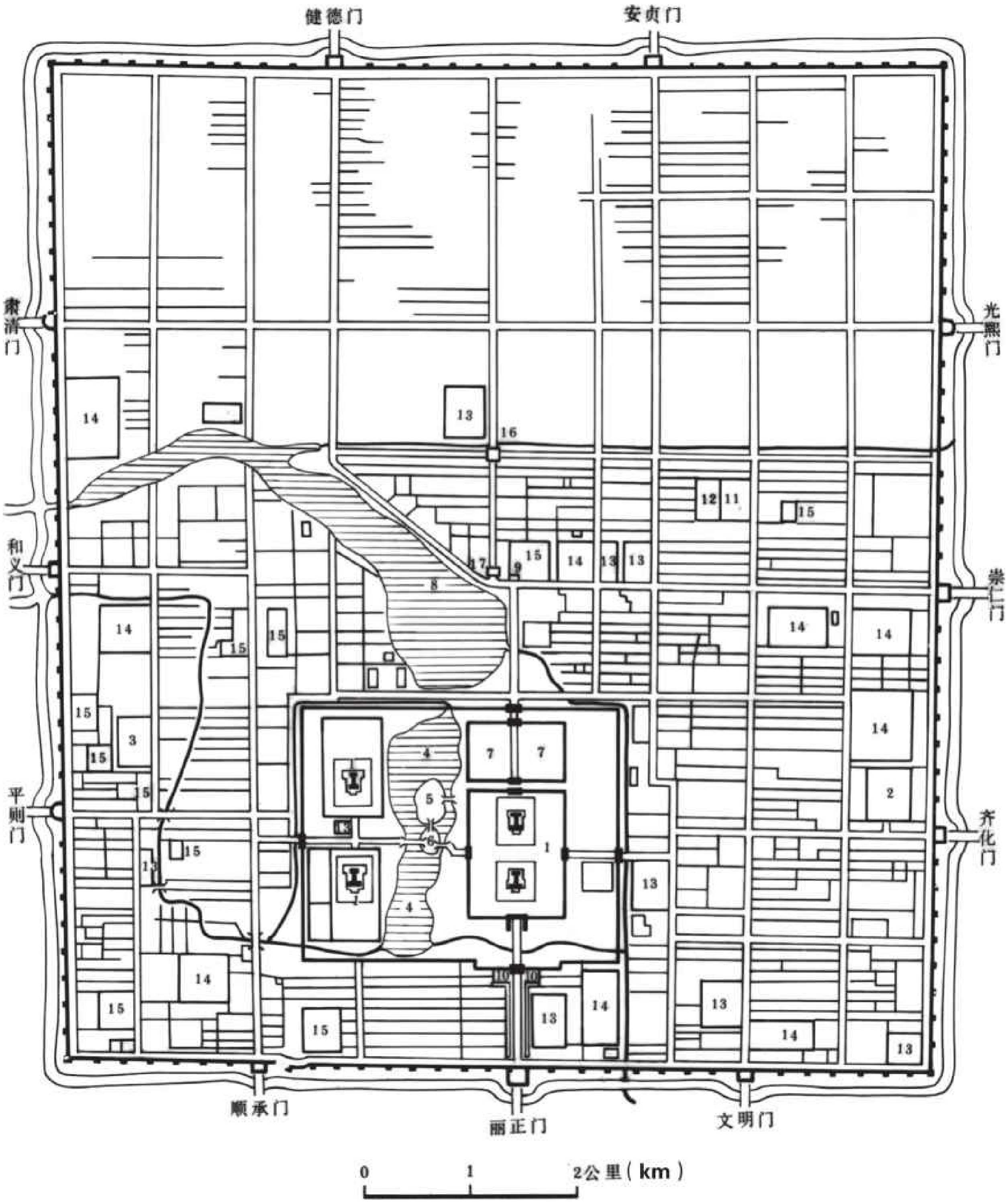
position of the outer walls of the city was also decided. The construction of the city was basically carried out according to the original planning. Only the east wall slightly drew in for the purpose of avoiding some topographical disadvantages.

The east, west and south walls of the city had three gates each. Its north wall had only two gates. Inside each gate there was a straight main road. These roads in the city formed a criss-cross network of communications which resembled a chessboard. The middle gate of the south wall was fixed on the central axis of the whole city. The gate was on the central trunk line, which led northward to the emperor's palace. Inside the emperor's palace, only the main halls which were symbolic of the imperial power, were arranged on the central axis, while those less important buildings were symmetrically arranged on either side of the central axis.

Outside the imperial city were arranged many horizontal streets and lanes parallel with each other in between meeting these vertical main roads at right angles. These districts were chiefly living quarters of the local inhabitants. These areas were dotted with many central and local government offices and institutions, temples, warehouses and other public buildings. Only two groups of important buildings were laid out in a planned way. The first group of edifices was positioned inside the south gate of the east wall of the big city. This group of edifices was called the Imperial Ancestral Temple, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to their ancestors. The other group of buildings was situated inside the south gate of the west wall of the big city. It was called the Altar of Land and Grain, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the God of Land and the God of Grain.

This plane arrangement of the city of Dadu was similar to a kind of ideal designing of imperial capitals in the ancient time. This ideal designing was

first seen in a book entitled "A Study of Engineering" which came out in the fifth century B.C. This book exclusively dealt with engineering and also referred to the designing of imperial capitals. According to *A Study of Engineering* , the imperial city walls in the four directions must form a square. The wall on each side had three gates. Inside each gate there were three main roads parallel to each other. So the main roads and streets in the city formed a criss-cross network of communications. The imperial city was supposed to face the south. In front of the central point of the imperial city (in the south direction) were located the imperial courts. At the back of the imperial city(in the north direction) were concentrated the market-places. To the left of the imperial courts (in the east direction) was located the Imperial Ancestral Temple. To the right of the imperial city (in the west direction) was situated the Altar of Land and Grain. It is clear that the planning of Dadu City was made on the basis of this ancient ideal designing and also in the light of the specific conditions of the distribution of lakes and waterways on the spot. This plane arrangement was aimed at placing the imperial palaces on the most important position of the whole city. This designing embodied the absolute power of feudal emperors.



1-5　Plan of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty　元大都城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿

2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

4．Heavenly Water Pond　太液池

5．Jade Flower Island　琼华岛（万寿山、万岁山）

6．Round City　圆坻（瀛洲）

7．Imperial Garden　御园

8．Jishuitan (Water Storing Pond)　积水潭

9．Central Platform　中心之台

10．Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊

11．Confucian Temple　文庙

12．Imperial College　国子监

13．Yamuns　衙门

14．Barns　仓库

15．Temples　寺观、庙宇

16．Bell Tower　钟楼

17．Drum Tower　鼓楼

（Reproduced on the basis of Xu Pingfang's Atlas of Dadu　根据徐苹芳《元大都城图》原稿复制）

Eight years after the construction of the large-scale well-planned city of Dadu started, Marco Polo came here. He was thought highly of by Khublai and appointed as a high official in the imperial courts of the Yuan Dynasty. In his famous travelling notes, he made a detailed description of the city of Dadu. He called it "Khanbaliq", which meant "the city of the great Khan". His book was read by many people in the West. It is well-known that in the fifteenth century, Christopher Columbus himself hadn't made up his mind to make a voyage to China until he read *Marco Polo's Travelling Notes* .

Columbus believed that the earth was round, and thought that he would certainly reach China by sailing westward in a ship, since Marco Polo could succeed in getting to China through going eastward by land. Of course he failed to get to China. But the determination of this brave and talented man led to an unexpected discovery—the discovery of the New Continent.

● Part Four: The City of Beijing in the Ming and Qing Dynasties—A Remarkable Example of the Imperial Capitals for Its Excellent Planning and Designing

The domination of the Yuan Dynasty lasted less than one hundred years only. It was replaced by the Ming Dynasty founded by the Han Nationality. The Ming rulers rose up in the lower reaches of the Yangzi River and made Nanjing their first capital. Then they began their northern expedition. In 1368 they captured the city of Dadu, and changed its name into Peiping (North Pacification). When the third emperor of the Ming Dynasty came to the throne, he decided to move his capital northward to Beijing (North Capital). This is the first time to use the name of Beijing. At this time a large-scale reconstruction of the city was carried out. In 1420 the rebuilding of the city was basically completed.

When the Ming troops first conquered Dadu City, they leveled down the Yuan imperial palaces to the ground. For the sake of defence, they built up a new bulwark on the bottle-neck of the Water Storing Pond, which was positioned 2.5 kilometres inside the original northern city wall.

The reconstruction work consisted of the following items:

1. The emperor's palace was rebuilt, with the original central axis as the central line. The new emperor's palace moved a bit southward, which was later called the Purple Forbidden City (which is now well-preserved and

opened up as the Palace Museum). In the Forbidden City, the six great halls symbolic of the imperial power ranged from south to north on the central axis of the whole city. The other buildings were as usual arranged on either side of the six great halls in strict symmetry.

2. With the southward moving of the emperor's palace, the south wall of the imperial city and the south wall of the city of Beijing proper were also moved southward. And as a result, the imperial city and the big city got larger space each. A new Imperial Ancestral Temple and a new Altar of Land and Grain were respectively put up in the increased space on the two sides of the central trunk line in front of the Forbidden City. The two groups of buildings which were erected in keeping with the old tradition, were more closely connected with the emperor's palace. With these two groups of new buildings, the position of the central trunk line became more conspicuous from the viewpoint of the plane arrangement.

Besides, in the very front of the imperial city was opened up a new T-shape court square, out of which the present Tian An Men Square grew. On the two sides of the court square, many central governmental offices and organs were concentrated symmetrically.

3. As a result of the southward moving of the south wall of the imperial city, there appeared an expanse of open land to the south end of the Heavenly Water Pond. So a new artificial lake was dug out in this place, which linked the Heavenly Water Pond and made it much larger. The original parts of the lake were called the Middle Sea and the North Sea while the expanded part of the lake was called the South Sea. Just to the north of the Forbidden City, a new man-made hill was piled up with the earth dug out from the South Sea and from the moat around the Forbidden City. This hill was named the Jing Hill or the Coal Hill. The middle peak of the Jing Hill is 47 metres in height.

It formed a remarkable point of the central axis of the whole city and became the new geometric centre of the rebuilt city.

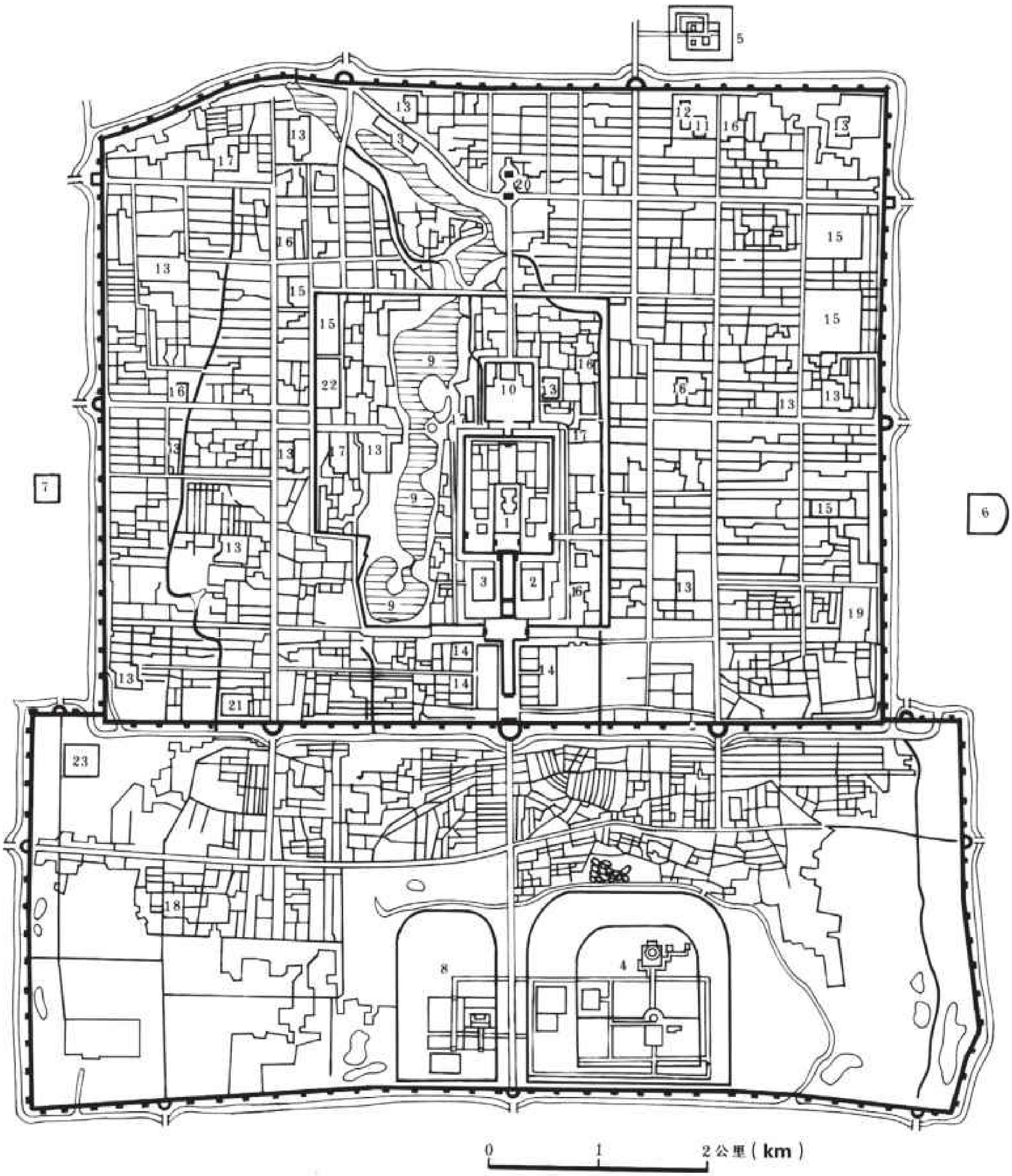
4. On the old site of the geometric centre of the former Dadu City, a new Drum Tower and a new Bell Tower were put up. The two buildings marked the apex of the central axis of the whole of the new city.

5. While the city was reconstructed, two groups of buildings were put up just to the south of the city. The two groups of buildings stood side by side. The one on the east side was called the Temple of Heaven, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the Heaven and prayed for good harvests. The one on the west side was called the Altar of Mountain and River, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the God of Mountain and the God of River. Between the two groups of buildings, there was a central trunk line which led northward straight to the middle south gate of the big city. This entrance was called Zhengyang Gate or Front Gate. In 1553, an outer city wall was built to reinforce the defence of the imperial capital. This newly-built outer city enveloped the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Mountain and River (which was later called the Xiannong Altar). The old city in the north was called "the Inner City" while the newly-built city in the south was called "the Outer City". The combination of the two cities formed an outline which resembles a Chinese character "凸" meaning "protruding".

With the Outer City built, the central axis of the Inner City extended southward to the due south gate of the Outer City. The new central axis was as long as nearly eight kilometres. The new central line became even more outstanding in the plane arrangement of the old city of Beijing.

With the Outer City built, the construction of the old city of Beijing was fundamentally completed. In 1644, the Qing Dynasty—the last feudal dynasty in China's history—was founded.[1] The rulers of the Qing Dynasty

also took Beijing as their capital. They didn't make any more changes in the construction of the city. The city remained as it had been until the liberation of Beijing City in 1949. This is now what we call the old city of Beijing.



1-6　Plan of old Beijing City　旧北京城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿

2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

4．Altar of Heaven　天坛

5．Altar of Earth　地坛

6．Altar of Sun　日坛

7．Altar of Moon　月坛

8．Xiannong Altar　先农坛

9．Western Garden　西苑

10．Jing Hill　景山

11．Confucian Temple　文庙

12．Imperial College　国子监

13．Residences of princes and princesses　诸王府、公主府

14．Yamuns　衙门

15．Barns　仓库

16．Buddhist temples　佛寺

17．Taoist temples　道观

18．Islamic mosque　伊斯兰教礼拜寺

19．Examination Hall　贡院

20．Bell and Drum Towers　钟鼓楼

21．Elephants stall　象房

22．Catholic church　天主教堂

23．Barrack　营房

（From A Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.1, pp.183-184　采自《中国建筑简史》第一册，页一八三——一八四）

This old city of Beijing which was developed on the basis of Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty, has been considered an excellent example of the construction of feudal capitals in China's history. It embodied all the better

the absolute power of feudal emperors.

But as a Chinese saying goes, "things will develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme." The planning and designing of the old city of Beijing demonstrated that the autocratic feudalism in Chinese history had gone to its extreme. And this extreme autocracy led to its own collapse.

In 1911, the democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen broke out. It put an end to the domination of feudal dynasties which had lasted over two thousand years in China.

In 1919, the May Fourth Movement broke out in the old city of Beijing. It marked the prelude to China's new democratic revolution.

After 30 years' hard and bitter struggles, the Chinese people succeeded in achieving their liberation in 1949. During the most arduous struggles, many people, including the great internationalist Dr. Norman Bethune, sacrificed their lives.

On October 1, 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly proclaimed the birth of the People's Republic of China, on the rostrum of Tian An Men Gate (Heavenly Peace Gate). The old city of Beijing became the capital of the People's Republic of China.

We were confronted then with a new question: How should we transform the old capital planned and designed in the interest of the feudal emperors into a new capital of the people who live in the new era of socialism?

We know very well that the guiding principle of the planning and designing of the old city of Beijing was to extol the absolute power or autocratic monarch. Now what should be the guiding principle of the overall planning of the new city of Beijing which serves as the people's capital in the new socialist era?

I'll deal with this question in my next talk.

Thank you very much for your attention.

A Discussion on the New City Plan of Beijing

The transformation of the old city of Beijing started as soon as it was made the capital of the People's Republic of China, to meet the needs of a new era. In addition to the establishment of a special city-planning institution, three guiding principles have been formulated: it must serve first, proletarian politics, second, industrial and agricultural production, and third, the labouring people.

To serve proletarian politics means to turn the old city, which was constructed in the past to satisfy the political needs of the feudal emperors, into a new one which will best suit the political demands of a people's capital in the new era of socialism.

To serve industrial and agricultural production means to turn the old city which used to be the largest consumer centre in the country, into a base for modernised industrial production and centre of well-developed suburban agriculture.

To serve the labouring people means to completely reform the slummy districts swarming with working people in the past, and on an overall scale, give preference in our city planning to those projects of urban construction which will satisfy the immediate needs in their lives. Under guidance of these three principles, great achievements have been made in both the city planning and the construction of Beijing and profound changes have been brought about in its functions and appearance during the last thirty years. There are experiences of success as well as lessons of disappointment in the process. However, to comment on them at length here would be both unnecessary and

beyond my power. As a scholar of the historical geography, the question I would like to put forth for discussion is exactly the one which I posed at the conclusion of my last lecture. I shall repeat it here.

How do we transform an imperial capital which was once planned and designed for the benefit of feudal emperors in the past into a people's capital of the socialist new era? Or rather, in contrast with the theme of glorifying the supremacy of feudal monarchs as illustrated in the city planning of the old Beijing, what new theme should we adopt for the city planning of today's Beijing serving as a people's capital and how can such a theme be effectually materialised?

This problem is not merely one of engineering technology, but above all, one of great significance to the development of history and culture. In China today, with the transformation of social system, the values of an age-old tradition are also undergoing unprecedented changes. We could never imagine that a new socialist culture would drop from the sky, nor could it be transplanted from a certain foreign land. It can only grow up out of its native soil. For instance, isn't the Renaissance, which had its root in ancient Greek and Roman culture, and which, in turn, with a completely new mental outlook, created a great new epoch in European culture of the Middle Ages, such a shining precedent?

In China today, people have also been discussing and looking forward to the advent of a great new era of renaissance, sprouting out of its native soil. Consequently, how to regard one's own historical and cultural heritage becomes a problem of considerable importance.

Our basic principle is critical inheritance. During the long period of feudal society, the Chinese people have created a magnificent ancient culture, which, however, also contains some feudal dregs. It is wrong to accept

ancient culture without discrimination, and equally wrong to reject it altogether; the only correct attitude, of course, is to assimilate its essence and discard its dregs, to make the past serve the present and weed through the old to bring forth the new, so as to create a new culture characteristic of the epoch, on the basis formed in the course of history. Naturally, during this process of creating a new culture, it is necessary for us to endeavour to absorb all that is advanced from other countries to serve our own purpose, to use a catch-phrase, "to make foreign things serve China".

So far, we have only touched upon abstract principles. But I've already digressed too far from the point in question. So let us return to it now.

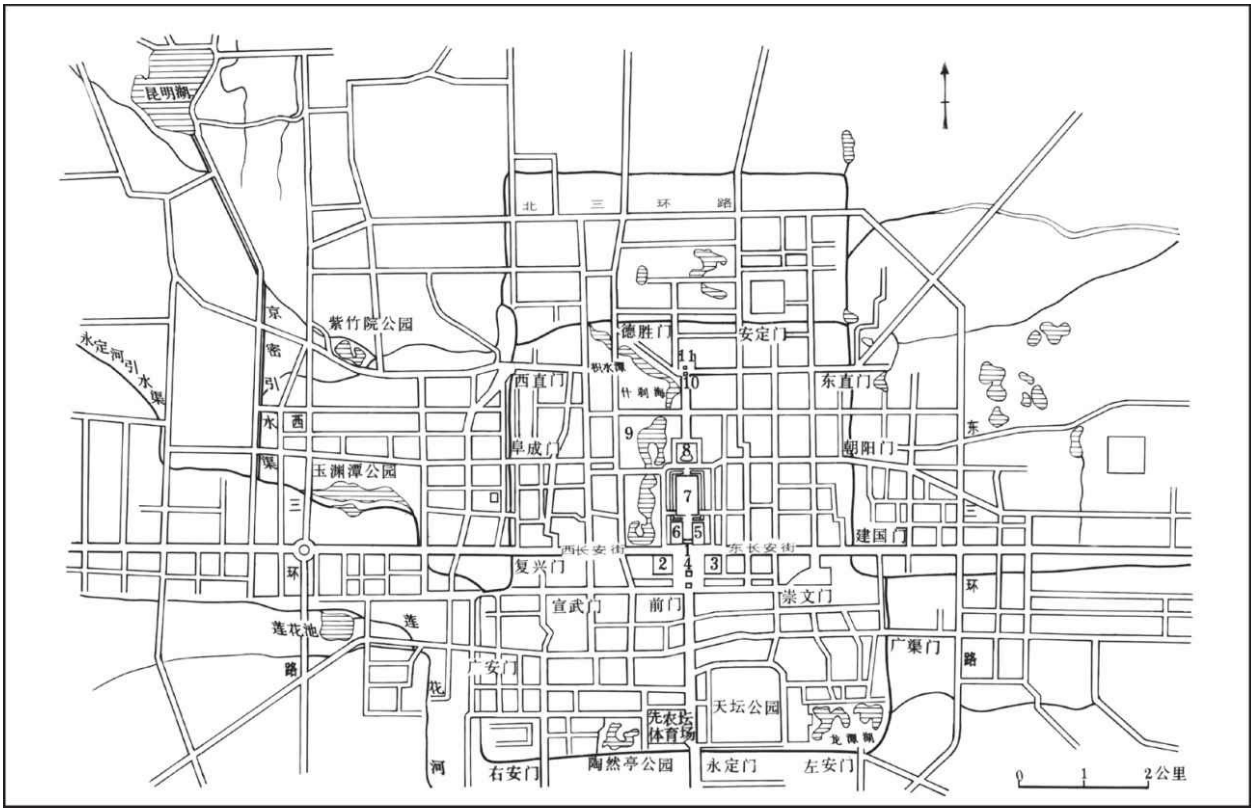
In fact, the old city of Beijing which has been kept intact all through is part of China's historical and cultural legacy. The reconstruction of the city shall also be carried on under the guidance of the principle of critical inheritance. First of all, we should keep one thing in mind; that is, as a people's capital of the socialist new era, it must adopt a theme for its city planning in praise of the people, of their strength, their dignity, of the truth: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the creation of the world." It should not only demonstrate the great creations of the people in the past, but also embody the stark reality that the people have become masters of their country. The fulfillment of this new theme shall serve as a thorough criticism of the old theme centred upon the eulogy of the supremacy of the feudal monarchy.

How to bring about the fulfillment of this new theme is a problem of vital importance in the new city planning of Beijing.

It seems to be a very difficult problem, but actually many valuable experiences have been gathered during the transformation of the old city of Beijing since liberation, and need to be summed up and brought up to a

theoretical height so that they may give further guidance to the city planning and construction of Beijing later on. I shall cite only one example here, the reconstruction of the Tian An Men Square for illustration.

Tian An Men Square is closer to the centre of the city now than in the past.



1-7　Sketch map of reconstruction of Beijing's old city　北京旧城平面设计的改造示意图

1．Tian An Men Gate　天安门

2．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂

3．Museum of Chinese Revolution and Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆

4．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

5．Working People's Palace of Culture　劳动人民文化宫

6．Sun Yat-sen Park　中山公园

7．Palace Museum　故宫博物院

8．Jing Hill Park　景山公园

9．North Sea Park　北海公园

10．Drum Tower　鼓楼北海公园

11．Bell Tower　钟楼

（Redrawn according to Urban Traffic Map in Beijing Tourism Atlas , simplified version, 2nd edition, 1972　根据地图出版社《北京市游览图》1972年第2版中的《市区交通图》缩简改绘）

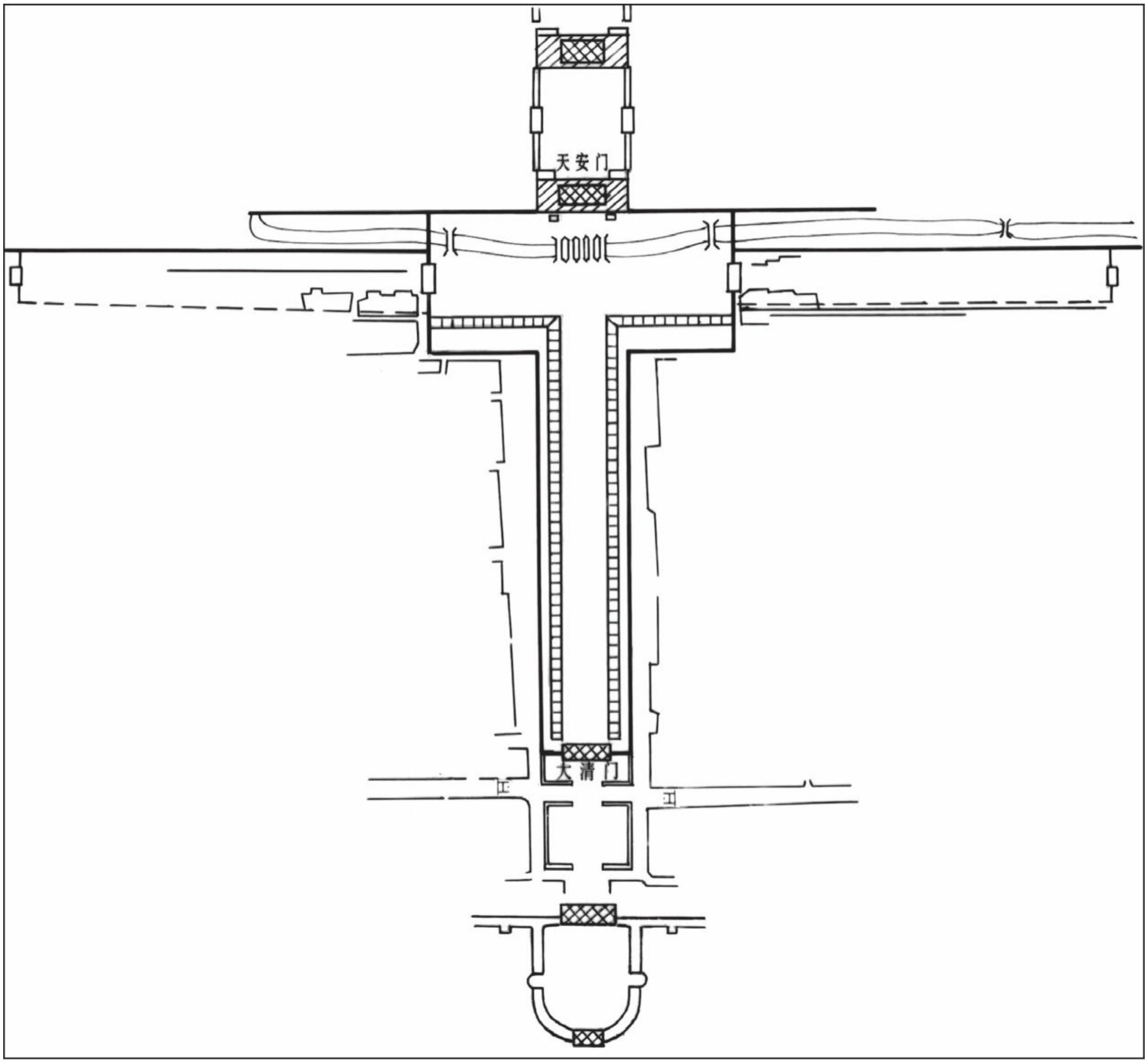
It was decided in the city planning of an earlier stage after liberation that the reconstruction and extension of Beijing should centre around the old city. Today Beijing's new urban districts have broken the bounds of the former city walls and expanded in every direction. The limit of extension was roughly set at the third suburban ring road which is now under construction. Within this limit, the layout of the streets was to retain, on the whole, the traditional pattern. Beyond it, the main lines of communication were to radiate in all directions. The plane design of the city preserved the traditional character of balance and symmetry, thus enhancing the outstanding position of the Tian An Men Square which used to be a court square in front of Tian An Men, the south gate of the old imperial city. It was nominally a "gate", but in reality, an imperial palace built on a purple terrace. The artisans who undertook the construction of Tian An Men have bestowed upon it such majestic beauty as to illustrate fully the characteristic of ancient Chinese architecture. The feudal emperors' aim in building such an enormous structure on this spot was not merely for the sake of fortification, but also to display the dignity of their kingly abode. According to the tradition of feudal

dynasties, here was the so-called "outer court" where receptions of distinguished foreign guests and celebrations of grand occasions took place. The last feudal dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, also used this "outer court" to celebrate the issuing of the imperial edict on the coronation day, that is, to publicise the coronation of a new emperor to the subjects of the kingdom. The imperial edict was placed on a tray carved in the shape of cloud and carried to Tian An Men from the Forbidden City in a miniature "Dragon Pavilion". Then, jubilant music was played on Tian An Men, whose square was strewn with prostrate civil and military officials and "elders" chosen and dispatched here to represent the common people. After the edict was read by the Edict Reader on Tian An Men, it was placed in the beak of a carved golden phoenix and lowered slowly down along the middle of the gate where it was put back into the "Dragon Pavilion" again and carried to the "Ministry of Rites" to the east of the square, where fair copies of it were made in yellow paper and distributed to the whole kingdom. The sole purpose of this ritual performance was to show that the divine rights of monarchs came directly from the Heaven. This is only an illustration of how feudal emperors used this court square to make a display of themselves and fool the people.

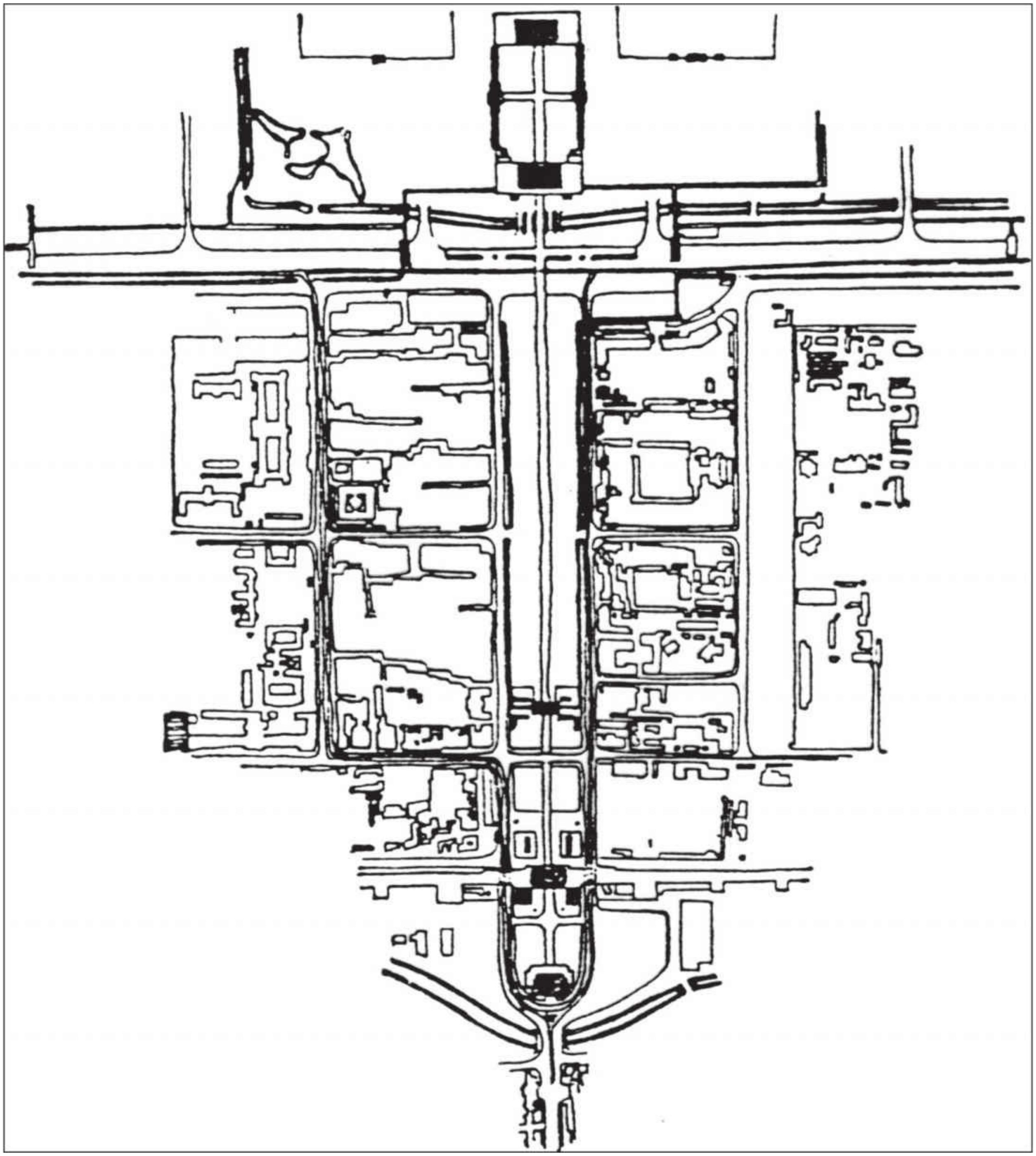
The square was somewhat T-shaped and closely confined by red walls all around, leaving only one entrance on every side for passage. These entrances, however, were strictly forbidden to the common people.

But the dialectics of history is relentless. When the Qing Dynasty was overthrown in 1911, it was this square which had been so strictly forbidden to the ordinary people that became the rallying centre of the revolutionary masses for patriotic demonstrations. And it was here, some sixty years ago, that the May Fourth Movement, which set the new democratic revolution ablaze, broke out. Again, it was here that the last mass movement was

launched on the eve of the nation's liberation, against Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to unleash a civil war and his persecution of young students.



1-8 The Qing Dynasty's T-shaped imperial square 清乾隆扩建后的天安门宫廷广场



1-9 Tian An Men Square before redevelopment 改建前天安门广场图

Due to this glorious revolutionary tradition, the Tian An Men Square was chosen to be the site for the grand founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Subsequently Tian An Men, the

magnificent structure erected by labouring people in ancient times, was engraved on the national emblem of the republic to symbolize the renaissance of an ancient culture. The square has been transformed from a feudal court square into a people's square in the new socialist epoch. It has now become the centre of the country's political life, cherished by people of all nationalities.

But, at the time when the founding ceremony was being celebrated, the square was still confined on all sides by walls which seriously hindered popular activities by obstructing their sight and compressing their hilarious atmosphere within the square. As we look at it today, Tian An Men represents the essence of ancient Chinese architecture whereas those walls represent the dregs of feudalism. We must preserve the essence part and, according to the principle of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, weave it into the urban life of the present day, so that it may better serve the people. As to the feudal dregs, we must discard them in order to clear the way for our advance towards a new life.

On October 1, 1959, when we celebrated the tenth anniversary of the founding of the republic, the first transformation project of the Tian An Men Square was brought to a successful termination in accordance with the new city planning programme. After the reconstruction, the old walls on the three sides had disappeared and an entirely new square, many folds larger than the old one, presented itself to the public. It remains on the same premises, but has taken on a brand new appearance. Its magnificent, solemn, spacious and shining physiognomy is the embodiment of the ocean-like mind and overwhelming power of the people. The Monument of the People's Heroes towering in the centre of the square, had been completed a year before. With

the People's Conference Hall that represents the centre of popular power on its west side and the Museum of Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History which serve to praise the people as the motive force in history-making, the square has become the heart of the political life of China's various nationalities, whence were spread abroad the aspirations of the Chinese people.

During the reconstruction of the square, its two wings, the East and West Chang An Streets, were extended accordingly. Thus, the great smooth boulevard now forms a new thoroughfare threading the whole city from east to west. By contrast, it has definitely belittled the traditional thoroughfare which runs across the old city from south to north. This is as good as thoroughly negating the theme in the design of the old city, thus giving prominence to the unique position of the people's square in the plane layout of the whole city. The Forbidden City, which perched imposingly in the centre of the city during the old days, is now but a "backyard" of the people's square where only in spare time do people come and enjoy themselves in appreciation of the magnificent palaces built by the labouring people of ancient times and the gems of art in store there.

When Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall was completed in July 1977, the people's square was further expanded and endowed with new significance, adding to the serenity and tranquility of the south end. The lofty antique building of Qian Men (or Zheng Yang Men) has been preserved as well as the majestic Tian An Men. But these two age-old gates have now lost their former function as vanguards of the Forbidden City. They now serve with their artistic features as boundary marks of the new people's square on its south and north borders respectively. Once the thoroughfare—South Qian Men Street—from Qian Men to Yong Ding Men is expanded, the prominence

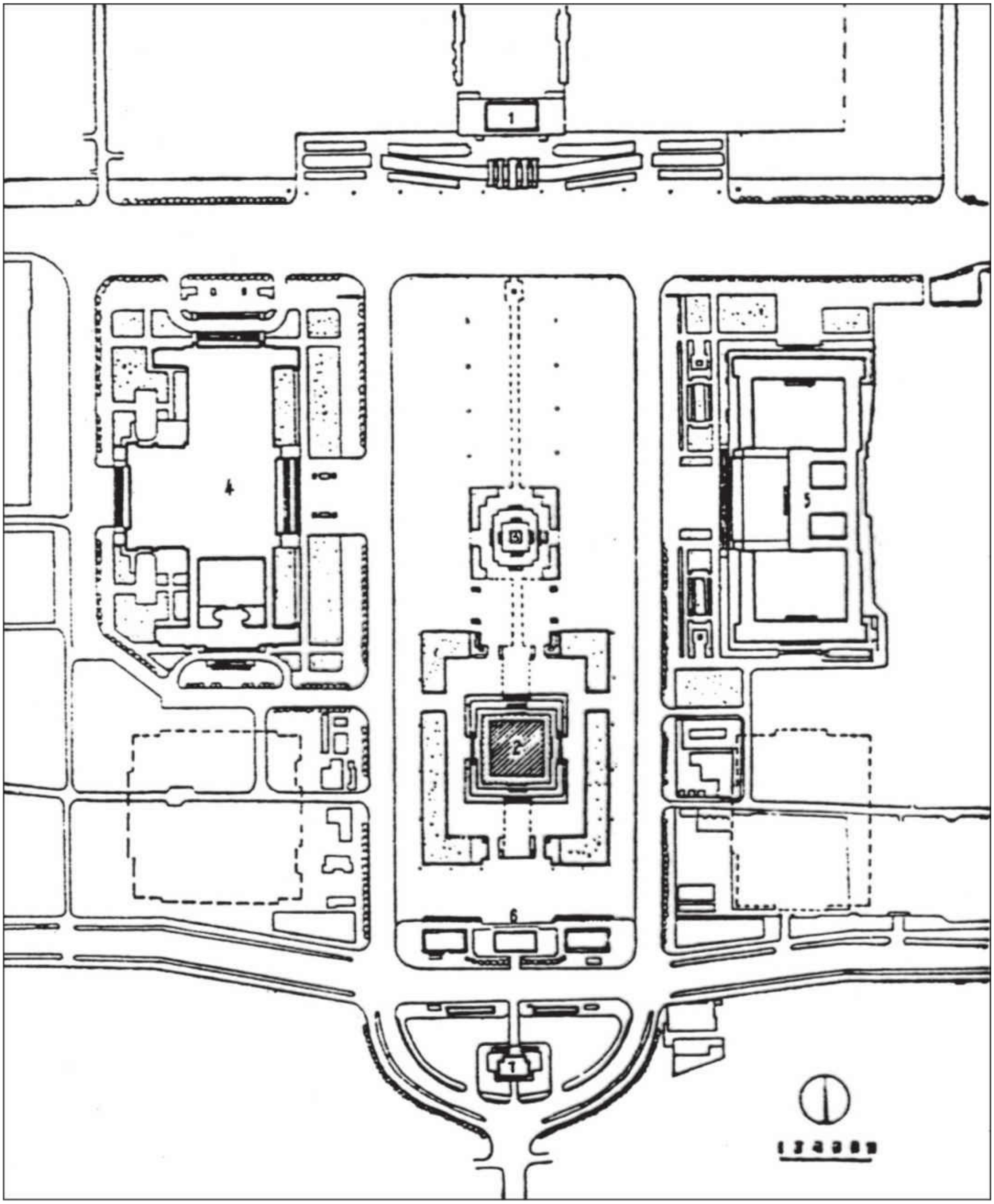
of the Tian An Men Square as the centre of the whole city of Beijing will be further enhanced.

The square, which is now still undergoing further planning, is only an example to illustrate that if we persist in critical inheritance on the basis formed in the course of history and in accordance with the principles of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, a court square whose theme it was to extol feudal emperors can certainly be transformed into a people's square whose theme it is to praise the strength of the people. By analogy, the city of Beijing whose theme it was to extol feudal emperors, can likewise be transformed into a people's capital whose theme it is to praise the strength of the people.

But we must also acknowledge that there did arise controversies in regard to certain measures taken during the transformation of the old city. Although the demolition of the outer red walls enclosing Tian An Men Square did not give rise to any dissent, it was not the case with that of the old city walls. When the question of removing the old city walls was first taken into consideration in the new city planning, opinions varied. Now that the city walls have already been removed, we have come to realize through the test of practice that whether it was absolutely necessary to get rid of them is indeed a question worth investigation, especially when part of the city moat has been turned into an undercurrent with their removal, thus reducing the water area in the city, which has proved detrimental to the improvement of its environment. It was particularly true with the moat outside Qian Men which runs through the middle of the city from west to east. If it had been preserved, it would not only have added to the natural beauty of the city, but also promoted its climate conditioning and helped to provide the city with fresh air, which would be extremely advantageous to the improvement of the city's

environment and would supply its residents with excellent recreation ground.

It ought to be mentioned here that before the Cultural Revolution, there was a certain project in a district planning for the transformation of Tian An Men Square to bring a section of the moat outside Qian Men into the new plan of the Tian An Men Square. As a result, there would appear in the south of the square, a wooded garden abounding in natural views. If this proposal had been adopted, it would have added to the serenity and tranquility in the southern part of Tian An Men Square by setting off the green lawns around Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall with a riverside park outside Qian Men. But all this has proved to be something irremediable now.



1-10 Plan of Tian An Men Square on completion of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall 毛主席纪念堂建成时的天安门广场总平面图

1．Tian An Men　天安门

2．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂

3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

4．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂

5．Museum of Chinese Revolution, Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆

6．Zheng Yang Men (Qian Men)　正阳门（前门）

7．Archery Tower　箭楼

（From Journal of Architecture, 1977, No. 4　采自《建筑学报》1977：4）

This is an example which illustrates that during the transformation of the old city of Beijing, there did exist setbacks in our experience which need to be summed up for future reference when we revise the city plan of Beijing. Of course, this is only my personal view on the matter which may not be correct after all. The heartening thing is that we are free to carry on liberal discussions on controversial issues now. A correct conclusion is sure to be brought about through practice as to the truth and falsehood of an issue. There was a time in the past when academic discussion was confused with political problems, which impeded free discussion and brought about harmful results. For instance, when the question of preserving or demolishing the city walls of Beijing was being discussed, those who favoured its preservation were inclined to be labelled as "conservative", "retrograde" or even "reactionary", thus forcing people to refrain from speaking their mind. Consequently, many valuable opinions were stifled, which proved detrimental to our work. This state of affairs was allowed to develop to an incredible degree during the ten years when the "Gang of Four" was in power, especially in the sphere of culture and learning where "ten thousand

horses stood mute. It is most encouraging to see that during the last two years there has emerged once more the flourishing scene of allowing a hundred flowers to blossom and a hundred schools to contend. Emancipation of the mind and free airing of views are considered to be vital conditions of accelerating the realisation of the modernisation.

As has been proved by experience, as far as critical inheritance of history and culture is concerned, it is not always so easy to distinguish the essense from the dregs. Therefore, it becomes quite necessary to carry on thorough discussion and free debate on all controversial matters. Only by this can we really tell the right from the wrong and distinguish the essence from the dregs, thus achieving the purpose of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring out the new. This is also true with the city construction of Beijing, as well as the cultural construction of the whole nation, only the problem is even more complicated.

In concluding my lecture, I would like to repeat the point that I brought up at the beginning of my talk, i.e. a new China is forging ahead towards modernisation along the road of the new Long March. For this purpose, we have to learn from the West everything that is advanced. Likewise, we shall also absorb all that is valuable from our historical and cultural heritage, which is more important and more complicated a problem in the construction of our new socialist culture. We are quite sure to greet the advent of a new era in our country, which may well be termed a "renaissance", by solving the above-mentioned problem step by step in the process.

It is a great pleasure for me to have obtained this opportunity to come here on the kind invitation of your university, and give a very inadequate introduction of one of the problems confronting my country and my people to my most amiable Canadian friends and colleagues, with the aim to help in my

small way to promote mutual understanding and cultural exchange between our two countries, which has been my greatest wish.

Once more, let me give my heart-felt thanks to the revered President of the University of British Columbia, the honourable Chairman and members of Cecil H. and Ida Green Visiting Professorships and all who have come to my lecture today.

壹　北京城：历史发展的特点及其改造*

我深感荣幸有此机会来到你们美丽的国家，这是我国人民所难以忘怀的伟大的国际主义战士诺尔曼·白求恩的祖国。整整四十年前，白求恩大夫为中国人民的解放事业，献出了自己宝贵的生命。他是把中加两国连接在一起的重要桥梁，是中加两国人民友谊长存的象征。当初他为之献身的事业，在我国已经取得了伟大的胜利；他的理想，在他战斗过的土地上已经开花结实。一个新中国在不断排除来自内部和外部的一切干扰和破坏，正在一个新长征的道路上，向着现代化的目标努力前进。为此我们就需要向西方虚心学习一切先进的科学技术——在这方面，贵国就有许多值得我们很好学习的地方；另一方面，我们还需要从自己的历史文化遗产中吸取一切有价值的部分，而这一点，在我们建设社会主义新文化的过程中，乃是更为重要和更为复杂的一个问题。

对于这个问题，我希望能用一个显而易见的例子，作个简要的说明，这就是如何在古老的北京城的基础上，建设社会主义新时代的人民首都的问题。为了充分说明这个问题，概括地回顾一下北京城历史发展的过程及其特点，还是必要的。

北京城作为中华人民共和国的首都，刚刚度过了三十周年，然而它的历史却可以追溯到悠久的过去。

一、北京地区开发的先驱

远在五十万年前，北京西南郊的周口店地区，已经有中国猿人生活在那里，这就是举世闻名的“北京人”。

在“北京人”住过的山麓洞穴里，发现了埋藏的丰富的原始人类的化石和他们使用过的工具以及动物化石，这些发现为研究人类起源和发展提供了非常重要的科学依据。这不但是中国远古文化遗产的瑰宝，也是

世界文化宝库中的奇珍。

在这些发现中，还有“北京人”用火的遗迹。“北京人”在洪荒的世界里，燃起了熊熊的火焰，宣告了人类黎明时代的来临。

“北京人”处在原始社会的初期，过着群居的生活。他们用木棒和石头所制造的最原始的工具，从事采集和狩猎，以维持自己的生存和抚育后代，为此他们不得不和自然界进行着艰苦顽强的斗争。

经过了几十万年的漫长岁月，一直到原始社会末期，也就是大约四千年前，在北京近郊的平原上，开始出现了一些最初形成的小居民点，这是最早的农民和牧民集居的地方；他们已经从迁移不定的采集和狩猎生活过渡到以农牧为主的定居生活。这些最早的农民和牧民，正是开发北京地区的先驱。

随着生产力的发展和剩余产品的增加，以及社会劳动的分工，开始出现了私有制和极少数不劳而食的剥削者。原始社会开始解体，人类历史上第一个阶级压迫的社会即奴隶制社会逐渐形成。

最初城市的出现，正是奴隶社会形成的标志。

二、北京的原始聚落：蓟及其城址的地理条件

还在三千多年以前，也就是中国奴隶社会的前期，北京的原始聚落已经存在。那时中国的主要统治者，是已经发明了文字记事的商朝。商朝统治的地区，集中在华北大平原的中部，历史上泛称“中原”。对于建都在“中原”的商朝统治者来说，北京的原始聚落还远在北方，可是以青铜器为重要标志的商朝文化，已经传布到这里。

公元前十一世纪初，兴起于黄河中游高原地区的周朝，向东发展，终于征服了大平原上的商朝，继而建立了一个更加发展了的奴隶制国家。北京的原始聚落也就在这时迅速成长起来，这就是日后闻名的蓟城。蓟也就是北京最早见于文字记载的名称。

史书称蓟原是周初在北方的重要封国之一，在蓟的西南方不远、傍

近太行山东麓，还有另一个重要封国叫做燕。后来燕国吞并了蓟国，并迁都到蓟城。

在这里有一个需要特别注意的问题，那就是：蓟的城址是怎样选择的？或者更确切地说：究竟有哪些地理上的因素，使得蓟城的原始聚落得以发展起来，历久而不衰？

这是一个饶有趣味的问题，早已为中外地理学家所注意，而且到今天还仍然是一个值得深入探索的问题。

为了说明这一点，不能不提到加拿大地理学家所熟知的一位负有国际声望的学者，这就是曾在多伦多大学任教的澳洲人G. 泰勒教授。

泰勒教授在到加拿大之前，曾任教于美国芝加哥大学，并于1941年当选为美国地理学家协会主席。正是在这一次当选时的就职演讲中泰勒教授根据他实地考察和研究的结果，讲到了关于北京早期城址选择的问题。这次讲稿的主要内容又编入了他所写的《城市地理学》一书中。现在我就从他这本书中引用几段，以说明他对于北京城址问题的看法。

在这部书的第26页上他写道：

> 要指明北京所以凌驾于黄河冲积平原的绝大部分城市之上的任何环境因素，是困难的。本来可以期待北方的主要城市，或者是在大平原的中心、或者是靠近主要的河流、或者是在沿海的一个良好港口上发展起来。但是这样的条件，北京都不具备。

在以下两页中，他提出了自己的一种看法：

> 看来在北京城址的选择上，显示包含有许多“人”的因素。在古代，巫师们认为这一城址是特别吉利的。
>
> 大约早在公元前723年，由于巫术上和政治上的原因，导致了这个城市的诞生。当时蓟是燕国的首都。以此为起点，似乎再没有其他城市相与颉颃。

最后，他的结论是：

> 必须承认，北京城址的选择，不是由于任何明显的环境上的因素，……我们或许可以认为北京——位于一个具有同一环境的辽阔地区——是一个很好的例子，暗示在这样的情况下，偶然性的理论说明了地理分布的事实。（第29页）

四十年的时间过去了，在这期间——特别是从新中国建立以来，在研究北京城城址起源的问题上，不断有新的考古发现和新的研究成果可供参考。可惜的是泰勒教授未能来得及看到这些新材料就离开了我们。如果根据这些新发现的材料来批评泰勒教授的某些论断，是不公平的。现在极需要做的是利用到目前为止我们所能掌握的新材料，对蓟城的起源和城址的特点，再作些进一步的探讨。

为此，就需要对蓟城的地理位置及其特征，再作些必要的说明。

第一，过去关于蓟城城址的确切地点，无论是在中文或外文的研究著作中，论证多不可靠。到目前为止，根据所掌握的新材料，可以确定蓟城的故址，就在今日北京市区的西南隅，相当于现在广安门附近的一带地方。

第二，这一城址的位置，也正好处于附近一个小平原的西南隅。这个小平原，可以称之为“北京小平原”。从地形的特征来看，也有人叫它做“北京湾”。因为这个小平原的西、北和东北三面，有丛山环抱，其形势有如海湾。二三百万年前，这里也确曾是一个海湾，海湾的东西两侧，各有一条大河，切开山岭，注入海湾。东边的一条河，现在叫做潮白河，其下游曾是旧日南北大运河的一段。西侧的一条河，现在叫做永定河，也和黄河一样以携带泥沙之多而闻名。这两河所携带的泥沙，逐渐把这个古代的海湾淤为平地，向南与黄河冲积平原连成一片。

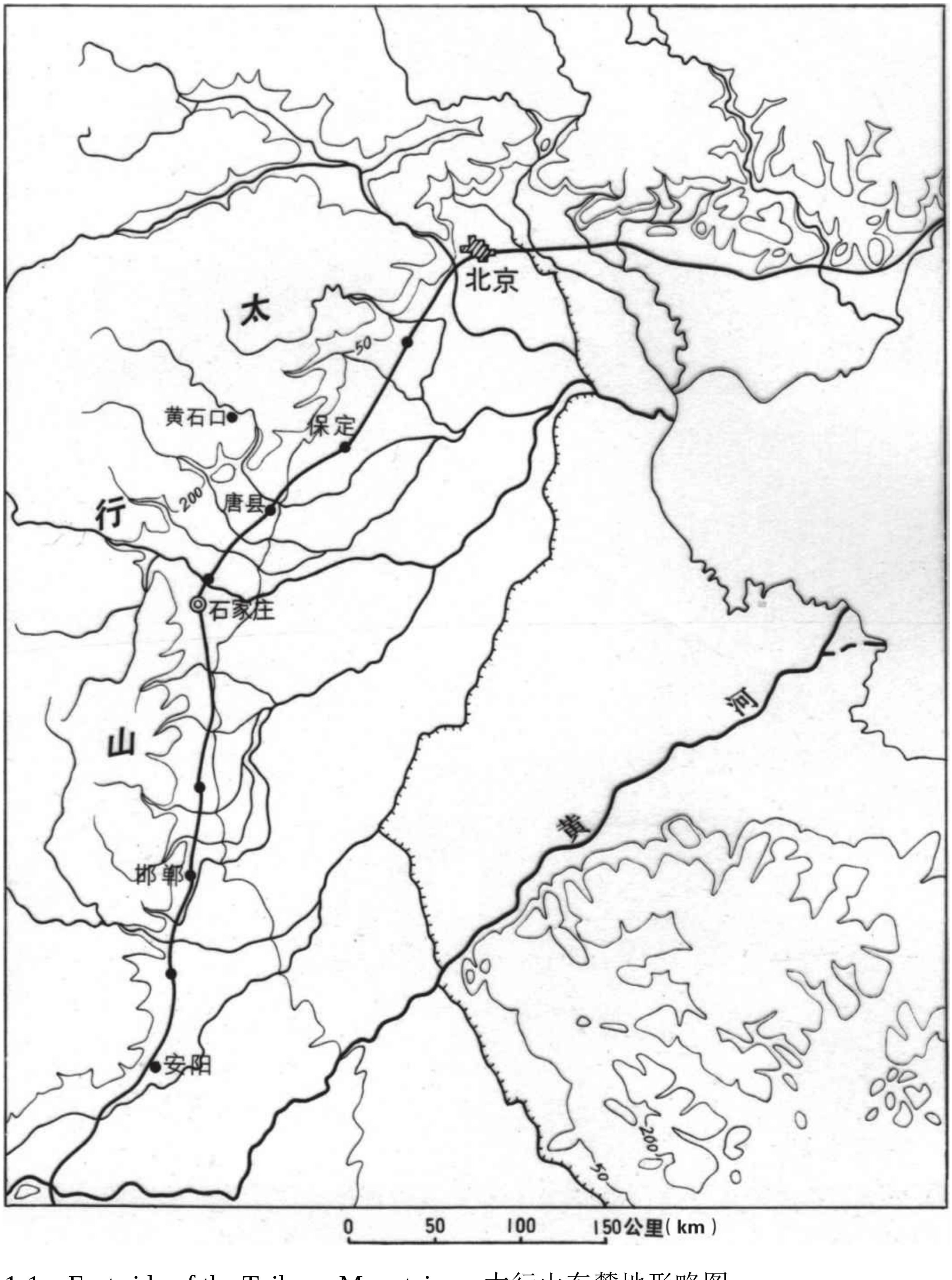
第三，这个北京小平原和华北大平原的关系，从交通条件来看，是特别值得注意的一个问题。因为三千年来这里的地理情况，已经发生了

巨大的变化。看不到这一点，就不能真正理解古代蓟城之所以在这里发展起来的原因。

根据现在的地理情况来看，从华北大平原北上进入北京小平原，或者是从北京小平原南下华北大平原，无处不可通行。但是在三千年前，当蓟城开始兴起的时候，情况就大不一样了。那时蓟城的南面和东南一带，湖泊沼泽，星罗棋布，阻隔了一切南北来往的道路。只是在世世代代勤劳的农民长期经营之下，大片湖沼低地才被改造为肥沃的良田，这是三千年来地理景观上的一大变化，只是在这里无暇细讲了。

且说在三千年前，假如有人从华北大平原北上进入北京小平原，就只有一条道路可以畅行无阻，那就是沿着华北大平原的西侧和太行山的东麓，步行北上。这条道路是沿着高山与平原之间的一条狭长地带逐渐发展起来的。太行山标志了山西高原的东部边缘，高原上的无数河流，大体都是自西而东，切穿了太行山，奔腾而下，注入大平原，然后汇集入海。河流出山之后，形成了或大或小的冲积扇，为太行山东麓的南北大道，提供了良好的渡口。沿着这条大道北上，越过一个又一个的渡口，最后来到最大河流上的一个最难越过的渡口，这就是永定河上的古代渡口。越过这个渡口之后，就进入了北京小平原。因此这个渡口就等于是小平原的门户。一旦进入小平原之后，如果还要继续前进，越过崛起于小平原北面和东北面的崇山峻岭，以到达遥远的山后地区，那就必须在有天然峡谷提供了南北通道的地方，才有可能。

正如乐观的中国劳动人民一个谚语所说的那样，“天无绝人之路”。在北京小平原的西北隅和东北隅，各有一处山峡缺口。在西北隅的一个叫做南口，从南口入山，穿过一段峡谷，翻过平缓的八达岭——也就是离北京最近的一段“万里长城”所在的地方——转向西北，经过一带宽阔的山间盆地，可以直上内蒙古大高原。

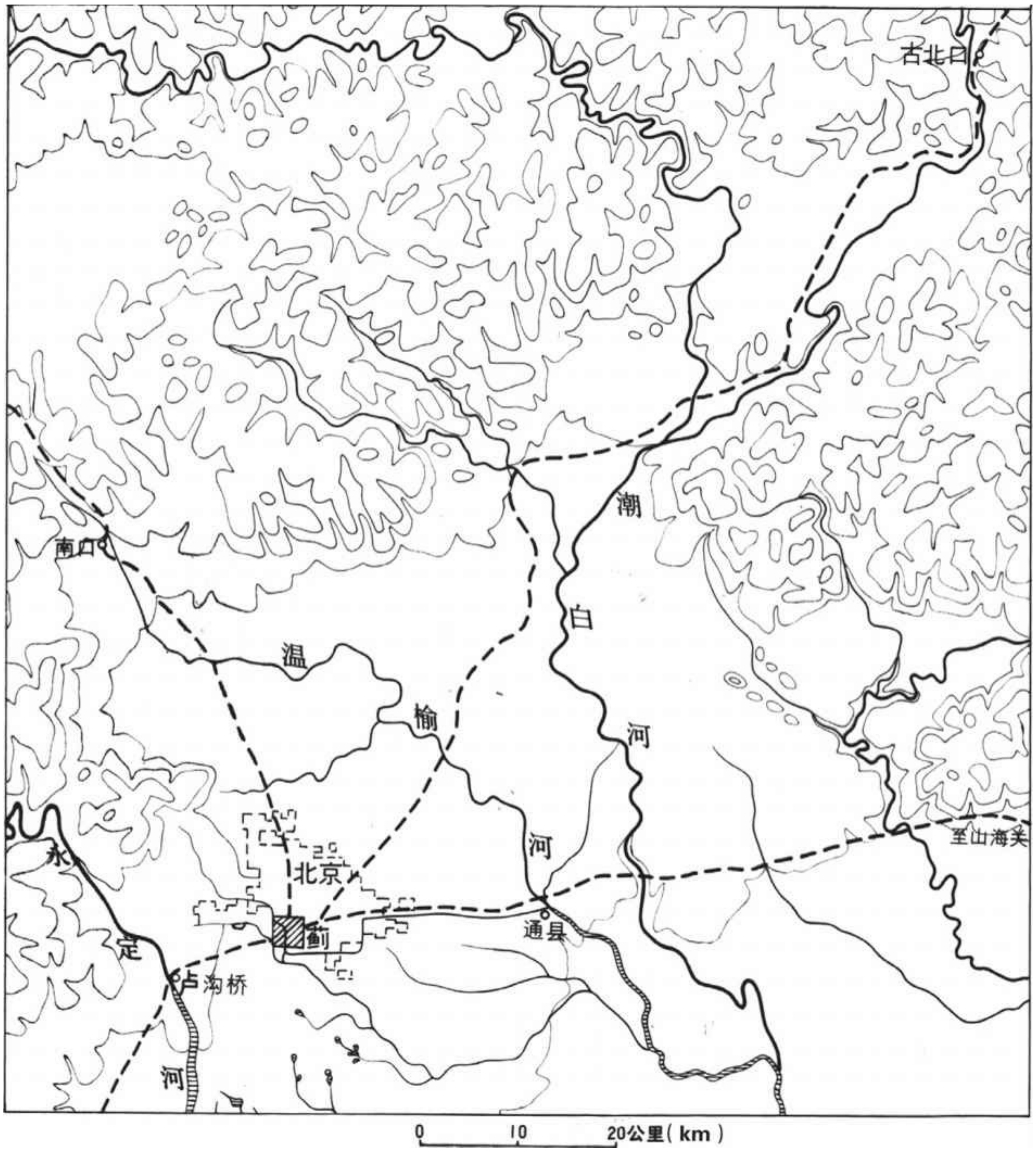


1-1 East side of the Taihang Mountains 太行山东麓地形略图

Beijing　北京

Taihang Mountains　太行山

Yellow River　黄河



1-2　Ancient way on the Beijing Plain　北京小平原古代大道示意图

Beijing　北京

Ji City　蓟城

Nankou pass　南口

Gubeikou Pass　古北口

Shanhaiguan Pass　山海关

Lugou Bridge　卢沟桥

Yongding River　永定河

Chaobai River　潮白河

在东北隅的一个叫做古北口，从古北口入山，偏向东北，穿过连绵不断的丘陵山地，就进入了东北大平原。

此外，还有一条大道，从北京小平原一直向东，沿着燕山南麓前进，直到山与海相接的地方，便是现在有名的山海关。出山海关，沿滨海走廊向东北，直达辽河下游平原。

在说明了上述情况之后，这里就出现了一个饶有趣味的问题，即从华北大平原沿太行山东麓北上的大道，在渡过永定河的古代渡口之后，随即分歧为三，继续前进，那么这个大道的分歧点，应该在哪里？

在一般的情况下，这个大道的分歧点，应该就在渡口上。作为这样的一个渡口，实际上也就是来往交通的枢纽。随着社会经济的发展，交换关系日趋频繁，这样的一个渡口，也就为一个城市的成长，提供了有利的条件。这种情况，在世界城市的发展史上是不乏其例的。例如从泰晤士河的古代渡口上发展起来的伦敦城，就是一个典型的例子。如果这一推断是合理的，那么北京城本来就应该从永定河的古代渡口上成长起来，然而事实并不如此。北京城并没有在这里成长，代替了一个城市而在这里出现的，是公元1192年才在这里建造起来的一座大石桥，去今也已七百多年。这座大石桥在某些西方文献中也叫做“马可·波罗桥”，因为威尼斯的旅行家马可·波罗（1254—1324）是第一个从这座大桥上经过的享有盛名的西方客人。这座长达266.5米、共有十一孔的大石桥，造型壮丽，雕饰精美，马可·波罗在他那部著名的旅行记里，曾有详细的描述，因而传名于西方。

在中国，这座大石桥叫做卢沟桥。“卢沟”乃是建桥时永定河原有的

名称，现在河流本身的名称虽然改变了，可是河上的石桥却以其原有名称，十分完好地保存到今天。在这里特别值得一提的，是1937年7月7日，日本帝国主义者，捏造了一个借口，从卢沟桥畔发动了对中国人民的侵略战争，这就是举世周知的“卢沟桥事变”。以此为起点，中国人民在中国共产党的领导下，进行了八年之久的抗日战争，并且取得了最后的胜利。就是在这次战争的初期，白求恩大夫就在离卢沟桥西南只有一百六十多公里的太行山中的一个小农村——黄石口村，为中国人民献出了他宝贵的生命。

卢沟桥所代表的永定河上的古代渡口，虽然为一个城市的成长提供了有利的条件，但是也还有一个不利的因素，排斥一个城市在这里成长，这就是永定河的洪水威胁。

永定河虽然是一条大河，但是它的流量极不稳定，每当雨季，特别是遇到暴雨在北京西北山区集中下降的时候，永定河的洪水猛涨，从出山之口，一泻而下，卢沟桥所代表的古代渡口，首当其冲。正是由于这种不可避免的洪水威胁，就把原来是应该在古代渡口上成长起来的城市，排斥到过河之后去渡口最近而又开始不受洪水威胁的地方，这个地方就是蓟城的原始聚落所在处，而这里也就成为古代南北交通的枢纽。正是因为这个枢纽地位，蓟城才能超越附近其他居民点而迅速地发展起来。

其次，也要看到蓟城的原始聚落，还有一些局部的有利条件，使它在早期的发展中得以顺利成长。例如它不仅位于古代永定河冲积扇的背脊上，而且还靠近冲积扇上一条潜水溢出带的东侧，这里既有丰富的地下水源，便于凿井汲取，同时在城市的西郊还有一个清澈的小湖，古称西湖，现在叫做莲花池。这个小湖就是潜水溢出所形成的，它的下游是一条小河，正好流经蓟城西南侧，又为蓟城的早期发展，提供了良好的地表水源。

根据以上的讨论，可以说明：蓟城的兴起，除去社会经济发展的决

定因素外，它还具备了必要的地理条件。这些地理条件，都是客观存在的，因此也是可以分析的。忽略了这些地理条件，就难以说明北京的原始聚落之所以在这里成长的原因。

以上是在讨论北京城的历史发展时所必须交代清楚的一个问题，如果有不妥之处，还希望得到同行们的批评和指教。

三、原始城址的迁移和元朝大都城的兴建

在分析了蓟城——也就是北京原始城址的地理条件之后，我们再来继续探索这个城市的历史发展。

公元前三世纪晚期，以蓟城为统治中心的燕国，和其他一些为周朝所分封的同一性质的侯国，都先后为新兴的秦所征服。这时中国已经进入封建社会的初期。秦朝的统治者秦始皇，在中国历史上创建了第一个中央集权的、多民族的、统一的封建国家。

从秦朝开始，封建王朝相继更迭，一直延续了二千一百多年，到本世纪初，也就是1911年，最后一个封建王朝——清朝才被推翻。在这期间，中国的政局有时陷于分裂，也就是说有两个或两个以上的王朝同时并存、互争雄长。但大部分时间还是统一的。这种统一时期，是中国的社会经济与文化发展的重要时期。

全国统一时期的政治中心，前后也有过几次迁移，但是真正称得上是全国最大、最重要的政治中心的，只有两个，在前期是长安，也就是现在的西安，在后期就是北京。

当长安作为全国最大的政治中心的时候，北京以其地理位置的关系，在中原与东北的边远地区之间，起着非常重要的作用。特别是因为在这期间统治中原地区的大都是汉族所建立的王朝，农业是主要的生产手段，社会经济和文化都比较先进。东北的边远地区则是以游牧为主的少数民族分布的地方，还处在奴隶社会的发展阶段，生产比较落后。在一个国家内这两种不同发展阶段的社会结构之间，经常处于相互矛盾的

对立状态，而这种矛盾在旧的社会制度下，又是无法解决的。停留在奴隶社会发展阶段的游牧部族是剽悍的骑手，在雄杰好战的首领统治下，就会纵马南下，对中原地区的农业居民造成威胁，并且有颠覆中原统治者的危险。因此中原的统治者在势力强大的时候，也常常组织兵力，主动进攻，向北方的游牧部族进行征讨。但更多的时候，是采取防御手段，役使千千万万的劳动人民，沿着北方的高山峻岭，修建万里长城，以事防御。因此，有名的万里长城实际上就是这种矛盾存在的历史见证。而在今天，这个由古代劳动人民用双手所建筑的庞大而雄伟的建筑物，却已成为中外无数旅游者，怀着无限惊讶与赞叹的心情，兴高采烈地攀登和纵情眺望的一处名胜古迹了。

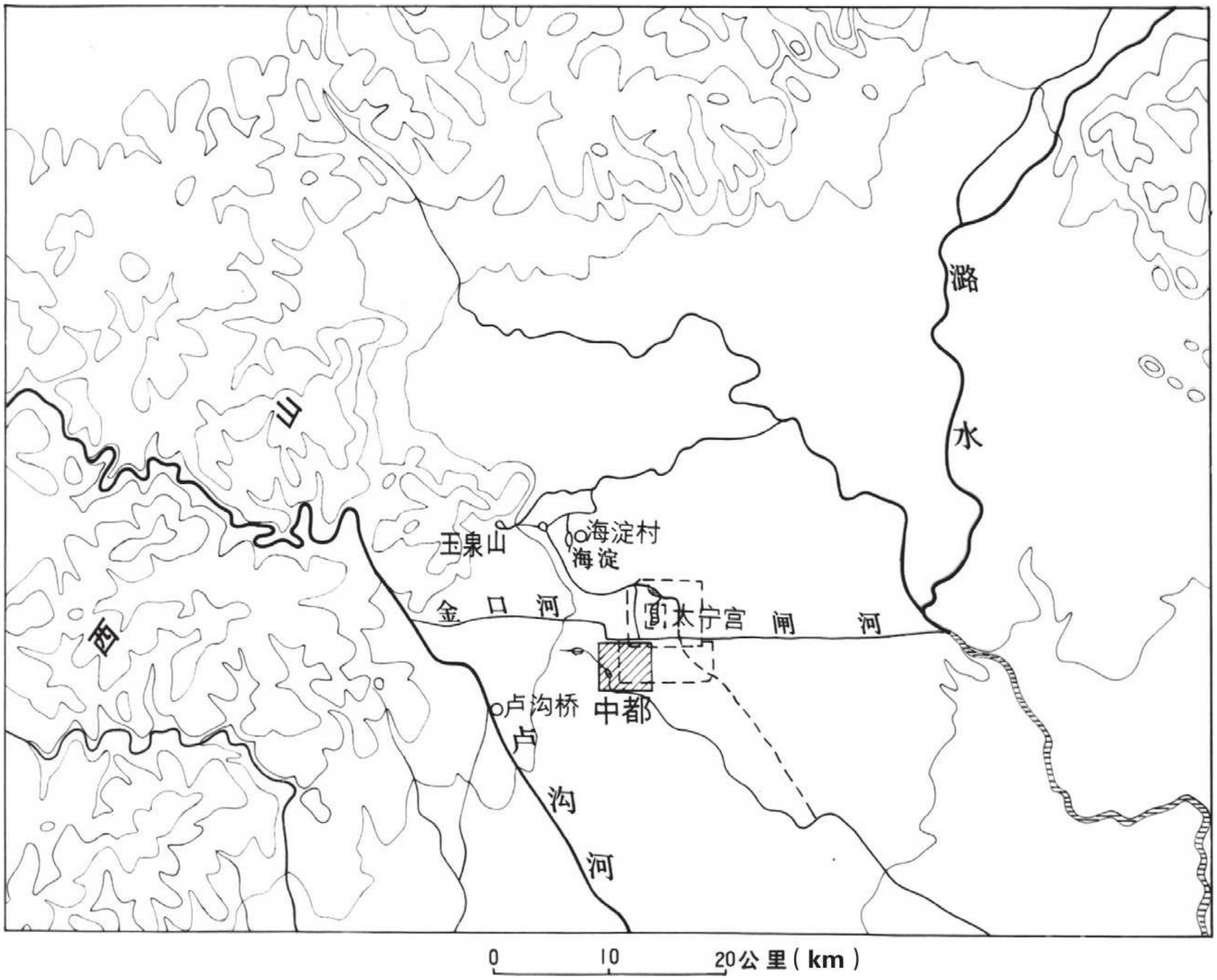
现在，让我们从驰骋于万里长城的遐想中，再回到我们现实的话题上来吧。

简单地说，从公元前三世纪到公元后九世纪的一千多年之间，每当中原统治者势力强大的时候，就常常要以蓟城为前进的基地，对东北游牧部族进行征讨。反之，当中原统治者势力衰微或陷于分裂的时候，东北游牧部族的统治者，又常常乘机南下，掠夺中原地区的财富，甚至俘虏人民充当奴隶，而这时的蓟城又成为中原统治者一个军事防守的重镇。到了防守无效，游牧部族的统治者入侵成功之后，就一定要以蓟城作为进一步南下的据点。自然在这期间，主要的还是和平安定的局面时间最长，在这种局面下，蓟城也就成为一个重要的南北贸易的中心，并促进了中原与东北地区之间的文化交流。

但是，从十世纪开始，东北少数民族的势力，逐渐兴起，首先是契丹族的统治者拥兵南下，占据了蓟城，并以蓟城为陪都（第二政治中心），作为继续向南方推进的据点，并改称蓟城为南京（或叫燕京），这是中国历史上的辽朝（916—1125）。十二世纪初，又一个东北少数民族——女真族，继而兴起，占据了辽朝的南京城后，就正式迁都到这里，并扩建了南京城，改名中都，这就是金朝（1115—1234）。

金朝的中都城，乃是在蓟城的旧址上发展起来的最后也是最大的一个大城。城中的宫殿建筑尤其豪华。可是这座大城兴建之后不到百年，又一个来自北方高原上的少数民族——蒙古族，在它的杰出领袖成吉思汗的领导下，迅速强大起来。公元1215年，成吉思汗部下的一支骑兵，突破南口一带的天险，直捣中都，经过一场激烈的战斗，杀进城中。在混乱的情况下，城内的豪华宫殿，竟被放火焚烧，化为一片废墟。

此后又过了四十五年，也就是公元1260年，成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈——中国历史上元朝的创建人，来到中都城，并决定在这里建都。经过一番考虑之后，接受了当时对城市建筑和科学技术具有丰富学识和实践经验的汉族学者刘秉忠的建议，决定放弃中都旧城，另在东北郊外，选择新址，建设新城。积极参加新城的规划和建设的，还有一位杰出的科学家郭守敬。郭守敬自幼从学于刘秉忠，精通天文历法，又长于测量，也是一位水利学家。刘、郭师生合作，形成了一个专家领导的核心。他们还招来了太行山中一些世代从事石工而且富有艺术才能的匠人，参加新城的建设，其中最有名的就是民间出身的石雕艺术家杨琼和杨浩。此外，还有来自中亚的外籍工匠，也参加了筑城的工事。人才济济，盛极一时。新城的建设，于1267年开始动工，这就是历史上赫赫有名的大都城，也就是现在北京城的前身。



1-3 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Zhongdu City of the Jin Dynasty 金中都城近郊河渠水道略图

Zhongdu City 中都

Taining Palace 太宁宫

Lugou Bride 卢沟桥

West Mountains 西山

Yuquan Hills 玉泉山

Lugou River 卢沟河

这里有两个值得注意的问题：

第一，当时为什么要放弃中都旧城，另建大都新城？

第二，大都新城的城址是怎样选择的？又是怎样规划的？

我们必须回答这两个问题，因为这和了解现在的北京城是有直接关系的。

现在分别讨论如下。

关于第一个问题：

当时放弃中都旧城，有一个明显的原因，那就是旧城的宫阙已被焚毁，与其在一片废墟上重行修建，还不如另筑新宫，营造新城。但实际上，还有一个更为重要的原因，导致了城址的最后迁移，这就是对于开辟新水源的要求。

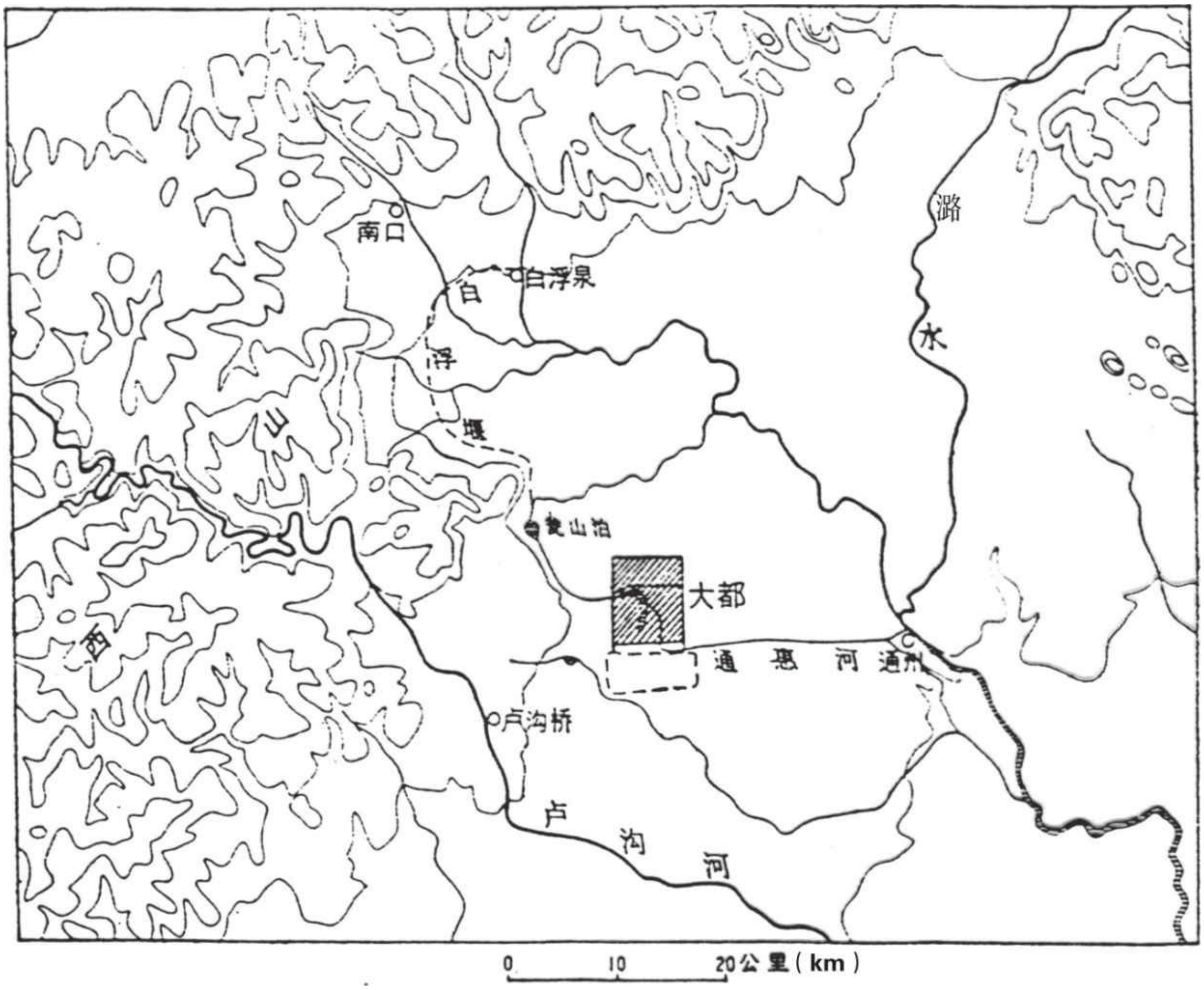
按蓟城早期的发展，城市性质比较单纯，规模也不很大，因此对于地表水源的要求是有限的。近在城郊的西湖和流经城侧的小河，完全可以满足城市用水的需要。可是，到了金朝在这里正式建都之后，情形就大不相同了。按照中国的传统，作为一个封建王朝的都城，照例要结合宫阙的修建开辟皇家园林。园林之中又照例要有河湖岗阜作为点缀，这是造园的重要因素，即使没有天然山水，也要用人工凿地为湖，堆土成山。因此宫苑中的湖泊，也就取得了一个固定的名称，叫做“太液池”。这个名称象征着宫苑里的湖水，直接来自天上，也含有水是生命本源的意思。为了开辟皇家园林，就要大量用水，从而大大增加了对于地表水源的需求。特别重要的是，为了供应皇家以及庞大的中央官僚机构与驻防军队的需要，每年还必须把大量从民间征收的食粮，通过水上运输，送到都城，在中国封建王朝的历史上，这也形成了一种制度，叫做“漕运”。中国有名的大运河，就是因此而开凿起来的。因此，为了运河的开凿，就需要更加丰沛的地表水源。

金朝扩建中都城时，已经把西湖下游的小河，圈入城中，并在宫城的西侧，开辟了皇家园林。西湖的水源虽然满足了宫苑用水的需要，却远远不足以供应运河的用水。金朝的统治者曾经开凿了一条郊区运河，

从中都城下顺自然地势，引水东流，直接潮白河。它的上源主要是从城西永定河上，筑坝拦水，凿渠东下。这本来是个很好的计划，只是由于永定河流量极不稳定，当时的工程技术也有一定限制，未能达到预期的效果。其他引水的尝试，也都未能奏效。这一情况是参加新城规划的郭守敬所十分清楚的。放弃中都旧址，另建新城，郭守敬应该是最有关系的一个人。

那么新城的城址又是怎样选择和怎样规划的呢？这就是必须回答的第二个问题。

在这里顺便提到一个有趣的插话，或许还是必要的。公元1260年，忽必烈初到中都，由于城中宫殿已成废墟，无处可以安身，他只好住到城外一个离城不远的地方，这在当时的记录中是有明确记载的，以后又被转载在重要的《元史》忽必烈的本纪中，但是他所居住的确切地点，都被有意识地避而不记，这大约也是为了他本身的安全而有意保密的缘故吧？现在，七百多年的时间过去了，我们还是经过一番细心的侦察才弄清楚，原来忽必烈初到中都时所居住的地方，就是金朝统治者在东北郊外一片天然湖泊上所兴建的一座离宫，名叫太宁宫。这座离宫的主要殿宇，就建筑在湖泊当中的一个岛上，名叫广寒殿，取名于中国神话中所构想的月亮上的宫殿，同时也暗示了这里风景幽美，有如仙境。



1-4 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty 元大都城近郊河渠水道略图

Dadu City 大都

Tonghui River 通惠河

Lugou Bridge 卢沟桥

Lugou River 卢沟河

Nankou Pass 南口

West Mountains 西山

需要指出的是：当1215年蒙古骑兵攻占中都城并使城中宫阙化为灰烬的时候，东北郊外这座离宫却幸得保全。相继发生的事实说明：1267

年开始营建大都城，正是利用太宁宫的湖泊作为平面设计的中心而进行规划的，从此这片湖泊也就获得了“太液池”的名称。

从大都城的平面图上，可以明显地看到，太液池的东岸建有皇帝的宫城，西岸建有两组宫殿，南北对峙，分别为皇太子和皇太后所居。三宫之间，乃是以太液池中的一个圆形小岛作为相互联系的中心。小岛的东西两侧，各架一座木桥，分别与东西两岸相连接。小岛的北侧另建一座石桥，通向旧日离宫的主体建筑广寒殿所在的大岛上。这个大岛叫做琼华岛，意思是说这里是琼楼玉柱百花争艳的地方，如实地反映了这里已成为太液池上的风景中心。环绕太液池的整个平面布局，构成了一幅匀称的图案，在它的周围修筑了近似正方形的宫墙，就是皇城的城墙。

皇城北侧，有更大的一片湖泊，当时叫做积水潭，原与皇城内的太液池相连。由于皇城的修建，就把这两处湖泊截分为二，并为太液池另外开凿了一条供水渠道，也是根据古代的传统，命名为金水河。

积水潭原为一条天然河流——高梁河所灌注。积水潭下游的高梁河故道，在大都城的规划过程中，可能是已被改为暗渠，或被填埋，因此另开一条新渠道，经由皇城的东墙外，流出大都城。后来郭守敬又利用这条改造后的新渠道，作为南北大运河的最北一段，把来自江南的漕船，一直引进大都城，停泊在积水潭里。随漕船北来的还有南方的百货，因此积水潭东北岸及其附近一带，就成了大都城内最繁华的市场所在。

从以上的讨论中可以看出，从表面现象来说，金朝的离宫似乎是导致兴建大都城的原因，但实际上高梁河的新水源，才是选建大都城城址的重要因素。

这里需要特别注意的是在大都城平面设计中具有头等重要意义的全城中轴线的确定。这条中轴线恰好选定在积水潭的东岸，而皇帝宫城中的中心点，也就正好布置在这条全城的中轴线上，而且占据了最重要的位置。中轴线的顶点，止于积水潭的东北岸，同时把这一点也就定为全

城平面设计的几何中心，并在这里建立了一座指示性的建筑物，就叫做“中心阁”。中心阁的右侧，特意立了一块石碑，刻有“中心之台”四个大字，这就说明在全城进行规划设计的同时，是进行了精密的平面测量的。

中心阁以西建立了鼓楼，鼓楼之北又建钟楼。钟鼓楼是全城报时的中心。这一点在《马可·波罗游记》中是有明确记载的。

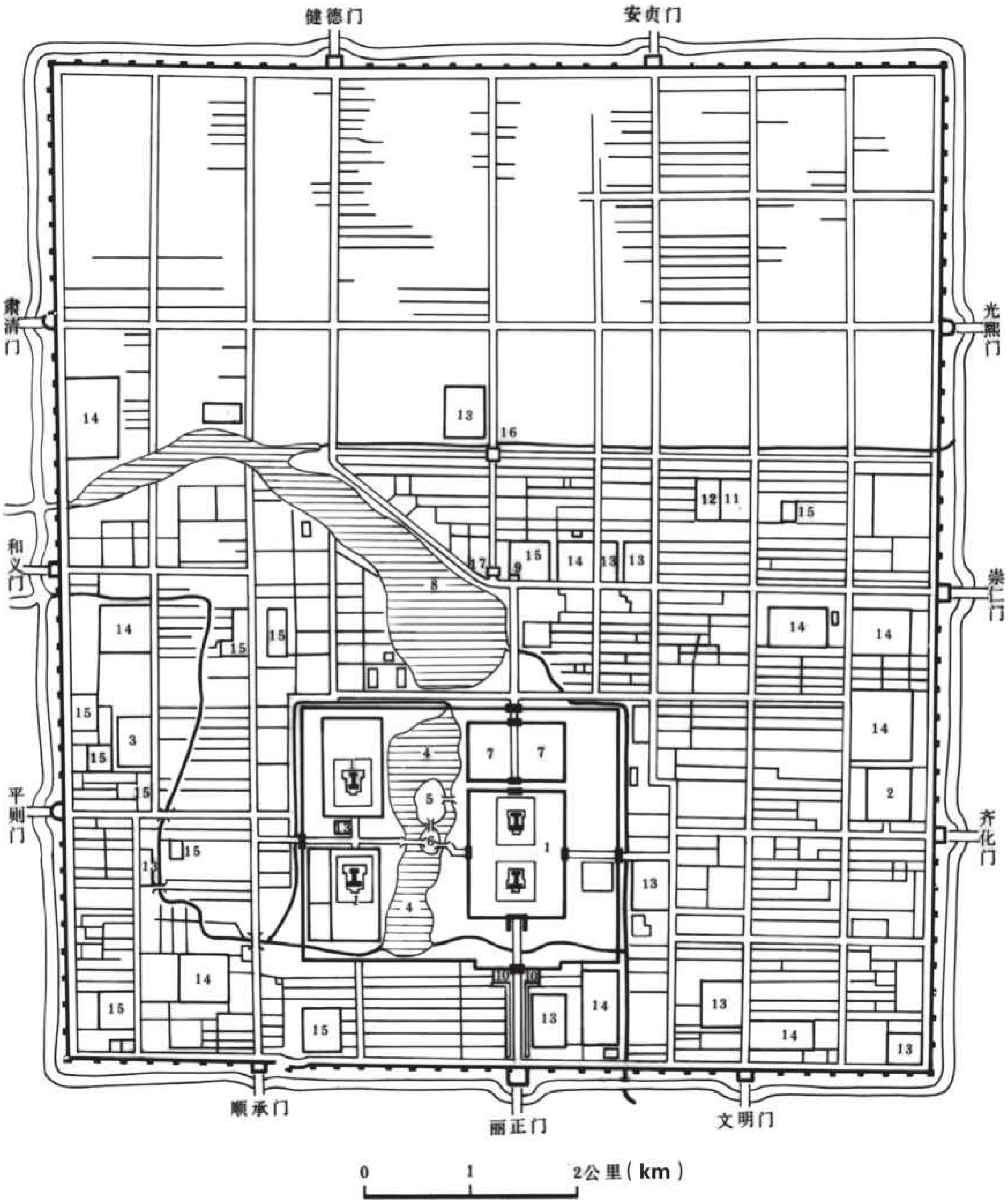
全城的几何中心确定之后，大都城最外围四面城墙的位置，也就相应地确定下来。只是在动工过程中，东面城墙可能是为了避开不利的地形，又向内稍有收缩。这一措施对于全城的平面规划，是无关紧要的。

大都城东、西、南三面城墙，各设三门，北面城墙只设二门。各城门内都有笔直的干道，纵横交错，略成棋盘状。南面城墙的正中一门，也正好设在全城的中轴线上，是中心干道所经，由此北上，直入宫城。宫城之内，也只有代表皇权统治中心的主要大殿，被布置在这条中轴线上，其他次要建筑物，都采取严格对称的形式，排列在中轴线的左右两边。

在皇城以外的南北干道之间，开辟了众多东西平行排列的街巷，主要是居民住宅分布的地区。中央和地方官署以及寺庙、仓库等公用建筑错列其间。只有两组有重要意义的建筑群，是按计划布局的。一组设在大城东墙的南门以内，叫做“太庙”，是皇帝祭祀祖先的地方。一组设在大城西墙的南门以内，叫做“社稷坛”，是皇帝祭祀土地之神与五谷之神的地方。

这里需要指出的是，大都城的这一平面布局，和古代关于帝王都城的一种理想设计，极相近似。这一理想设计，见于大约成书在公元前五世纪时的一部著作，叫做《考工记》，是专门讲工程技术与器物制作的。其中提到帝王都城的设计，四面城墙应作正方形，每面各开三门，门内各有三轨平行的干道，纵横相交。城内中央的前方（南方）是朝廷，后方（北方）是市场，左方（东方）是太庙，右方（西方）是社稷

坛。简单地说，就是面朝、后市、左祖、右社。大都城显然是参考了这一古代理想的设计，又结合了地方湖泊水道分布的特点而后进行规划的，它具有特殊的历史意义，就在于此。这一平面布局的主要目的，就是要把帝王的宫殿摆在全城最重要的位置上，它所力求表达的主题思想，就是封建帝王的“唯我独尊”。



1-5　Plan of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty　元大都城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿

2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

4．Heavenly Water Pond　太液池

5．Jade Flower Island　琼华岛（万寿山、万岁山）

6．Round City　圆坻（瀛洲）

7．Imperial Garden　御园

8．Jishuitan (Water Storing Pond)　积水潭

9．Central Platform　中心之台

10．Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊

11．Confucian Temple　文庙

12．Imperial College　国子监

13．Yamuns　衙门

14．Barns　仓库

15．Temples　寺观、庙宇

16．Bell Tower　钟楼

17．Drum Tower　鼓楼

（Reproduced on the basis of Xu Pingfang's Atlas of Dadu　根据徐苹芳《元大都城图》原稿复制）

这座规模宏伟、规划整齐的大都城开始兴建后八年，马可·波罗就来到这里。他深受忽必烈赏识，并且出仕元朝。后来在他那部游记里，他对大都城作了详细的描述。他称大都城为Khanbaliq，也就是“大汗之城”的意思。这部游记的英译本流传甚广，这里就不引述了。但是应该指明的一点，即到了十五世纪，哥伦布正是在读了《马可·波罗游记》之后，才决定要远航中国，由于他相信地球是圆的，如果马可·波罗从陆路东行可以到达中国，那么他从海路西航，也同样可以到达中国。他的这一天才的判断，导致了一个伟大的“发现”，这也是众所周知的事，

这里也就无须饶舌了。

四、明清北京城：规划设计的特征

元朝的统治也不到一百年，就被汉族建立的明朝所代替。明朝的统治者兴起于长江下游，首先建都在南京，然后北伐，于1368年攻下大都城，改称北平。到了它的第三个皇帝即位之后，又决定迁都北平，并把北平改称北京。北京的名称就是从这时开始的。与此同时，还进行了大规模的城市改建工作，到1420年基本完工。

明兵最初攻下大都城时，为了便于防守，曾在原来的北城墙内约2.5公里的地方，跨过积水潭上最窄狭之处，另建新墙。同时还平毁了元朝的宫殿。

决定从南京迁都到这里之后，又进行了下列主要的改建工程。

一、重建宫城：仍在原来中轴线的旧址上，只是稍向南移，建造了新宫城，这就是保留到现在的紫禁城（今为“故宫博物院”）。紫禁城内象征皇权统治中心的六座大殿，自南而北，依次奠基在全城的中轴线上。其他一切建筑，照例是严格对称地排列在六座大殿的东西两侧。

二、由于紫禁城南移的结果，旧日皇城的南墙与大城的南墙，也都依次南移，中间的空间距离也都各有增加。在紫禁城前方中心干道左右两侧扩大了的空间里，新建了太庙和社稷坛，既加强了这两组重要建筑与宫城之间的联系，又仍旧保持着左祖右社的传统，同时在平面布局上还进一步突出了中心干道的位置。

其次，在皇城的正前方，开辟了一个新的“T”字形的宫廷广场，这就是现在天安门广场的前身。当时在广场的东西两侧，还集中布置了中央衙署，同样也是左右对称排列的形式。

三、旧日皇城南墙向南迁移的结果，原来太液池的南端，也出现了大片空地，于是就在这片空地上加凿了一个新的湖泊，从而扩大了太液池的面积，这扩大的部分也叫南海，原有的部分则分别叫做中海与北

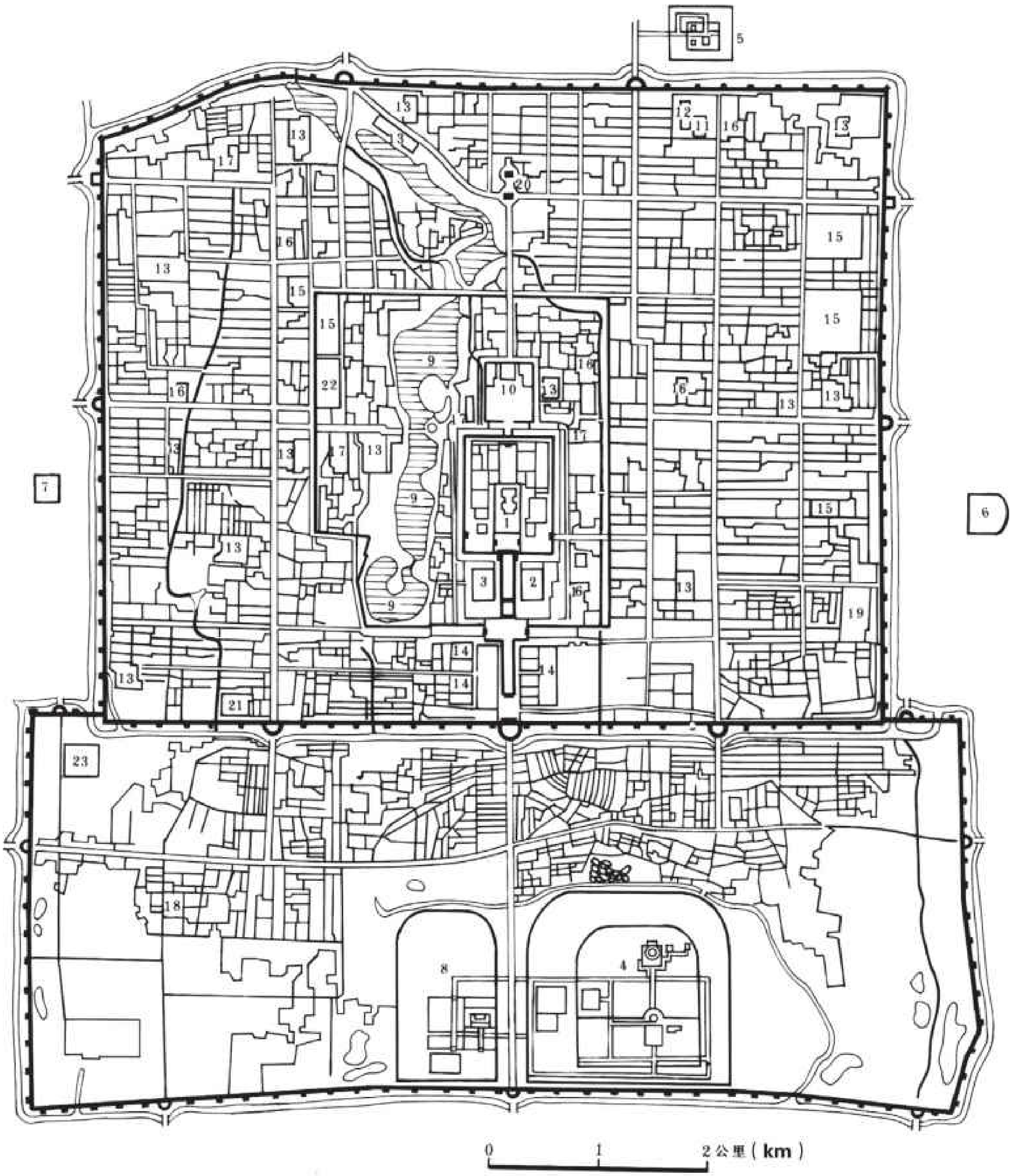
海。开凿南海时挖起的泥土，再加上开凿紫禁城护城河时挖起的泥土，都用来在紫禁城的正北方，堆筑了一座土山，俗称煤山，后来正式命名为景山。景山中峰高达47米，也恰好标志了全城中轴线所在的地方，同时也是经过改造后的全城几何中心。

四、在原来大都城几何中心的旧址上，新建了鼓楼与钟楼。这两座建筑物又标志了全城中轴线的顶点。

五、在城市改建的同时，又在大城正南方修建了两组大建筑，东西并列。在东边的叫做天坛，是皇帝祭天和祈祷五谷丰登的地方。在西边的叫做山川坛，是皇帝祭祀山河之神的地方。这两大建筑群之间，也有一条中心干道，向北直达大城的正南门，叫做正阳门（俗称前门）。到了1553年，为了加强城防，又在城南加筑了一个外罗城，正好把天坛与山川坛（后改称先农坛）包入城中，从而形成了北京城所特有的凸字形的城市轮廓。北部的旧城，也叫“内城”；新筑的外罗城，也叫“外城”。

由于外罗城的修建，原来内城的中轴线，又向南延伸到外城的正南门，总长近八公里，这在整个北京旧城的平面布局上，显得最为突出。

历史上北京城的建设，到此基本完成。1644年建立的中国历史上最后一个封建王朝——清朝[1]，完全继承了明朝的北京城作为都城，没有更多的改变，这就是完整地保留到1949年解放前夕的北京城，现在我们叫它做北京旧城。



1-6　Plan of old Beijing City　旧北京城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿

2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

4．Altar of Heaven　天坛

5．Altar of Earth　地坛

6．Altar of Sun　日坛

7．Altar of Moon　月坛

8．Xiannong Altar　先农坛

9．Western Garden　西苑

10．Jing Hill　景山

11．Confucian Temple　文庙

12．Imperial College　国子监

13．Residences of princes and princesses　诸王府、公主府

14．Yamuns　衙门

15．Barns　仓库

16．Buddhist temples　佛寺

17．Taoist temples　道观

18．Islamic mosque　伊斯兰教礼拜寺

19．Examination Hall　贡院

20．Bell and Drum Towers　钟鼓楼

21．Elephants stall　象房

22．Catholic church　天主教堂

23．Barrack　营房

（From A Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.1, pp.183-184　采自《中国建筑简史》第一册，页一八三——一八四）

这个从元朝大都城的基础上发展起来的北京旧城，被认为是中国封建时代都城建设的最杰出的典型，它进一步发展了大都城的平面布局，更加突出地表达了封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想。

但是，正如中国的谚语所说的那样："物极必反"——事物发展到极端，就要转向它的反面。

北京旧城的规划设计，乃是中国历史上封建专制主义发展到极端的一种表现，同时这也就导致了它最后的崩溃。

1911年由孙中山先生所领导的资产阶级民主革命，结束了在中国长达两千多年的封建王朝的统治。

1919年在北京旧城里爆发的五四运动，又揭开了新民主主义革命的序幕。

经过整整三十年艰苦卓绝的流血牺牲——其中包括以白求恩大夫为代表的伟大的国际主义战士的流血牺牲——中国人民才终于获得了解放。

1949年10月1日中华人民共和国宣告成立。历史悠久的北京旧城，又被定为新中国的人民首都，从而迎来了城市建设的一个新起点。

五、改造北京旧城的新起点

中华人民共和国建都北京之后，为了适应新时代的要求，立即着手于北京旧城的改造。

三十年来，北京的城市面貌已经发生了巨大的变化。在这一改造过程中，既有成功的经验，也有失败的教训。在这里一一加以评述，既非必要，也不是我所能胜任的。我作为一个城市历史地理的学者所愿意提出来讨论的一个问题，就是：我们怎么样才能把一个过去为封建帝王规划设计的城市，改造为一个体现社会主义新时代的人民首都？或者更确切地说：和北京旧城城市规划中所表达的那种歌颂封建帝王"唯我独尊"的主题思想相对比，在今天，作为人民首都的北京城，在它的城市规划中所应该表达的主题思想又是什么？

这个问题不是一个单纯的工程技术问题，而首先是一个涉及历史文化发展的大问题。今天在中国，随着社会制度的变革，具有悠久传统的

历史文化，也正在经历着前所未有的大变化。我们绝不能设想一个社会主义的新文化会从天上掉下来，或者是从某一个外国移植进来，它只能从自己固有的土壤里发育成长起来。例如：植根在希腊罗马的古文化里、而又以崭新的精神面貌为欧洲中世纪的文化开创了一个伟大的新时代的“文艺复兴”，不就是这样一个光辉的先例么？

今天，在中国，人们也在议论着、期待着一个植根在自己土壤里的伟大的社会主义“文艺复兴”新时代的到来。因此，在这一情况下，如何正确对待自己的历史文化遗产，就成了一个极为重要的问题。

我们的基本原则，就是要批判地继承。

在我国长期的封建社会里，曾经创造过灿烂的古代文化，但是其中也还存在着封建的糟粕。对于古代文化无条件地兼收并蓄是错误的；一律予以排斥，也是错误的。唯一正确的态度，就是吸其精华，弃其糟粕，古为今用，推陈出新，从而在历史形成的基础上，创造出一个富有时代特征的新文化来。当然，在这一创造过程中，去努力吸收外国一切先进的东西，为我所用，也是完全必要的。用我们惯用的一个名词来说，这就是“洋为中用”。

以上所讲，还只是一些抽象的原则，或许已经离题太远了。现在急需回到我们所讨论的具体问题上来。

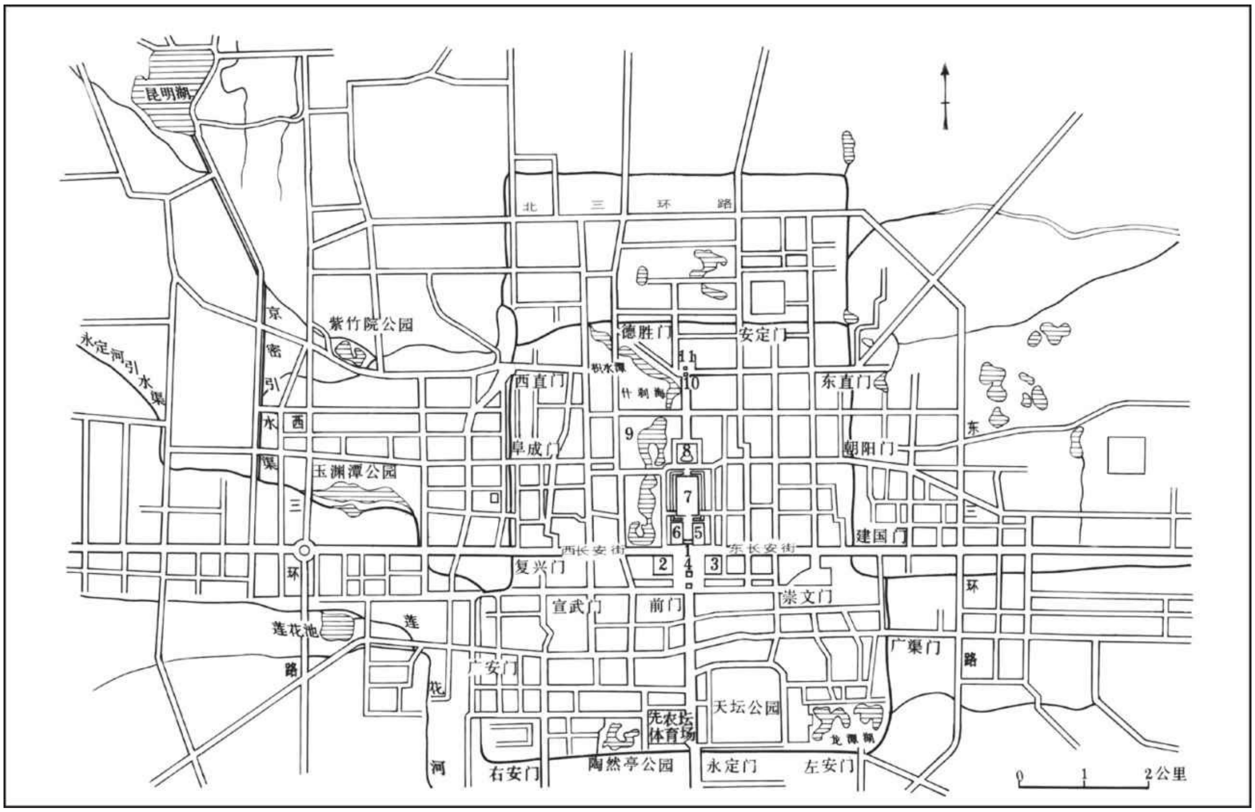
实际上，被完整地保留下来的北京旧城，也就是中国历史文化遗产的一部分。对于这个城市的改造，也必须遵循批判继承的原则。这里首先必须明确的一点，就是今天作为社会主义新时代的人民首都，它在城市规划上的主题思想，就应该是歌颂人民——歌颂人民的力量、人民的尊严，歌颂“人民，只有人民，才是创造世界历史的动力”。它既要显示出历史上劳动人民的伟大创造，又要体现出当前人民当家做主的现实。如果做到这一点，这也就是对北京旧城的城市规划上所集中表现的那种封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想，进行了彻底的批判。

怎样才能在北京旧城的改造中，具体实现这一新的主题思想，乃是

新的城市规划中一个最为重要的问题。

看起来这是一个十分困难的问题，实际上在解放以来改造北京旧城的过程中，已经创造出一些可贵的经验，需要加以总结，并提升到理论的高度上来，以进一步指导今后北京城的城市规划和城市建设的实践。这里只提出一个例子作为说明，这就是天安门广场的改造。

天安门广场现在比过去更加接近于全城的中心位置了。



1-7　Sketch map of reconstruction of Beijing's old city　北京旧城平面设计的改造示意图

1．Tian An Men Gate　天安门

2．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂

3．Museum of Chinese Revolution and Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆

4．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

5．Working People's Palace of Culture　劳动人民文化宫

6．Sun Yat-sen Park　中山公园

7．Palace Museum　故宫博物院

8．Jing Hill Park　景山公园

9．North Sea Park　北海公园

10．Drum Tower　鼓楼

11．Bell Tower　钟楼

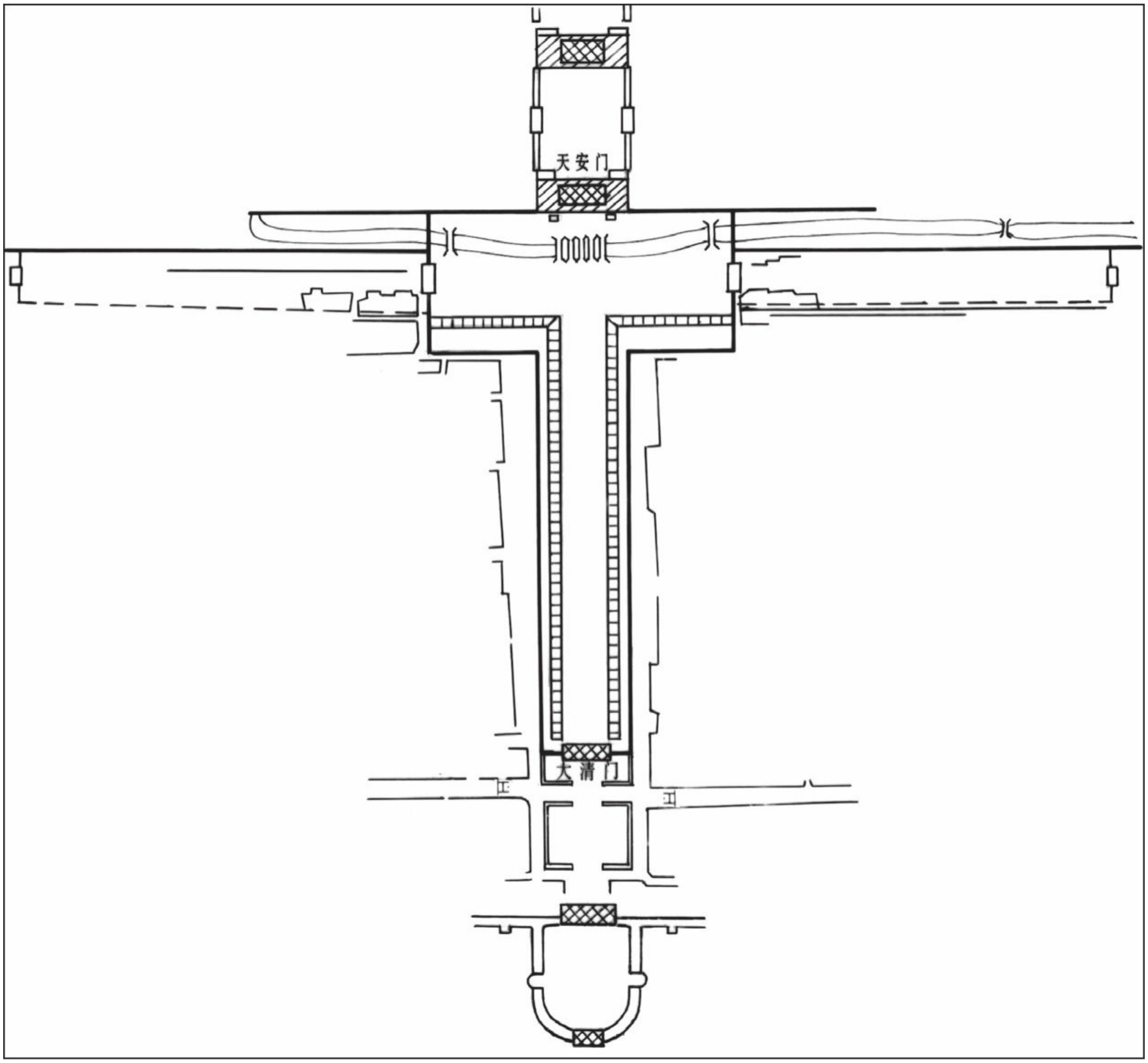
（Redrawn according to Urban Traffic Map in *Beijing Tourism Atlas* , simplified version, 2nd edition, 1972　根据地图出版社《北京市游览图》1972年第2版中的《市区交通图》缩简改绘）

早在解放初期的城市规划中，就已决定北京城的改建，应以旧城为中心，在此基础上进行改建和扩建。现在北京城的新市区，已经突破旧日的城圈，向四外扩展。扩展的范围，大体以正在兴建中的郊区环路（即三环路）作为界限。在此界限以内，街道的布局基本上保持着旧城以内的传统格局。在此界限以外，重要交通干线，呈辐射状、通向四面八方。整个城市的平面设计，继续保持着平衡匀称的特点，因而使天安门广场的位置显得更加明显、更加突出。这个广场原是天安门前的一个宫廷广场，天安门也就是旧日皇城的正南门。它名义上是一座门，实际上是建筑在红色台基上的一座殿堂。当初经手建造天安门的工匠，赋予它以如此庄严壮丽的形象，充分体现了我国古代建筑艺术的特色。封建帝王要求在这里建筑这样一座巨大的建筑物，除去为了加强对宫城的保卫外，更重要的还是为了显示帝王之居的尊严与华贵。按照封建王朝的传统，这里就是所谓“外朝”。“外朝”原来是皇帝接见外国宾客的地方，也在这里举行其他盛大节日的庆典。到了最后一个封建王朝——清朝，还利用这个“外朝”，为皇帝的登基，举行“颁诏”大典，也就是用“诏书”把皇帝即位的事，宣告全国。诏书被放在一只像一朵云彩一样的盘

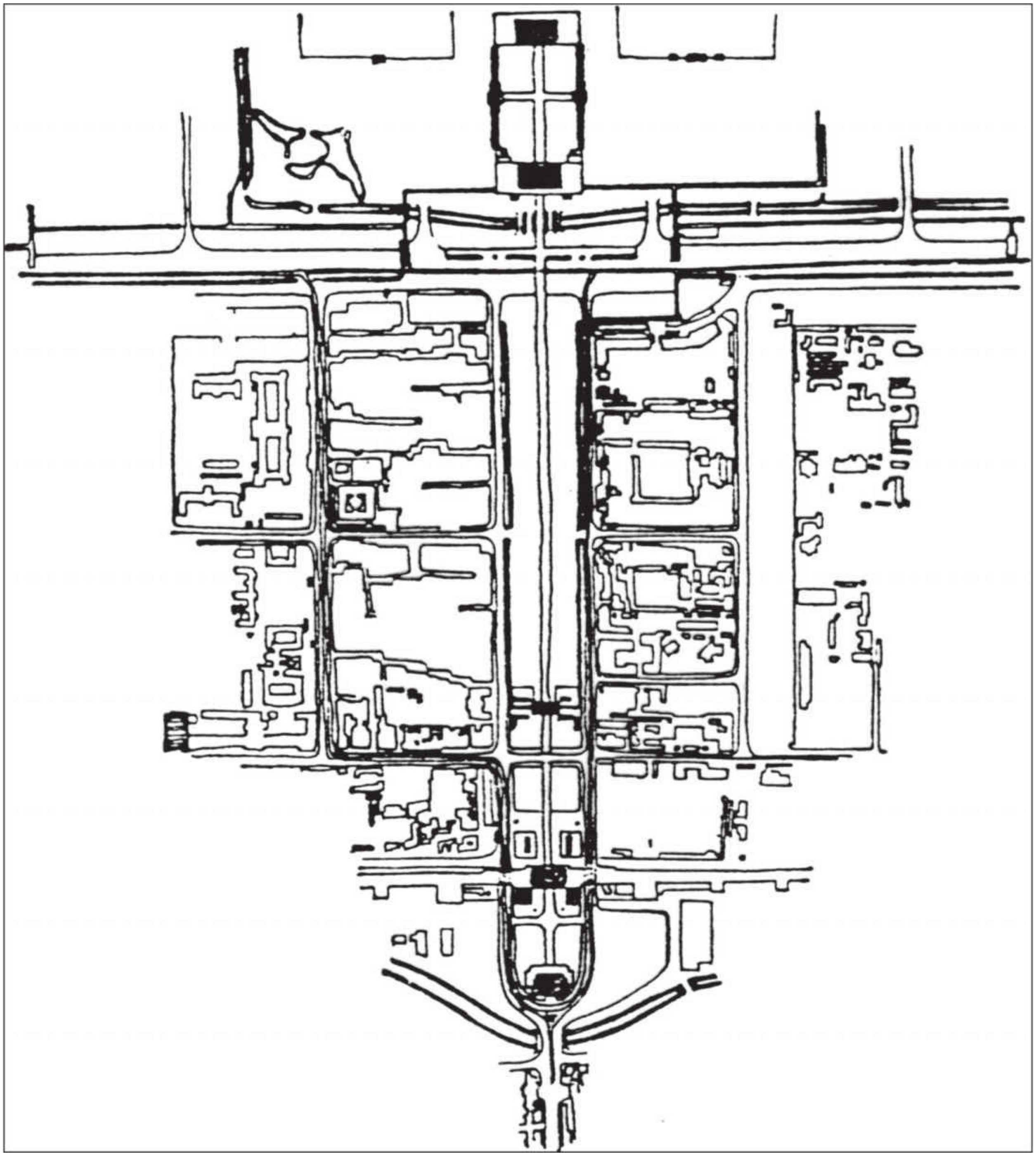
子里，然后用“龙亭”从紫禁城里抬到天安门上。这时天安门上奏起了欢庆的乐章，天安门前的广场上则跪满了文武百官和被选派来代表老百姓的“耆老”。宣诏官在天安门城楼上宣读诏书之后，随即用一个雕制的金色凤凰，口衔诏书，从城楼的正中，徐徐系下，放进“龙亭”里，抬送到天安门广场东面的“礼部”衙门，然后用黄纸誊写，传送全国各地。扮演这套仪式的用意，不外是说“君权神授”、“命自天降”。这仅仅是一个例子，用以说明封建皇帝是如何利用这个宫廷广场，来炫耀自己和愚弄人民的。

这个“T”字形的宫廷广场，周围用红墙严格封闭起来，只留有东、西、南三个大门可以行走，但是人民群众是绝对不准涉足的。

然而历史的辩证法是无情的。在清王朝1911年被推翻之后，也正是这个过去严禁老百姓涉足的广场，却成了革命群众集合起来举行爱国示威游行的中心。整整六十年前点燃了新民主主义革命的熊熊火焰的五四运动，就是从这里开始的。解放前夕最后一次反对蒋介石进行内战和迫害青年学生的群众运动，也是在这里开始的。



1-8　The Qing Dynasty's T-shaped imperial square　清乾隆扩建后的天安门宫廷广场



1-9　Tian An Men Square before redevelopment　改建前天安门广场图

正是由于北京古城里的这一光荣的革命传统，1949年10月1日中华人民共和国的开国大典，也就选择在这里隆重举行。从此，天安门这座古代劳动人民一手创造的庄严壮丽的形象，终于出现在中华人民共和国

的国徽上，象征着一个古老的文明，从此获得了新生。这样，天安门广场也就从一个封建时代的宫廷广场，转化成为一个社会主义新时代的人民广场，在我国的政治生活里，它已成为各族人民共同向往的中心。

但是，在开国大典举行的时候，这个广场还被包围在东、西、南三面围墙之内。这三面围墙严重地限制了广大群众的活动，阻碍了他们的视野，封锁了他们在广场上的热烈欢腾的气氛。现在看来，如果说天安门所代表的乃是古代建筑的精华，那么广场上的围墙所代表的却是封建性的糟粕。精华的部分，我们一定要保留，并且本着古为今用、推陈出新的原则，把它组织到现代的城市生活中来，使它有更好的条件，为人民服务。封建的糟粕，我们一定要排除，从而扫清我们向新生活迈进的道路。

1959年10月1日，在庆祝建国十周年的时候，根据新的城市规划的要求，第一次改建天安门广场的工程，胜利完成。改建之后，不仅是旧日的三面围墙不见了，而且是一个崭新的广场，以数倍于过去的面积，出现在人们面前。它的基础依旧，而面貌一新。它以宏伟、壮丽、广阔、明朗的景象，象征着人民群众海洋般的胸襟，排山倒海的力量。早一年建成的是矗立于广场中央的人民英雄纪念碑。这时又在广场的西侧建成了人民大会堂，在东侧建成了中国革命和中国历史博物馆。随着这两座现代大建筑物的落成，天安门广场已经形成为全国各族人民政治生活的心脏，从这里传播出中国人民最强烈的心声。

在广场改造的同时，又把作为广场两翼的东西长安街，加以扩建。于是一条宽阔平直的林荫大道，实际上就形成为从东到西横贯全城的新轴线。对比之下，它使得那条传统的自南而北、纵贯旧城的中轴线，相形见绌，这就等于是彻底否定了北京旧城在规划设计上的主题思想，从而突出了人民广场在全城平面布局中独一无二的重要地位。而旧日雄踞全城中心的紫禁城，如今也只能算是人民广场的一个“后院”了。只有在工作之余，人们才到这里来，欣赏古代劳动人民用自己的双手所创造出

来的雄伟瑰丽的建筑物，和收藏在这里的世间罕见的艺术珍品。

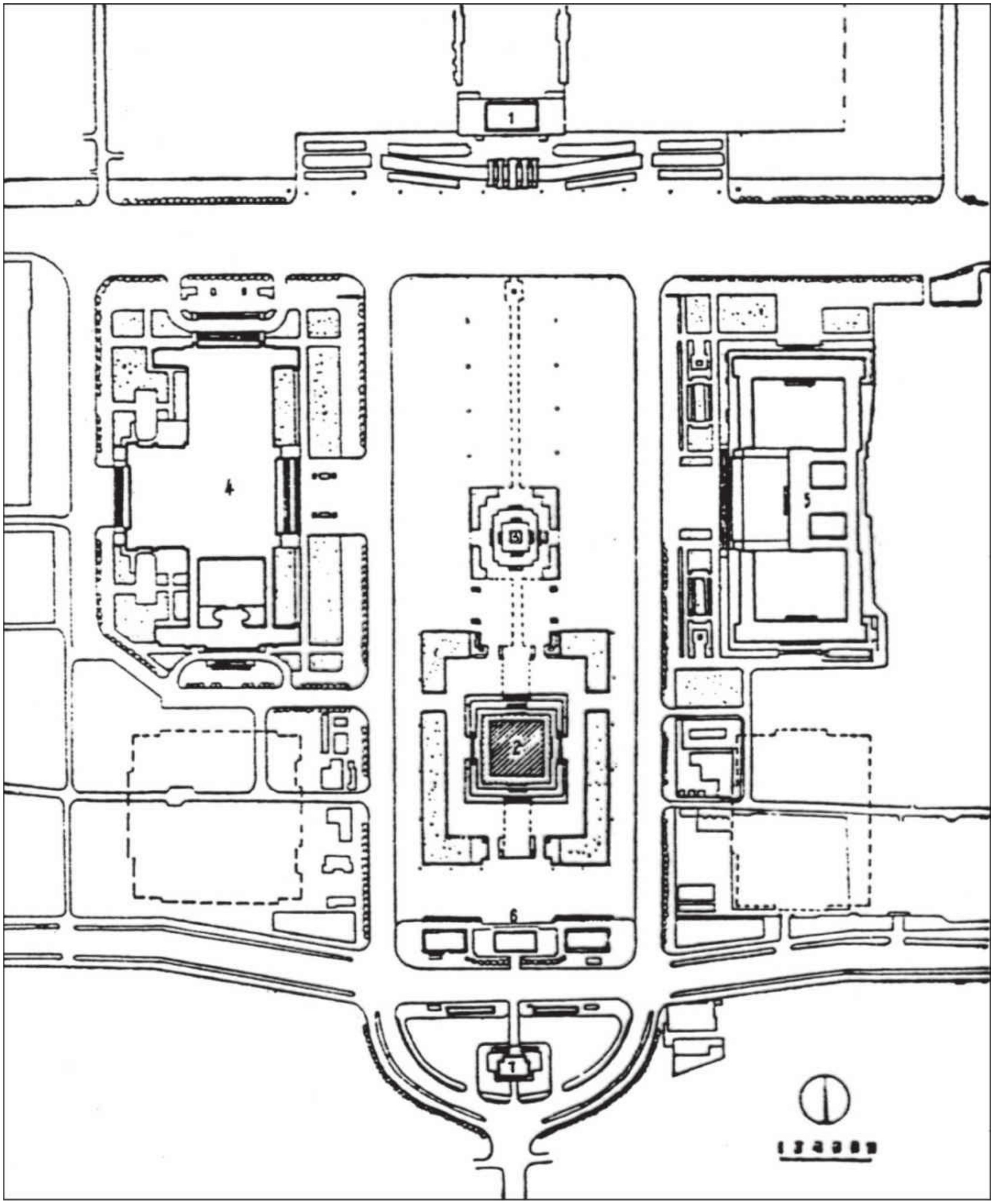
1977年7月毛主席纪念堂建成之后，又进一步扩建了人民广场，并赋予它以新的意义，增加了南半部肃穆宁静的气氛。正阳门这座巍峨屹立的古老建筑，和庄严壮丽的天安门，同样被保留下来，但是这两座旧的城门，作为紫禁城前门的功能，不复存在。相反的，它们却以其固有的艺术造型，为新出现的人民广场，标志了它的南北界限。将来从正阳门到永定门的干道——前门南大街——展宽之后，就会更加突出天安门广场在北京全城的中心位置。

目前仍在规划和改建中的天安门广场，只是一个例子，足以说明在历史形成的基础上，坚持批判的继承，根据古为今用、推陈出新的原则，原来一个以歌颂封建帝王为主题思想的宫廷广场，是完全可以改造为一个以歌颂人民力量为主题思想的人民广场的！以此类推，原来一个以歌颂封建帝王为主题思想的北京旧城，也是完全可以改造为一个以歌颂人民力量为主题思想的人民首都的。

但是，也要看到，在改造北京旧城的过程中，也有一些措施，是存在着争议的。如果说拆除围绕天安门广场的三面红墙，没有引起任何异议，而拆除围绕北京旧城的城墙，却不是这样。在新的城市规划中，最初考虑要拆除旧城城墙的时候，就曾有过不同的争论。现在在拆除城墙之后，经过实践的检验，使我们进一步认识到，旧日城墙的完全拆除，是否绝对必要，这个问题确是值得讨论的。尤其是随着城墙的拆除，部分护城河也被改造为地下暗渠，这样就减少了城市中的水面面积，是不利于环境条件的改善的。特别是正阳门外的护城河，自西而东正好穿过城市的中心地带，如果保留下来，注满清澈的河水，同时沿河两岸进行绿化，既增加了市容的自然景色，又有利于调节城市气候和向城市中心输送新鲜空气，这是大大有利于城市环境的改善的，同时也就为市民提供了良好的游憩场所。

应该提到，在“文化大革命”的十年动乱之前，在改造天安门广场的

小区规划中，曾有一种方案，就是要把正阳门外的一段护城河，纳入天安门广场的规划之中。这样，在广场的南部，就出现了一区富有自然风光的园林。如果当初采纳了这一方案，那么1977年修建毛主席纪念堂之后，除去紧傍纪念堂周围的绿地之外，还有正阳门外的滨河公园作为陪衬，那就更会增加天安门广场南部的肃穆宁静的气氛。但这一切都已是不可挽救的事实了。



1-10 Plan of Tian An Men Square on completion of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall 毛主席纪念堂建成时的天安门广场总平面图

1．Tian An Men　天安门

2．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂

3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

4．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂

5．Museum of Chinese Revolution, Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆

6．Zheng Yang Men (Qian Men)　正阳门（前门）

7．Archery Tower　箭楼

（From Journal of Architecture, 1977, No. 4　采自《建筑学报》1977：4）

借此一例用以说明，在我们改造北京旧城的工作中，也还有不少经验教训，需要加以总结，以便在修订新的城市规划时，作为借鉴。当然这也只是我个人的一点看法，并不一定完全正确。可喜的是，现在我们在一些有争议的问题上，是可以充分展开自由讨论了。何是何非，通过实践是会得出正确的结论的。过去有一个时期，在讨论问题的时候，确实有把学术问题和政治问题混在一起的情况，这样就会阻挠自由讨论，以致造成不良的后果。例如，过去在讨论北京城墙存废的问题上，主张保留城墙的人，就容易被扣上“保守”、“复旧”等等帽子，这样就不能使人畅所欲言，因此有些好意见就会被埋没，并使工作遭受损失。这种情况，在“四人帮”掌权的十年间（1966—1976），竟然发展到令人难以置信的程度。尤其是在文化学术领域里，更是“万马齐喑”的局面。令人鼓舞的是，近两年来在我国又重新出现了百花齐放、百家争鸣的繁荣景象。解放思想、广开言路，已被认为是加速实现社会主义现代化的重要条件。

事实证明，在历史文化遗产批判继承的问题上，精华与糟粕并不总是黑白分明和一目了然的。因此，在一切有争论的问题上，充分展开讨论，进行自由争辩，乃是十分必要的。只有这样才能真正明辨是非，才

能善加区别精华与糟粕，从而真正达到古为今用、推陈出新的目的。在北京城的城市建设上是如此，在全国的文化建设上来说，也是一样，只是问题会更加复杂罢了。

在结束我的讲演之前，我愿意再一次提出在一开始时我所讲到的那个论点：一个新中国，正在一个新长征的道路上，向着社会主义现代化的目标，努力前进。为此我们就需要向你们、向西方学习一切先进的科学技术，同时我们还需要从自己的历史文化遗产中去吸取一切有价值的部分，而这一点，在我们建设社会主义新文化的过程中，乃是更为重要——也是更为复杂的一个问题。我们满怀信心，在不断解决这个问题的实践中，去迎接我国一个也可以称之为社会主义的“文艺复兴”新时代的来临！

② T HE TRANSFORMATION OF THE OLD CITY OF BEIJING, CHINA A Concrete Manifestation of New China's Cultural Reconstruction*

In the modern world, China is both a developing nation and a newly emerging socialist state. Coming from an ancient cultural tradition, she now faces a new era of unprecedented social change. While overhauling her backward economy and actively pursuing reconstruction and modernization, she is also rapidly developing a new socialist culture. In the process of modernization and reconstruction, it is necessary for China to adopt the foreign science and technology according to her own needs. But the development of a new socialist culture, however, entails a more important and complex problem: how to identify and preserve the valuable part of China's own traditional culture.

It is impossible, of course, for China's new socialist culture to drop from the sky, or be imported intact from any particular foreign country. It can only grow from China's own native soil. This is not to say that all foreign cultural influence should be rejected, but it can only contribute positively to China's new, modern culture by being first fused with China's unique traditional culture. Taking into account this background of great social change, this essay attempts to describe and explain a concrete example of the issues which must be faced in creating the new socialist culture. In presenting the problem of transforming an old, historical city into a modern, new one, I can only offer the perspective of an historical geographer, not that of a specialist in

city planning, but hope this discussion has some value in that context.

The Relevance of Ancient Chinese Planning Theory

With the growth of world urbanization in recent times, city planning as a specialized science has become more complex and more important each day. But it is not a new science, as it was already flourishing in some of the great civilizations of antiquity. Ancient China was no exception, and Paul Wheatley has drawn particular attention to the symbolic nature of the "ideal" planned layout of ancient China's cities, citing corroborative evidence in the *Book of Artificers (Kao Gong Ji)* . One of the outstanding features of the ideal layout is the north-south axis of the whole city, and "this axial design is superbly executed in Pei-Ching[Beijing]." [1]

The *Book of Artificers* was completed around the fifth century B.C. and deals primarily with manufacturing technology. It also records the plan for the construction of the imperial capital, which is somewhat ambiguous and has been subject to varying interpretations and reconstructions. The main points of the plan include the following. First, the capital should be laid out as a square, surrounded by a city wall; each side should extend nine *li* (Chinese mile, equal to about 1/2 kilometer) and contain three city gates. Second, within the city there should be nine longitudinal and nine latitudinal thoroughfares, or three longitudinal and three latitudinal thoroughfares, each consisting of three chariot lanes. Third, in the center of the capital is the Imperial Palace of the emperor. On the left side of the Imperial Palace is the "Tai Miao," where the emperor pays homage to his ancestors. On the right side is the "Sheji Tan," where he worships the gods of soil and grain. The front part of the Imperial Palace is the emperor's administrative center, and to the rear of the Imperial Palace is the capital's main market and commercial

center.

These declarations in the *Book of Artificers* refer to the capital and largest city of the empire; "left," "right," "front," and "back" refer to the four cardinal directions (respectively east, west, south, and north). The Imperial Palace of the emperor faced true south and was located in the geometric center of the whole city. Tai Miao (the Imperial Ancestral Temple) lay to its east, She-ji Tan (the Altar of Soil and Grain) lay to its west, and the city market to its north. The city was aligned along a north-south axis, facing the south and with its back to the north. This orientation bore a close relationship to the residential traditions of the lower reaches of the Yellow River (Huang Ho), where Chinese civilization originated. The plains of the lower Yellow River, small ones such as the Jing-Wei and Yi-Lo Basins as well as the great North China Plain, have a flat and open topography. They are located in the temperate zone, characterized by strong prevailing monsoons and four distinct seasons, with hot, rainy summers and cold, blustery winters. In order to maximize ventilation in summer, while in winter providing maximum exposure to the sun and shelter from the cold north wind, residential structures in this area were built to open toward the south, with their backs to the north. Over time, these evolved into the *si-he* yuan (house built around a courtyard). The *si-he-yuan* has structures facing the center on all four sides, with the principal one, called the *zhengfang* , on the north.

The *si-he-yuan* is, in fact, the "cell" of traditional Chinese city structure. If the streets and alleys defined by rows of *si-he-yuan* are arranged in a certain pattern and surrounded by a wall, a city is formed. The emperor's palace in the national capital was simply a grand *si-he-yuan* , or a collection of them, surrounded by a palace wall and referred to as the Gong Cheng or Imperial Palace. The Imperial Palace was supposed to have a dominant

position, at the center of the city's primary north-south axis, and this central location symbolized the center of the cosmos. Also, according to ancient custom the "Tai Miao" could only be built in the nation's capital.

China is an agrarian nation, and the "She-ji Tan" was an important symbol of the emperor's authority. As for the market, it was a necessity of city life. All these basic elements of the city were clearly set forth in the *Book of Artificers* . Of all the written works concerning the construction of the capital city which have been passed down from antiquity, this is the earliest and most important, and had the greatest influence on the actual design of the ancient capitals.

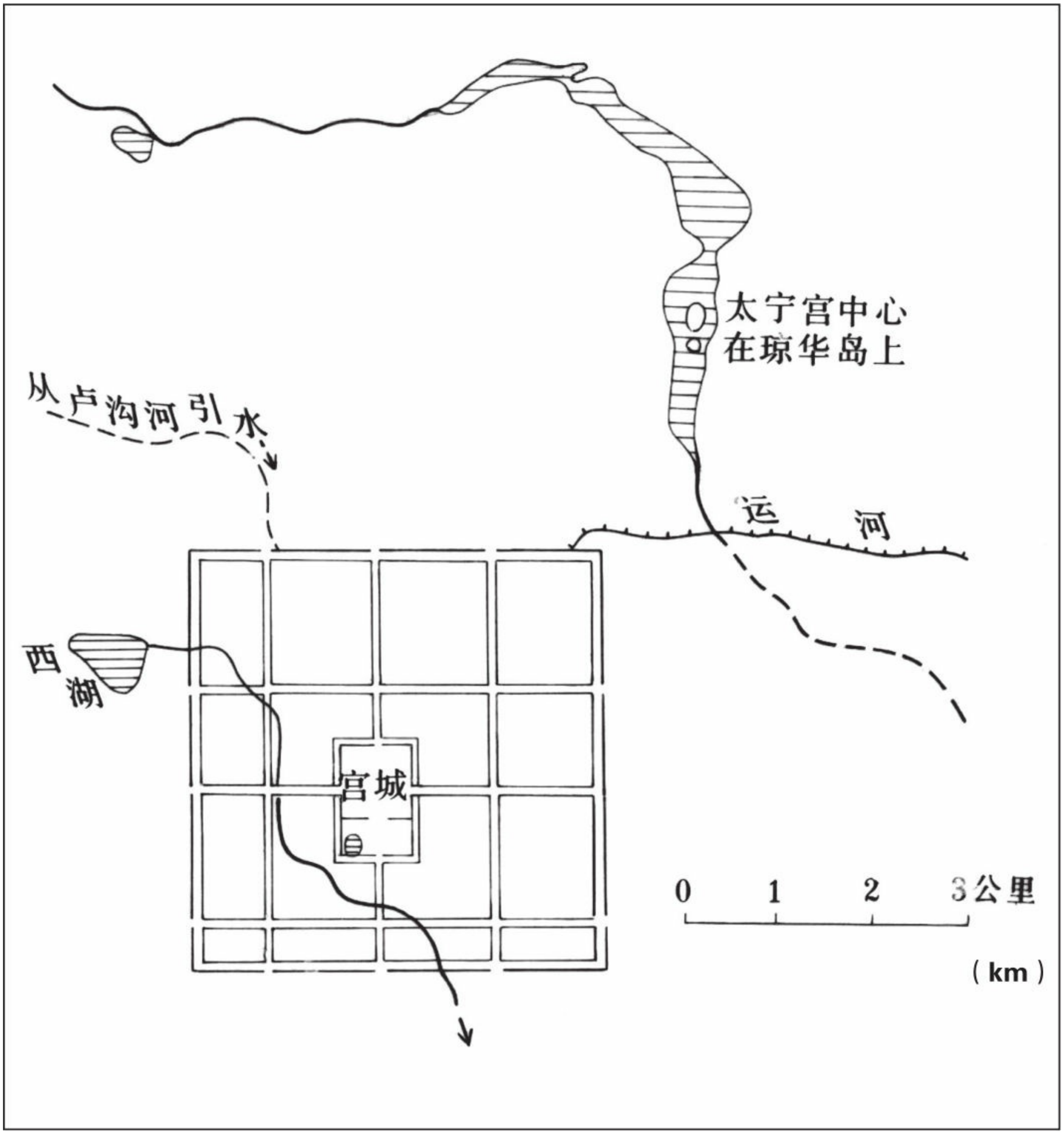
Of the several imperial capitals in Chinese history, the last built was Beijing, or more specifically, that part of modern Beijing referred to as the "Old City," and it is the actual design of this city that comes the closest to expressing the ancient principle of "palace in front, market in back, ancestral temple on left, altar of soil and grain on right." After the foundation of New China, the capital was re-established in Beijing, with its center in the Old City, and work commenced to build a "people's capital" for the new socialist era. Thus, the redevelopment of Beijing's Old City plan became an urgent task. In order to fully understand the nature of this task, it is necessary to examine the plan of Beijing's Old City in some detail.

Early Planning and the Rise of Dadu City

Although Beijing is an ancient city with a history spanning three thousand years, it has been in its present location only since the establishment of Dadu City by the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in the thirteenth century. The previous location was in what is now the southwest suburbs of the city. The last and largest city built in this old location was Zhongdu, the capital of the

Jin Dynasty(1115-1234). The establishment of Zhongdu marked the beginning of Beijing's emergence as a national political center.

To the northeast of Zhongdu City there was a scenic area with a natural lake, which was utilized by the Jin emperor. The lake was expanded on its southern part and two islands were created and an imperial retreat, called Tai-ning Palace (Palace of Great Tranquility) was built (Fig. 2-1). In the year 1215, the army of the Mongolian leader Genghis Khan swept down from the north, occupying Zhongdu City and razing the Imperial Palace. But Tai-ning Palace outside the city was spared. Forty-five years later, Genghis Khan's grandson, Kublai Khan, in order to consolidate his rule over China, decided to establish his capital in Zhongdu. But the Imperial Palace there was in ruins and would have been extremely difficult to rebuild. Worse yet, Zhongdu had but a meager water supply from a small lake (West Lake, now called Lotus Lake) just west of the city. The complex problems of providing water for the city, and especially channels for water transport, became more critical day by day.



2-1 Beijing's early urban nuclei: Zhongdu City and Tai-ning Palace 金朝中都城与太宁宫位置略图

Imperial Palace 宫城

West Late 西湖

Aqueduct from Lu-gou River 从卢沟河引水

Canal 运河

Main buildings of the Tai-ning Palace on the Qiong-hua Island 太宁宫中心在琼华岛上

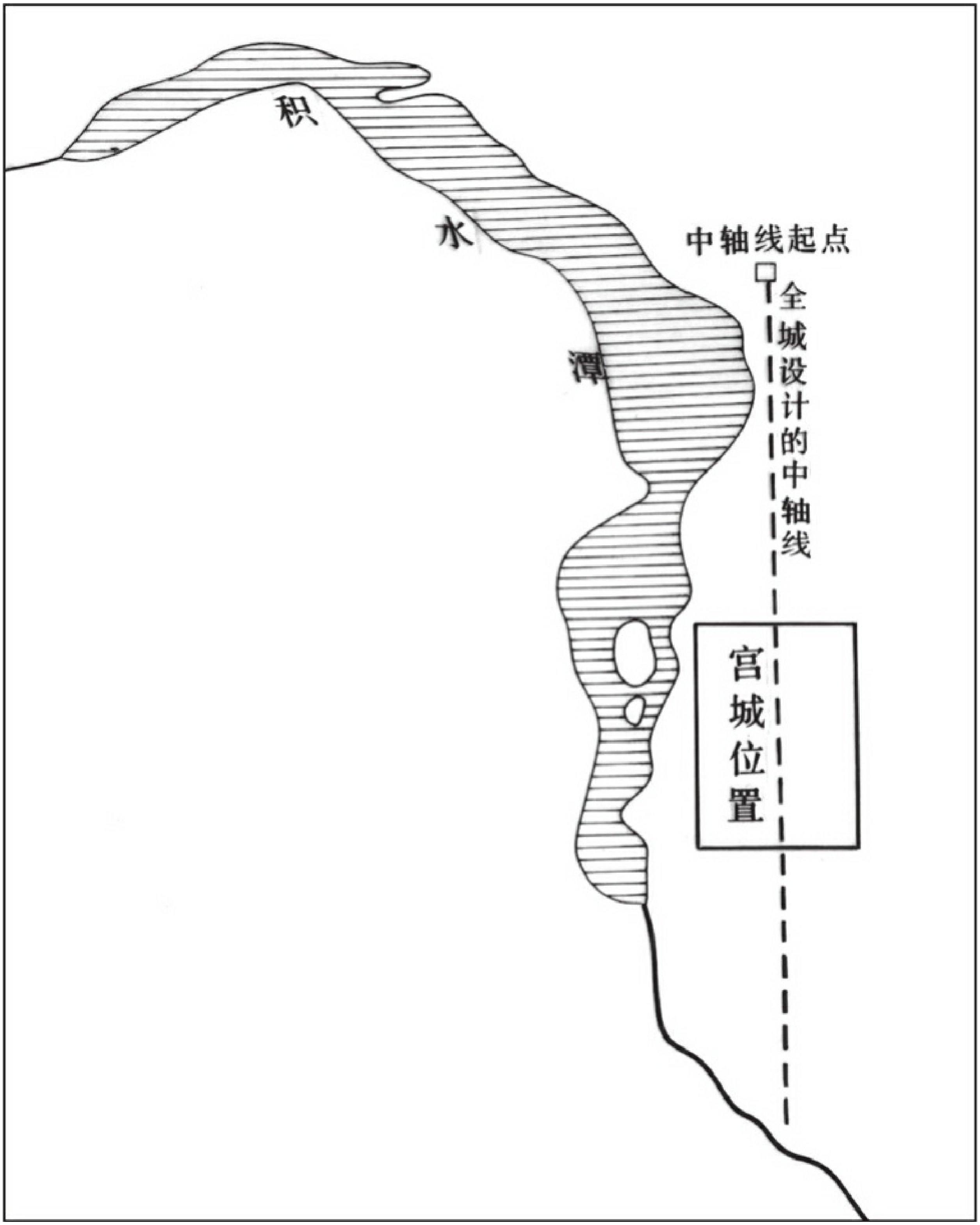
Man-made canals were needed, primarily to ensure that the capital could be supplied with the large quantities of grain it required. During the Jin Dynasty, an aqueduct had been constructed to divert the water of the Yongding River (then called Lu-gou River) eastward, following the natural topography, to the north moat of Zhongdu City. From there a canal continued eastward to Tong-zhou (east of present-day Beijing). The plan was to bring together river shipments of grain and other material at Tong-zhou for transshipment to Zhongdu. But when the Yongding River flooded, however, it could not be effectively controlled, and the scheme proved to be unworkable.

Kublai Khan therefore decided to abandon old Zhongdu City and commissioned the Han scholar Liu Bing-zhong, who was acquainted with the ancient classics as well as experienced in city construction, to draw up plans for a new city centered on the lake by Tai-ning Palace. Liu Bing-zhong and his student Guo Shou-jing, an expert astronomer and hydraulic engineer, began directing the construction of the new city and its canal system in 1267, but the work was not completed until 1285. What they created was the historically renowned Dadu City. It was during the construction of Dadu that Marco Polo visited China and became an official of the Yuan Dynasty. Later, after his return to Italy, he recalled the grandeur of Dadu and the splendor of the palace in his account of "Khanbaliq" in *Marco Polo's Journal* .

This account of the founding and initial construction of Dadu City is well enough documented, but the decisions concerning planning and design of the city are more obscure since no official papers or other accounts have

been passed down. The only direct evidence for the city's internal organization consists of a restored map of Dadu City and some incomplete historical records. My own reconstruction of the city's plan development is as follows.

First, it was decided that the north-south axis of the city would be located close by the east bank of the northern part of the lake, which at that time was called Ji-shui Tan (Fig. 2-2). The north end of this axis was set at the northeast bank of Ji-shui Tan. The emperor's palace, surrounded on four sides by a palace wall, was located on the east bank of the southern part of the lake and centered on the city's north-south axis.



2-2　Set of the axis and location of the emperor's palace　大都城中轴线的选择与宫城位置的确定

Ji-shui Tan　积水潭

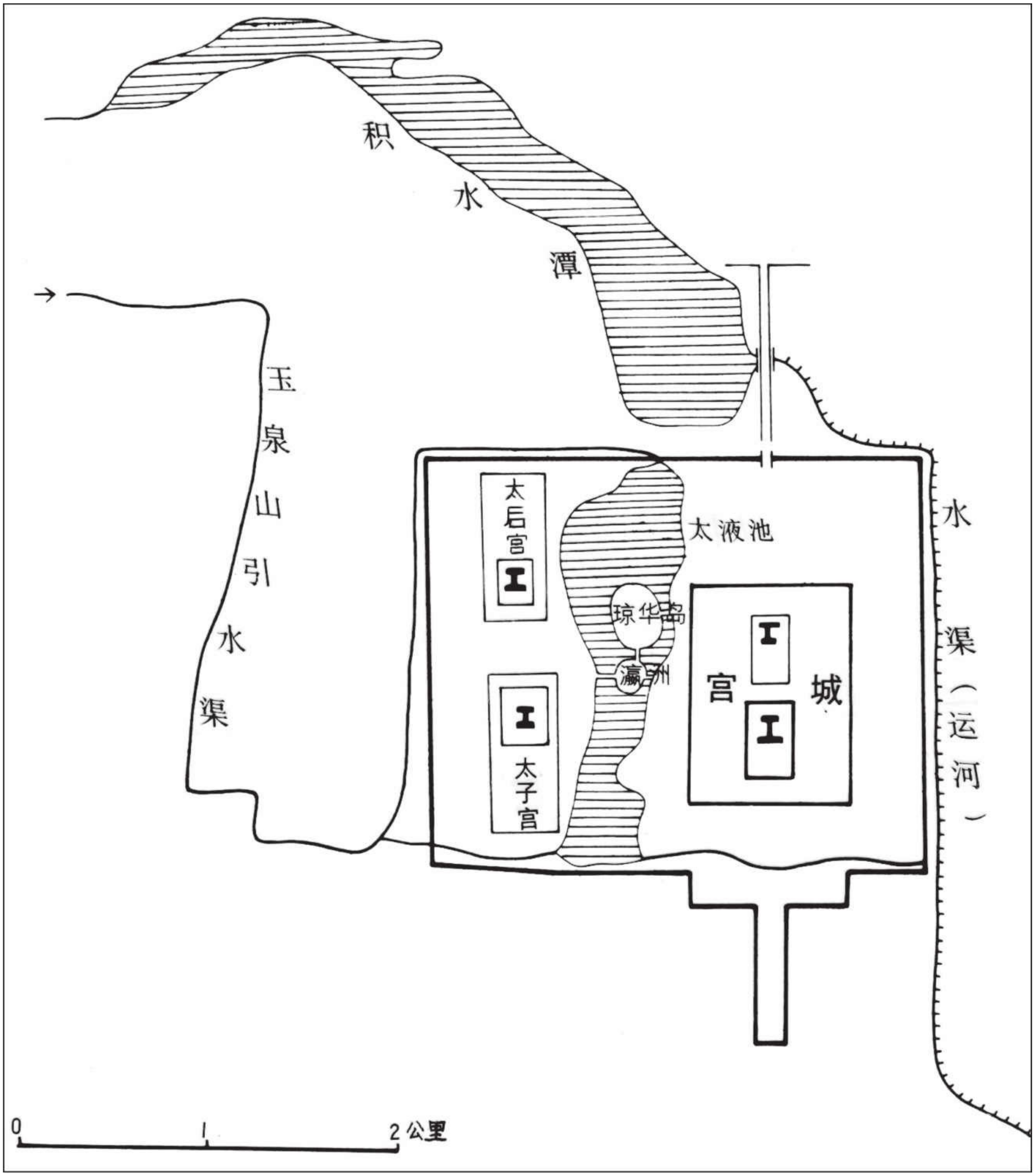
Main axis of the city　全城设计的中轴线

Starting point of the main axis　中轴线起点

Location of the Imperial Palace　宫城位置

On the west bank were two palace complexes, the southerly one being the palace of the crown prince and the northerly one the palace of the emperor's mother, or "empress dowager." These two complexes were also surrounded each on four sides by a palace wall, and faced the emperor's palace from afar across the lake. In the middle of the lake, equidistant from the three palaces, was a small island, which remained from the old Tai-ning Palace complex, called Ying-zhou. Bridges extending from Yingzhou Island to the east and west shores of the lake connected the three palaces together. North of Ying-zhou Island was a larger island, called Qiong-hua Island, upon which was the main concentration of buildings of Tai-ning Palace. Surrounding the three palace complexes was a city wall, which defined what was known as the "Royal City." Henceforth the south lake was surrounded by the Royal City, and according to tradition, was given the name "Tai-ye Chi" (Supreme Liquid Lake). Around the shore of Tai-ye Chi an imperial park was planned.

Since the northern part of the lake now lay outside the Royal City, and being separated from the southern part, a canal was constructed to divert its outflow around the east wall of the Royal City and on toward the south suburbs. At the same time, a new source of water was found for the Royal City's Tai-ye Chi; an aqueduct was dug connecting the lake to a spring at the foot of Yu-quan (Pearl Spring) Hill northwest of the city. The outflow from the lake passed along the front of the Royal City, then out to join the canal which drained Ji-shui Tan. (Fig. 2-3)



2-3 Kernel of Dadu City 大都皇城平面略图

Imperial Palace 宫城

Palace of the emperess dowager 太后宫

Palace of the crown prince　太子宫

Tai-ye Chi　太液池

Ying-zhou Island　瀛洲

Aqueduct from the Yu-quan Hills　玉泉山引水渠

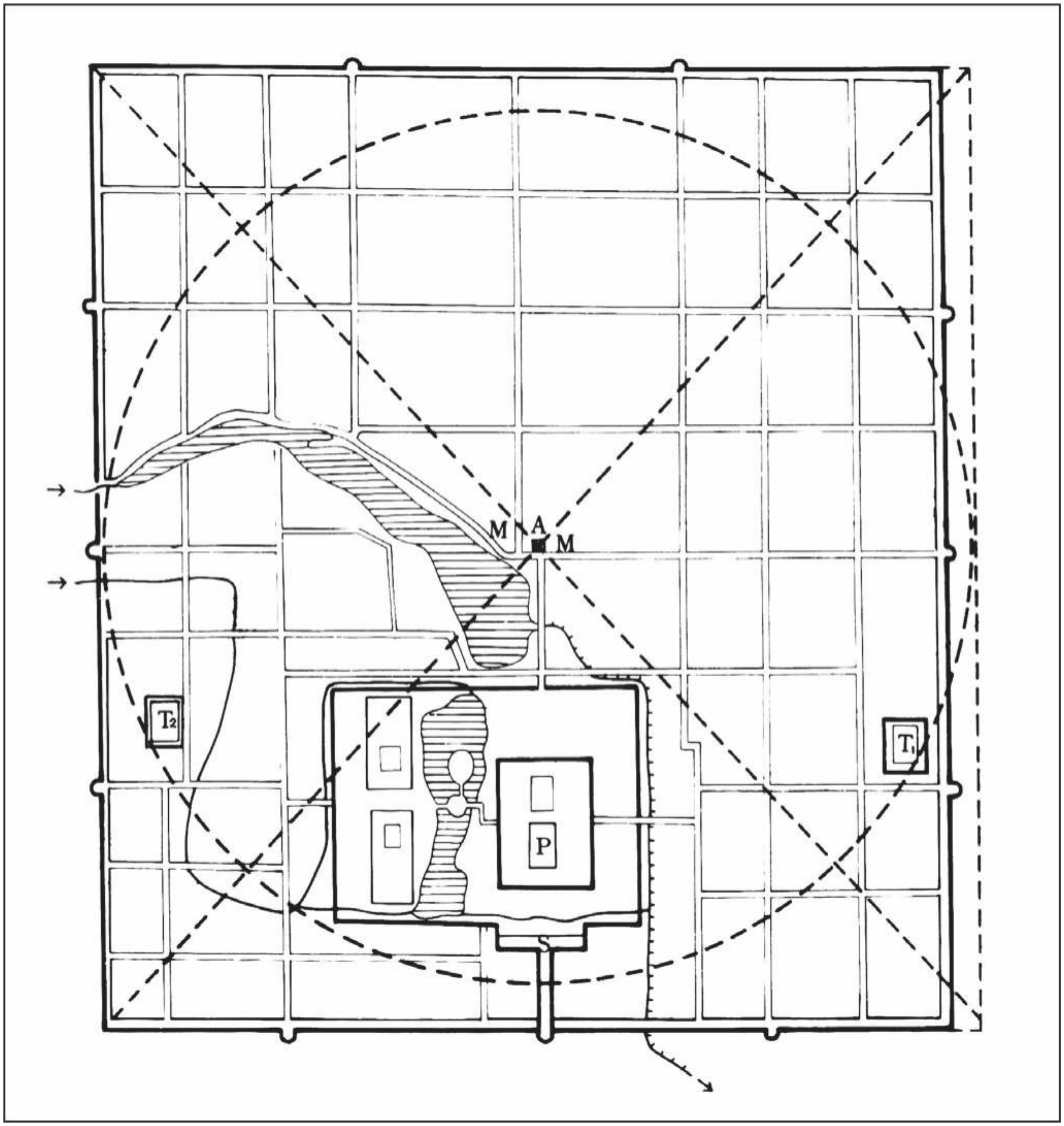
Ji-shui Tan　积水潭

Canal　水渠（运河）

A large secular city was constructed around the Royal City. The plan for the large city placed its geometric center at the north end of the axis of the Royal City. At that site a platform was built, and on it were inscribed the four characters "Zhong Xin Zhi Tai," meaning "Central Platform."This shows clearly the careful measurement that went into the city's layout. From the Central Platform on the east to its western end, Ji-shui Tan is about 3.3 kilometers in east-west extent. The location of the west wall of the enlarged city was set a little farther than this from the city center. Ideally, this should have been the standard distance determining the location of the east wall of the enlarged city. The land at that easterly location, however, was swampy and unsuitable for heavy construction, so the east wall could not be placed that far out. The south wall of the enlarged city was located about 3.75 kilometers from the Central Platform, that being the distance which allowed the Royal City to be included within the enlarged city. It was then decided that the north wall should be placed at the same distance. Consequently, the shape of the enlarged city after the construction of the four walls was that of a slightly elongated rectangle.

The east, west, and south walls of the enlarged city each had three gates, but the north wall only two. Inside the southernmost gate of the east wall was built the Tai Miao, and inside the southernmost gate of the west wall was built the She-ji Tan. Spanning the area between the eleven city gates, which

were spaced at approximately equal distances from one another, were wide avenues. Including the "wall streets," which ran along the insides of the city walls, there were nine aligned north-south and nine east-west. Many smaller lanes were laid out running east-west between the primary north-south avenues. Thus, the basic layout of all of Dadu City was accomplished (Fig. 2-4).



2-4　The layout of Dadu City (Beijing)　大都城平面设计示意图

A：Central Platform　中心之台

P：Imperial Palace　宫城

M：Market　市场

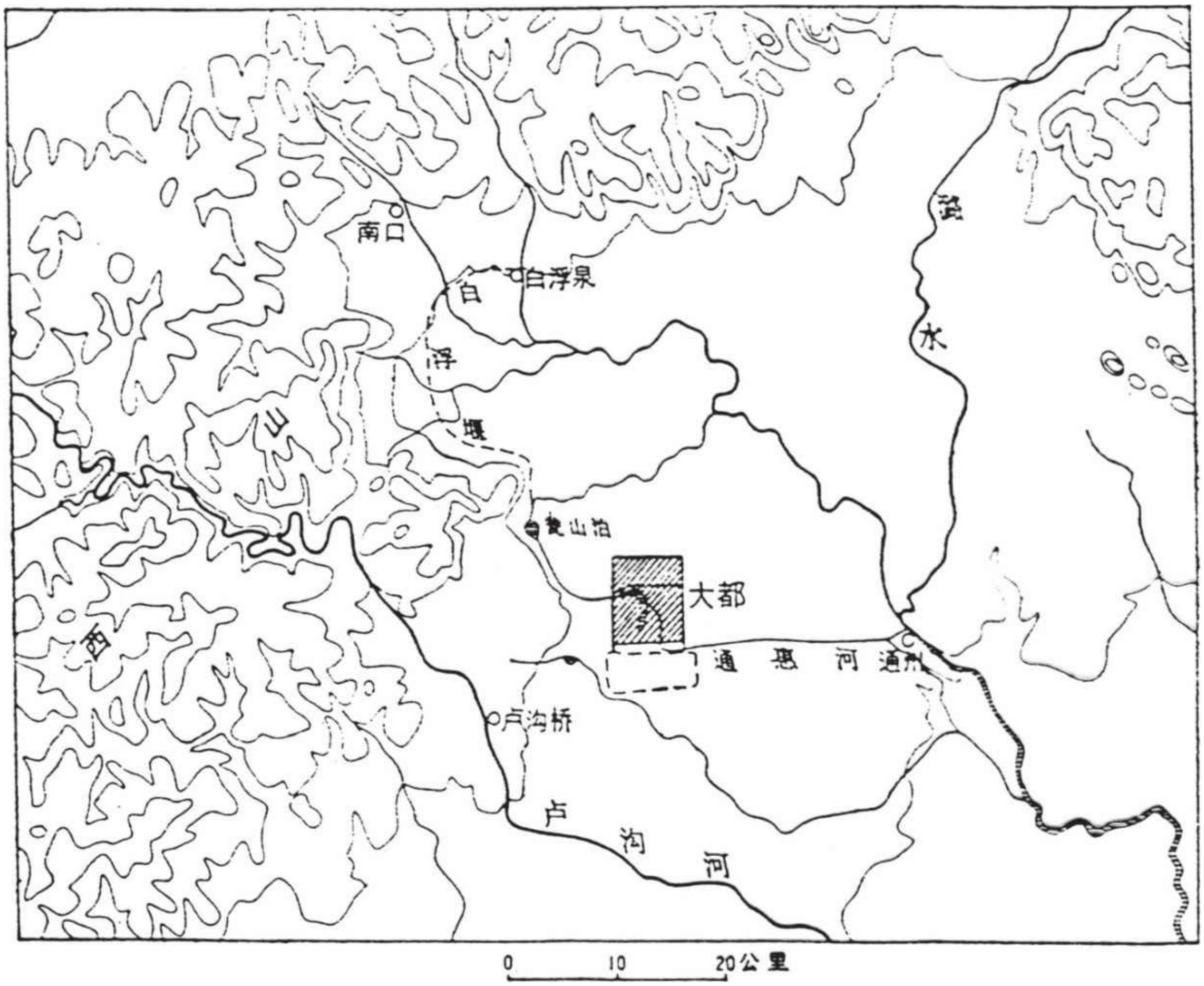
S：The Palace Square　宫廷广场

T_1： Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

T_2： Altar of Soil and Grain社　稷坛

At this point, it is important to note the special significance of the location of the central gate of the south city wall, at the south end of the city's north-south axis. Along the sides of the "Imperial Road" which connected this city gate to the south gate of the Royal City, a T-shaped square was built. This was equivalent to the so-called "Wai Chao"(Outer Court) of antiquity. Precisely located along the central axis of the whole city were the chief buildings of the emperor's palace, as well as the emperor's throne. The purpose of this was to demonstrate that the emperor was "number one under heaven," a concept with great symbolic meaning.

The last major project in the construction of Dadu was the tapping of the springs of the mountains to the northwest to provide the city's water supply(Fig. 2-5). All these springs, except for those of Yu-quan Hill which were used exclusively to feed the Royal City's Tai-ye Chi, were brought together into a single channel which flowed into Dadu City's Ji-shui Tan. From there, these waters were channeled southward around the east wall of the Royal City, joining the old Jin Dynasty canal in the southern suburbs which led to Tong-zhou. At Tong-zhou this joined with the historically renowned Grand Canal, which linked the area to China's southern regions. The northern terminus of the Grand Canal system therefore was Ji-shui Tan, which became a bustling port, crowded with boats laden with grain and goods from the lower valley of the Changjiang (Yangtze River). An area on its northeast shore, including the vicinity of the Central Platform and a street along the north side of the lake, became the most prosperous commercial center of the city (Fig. 2-6).



2-5 Watercourses in the vicinity of Dadu City 大都城近郊水道略图

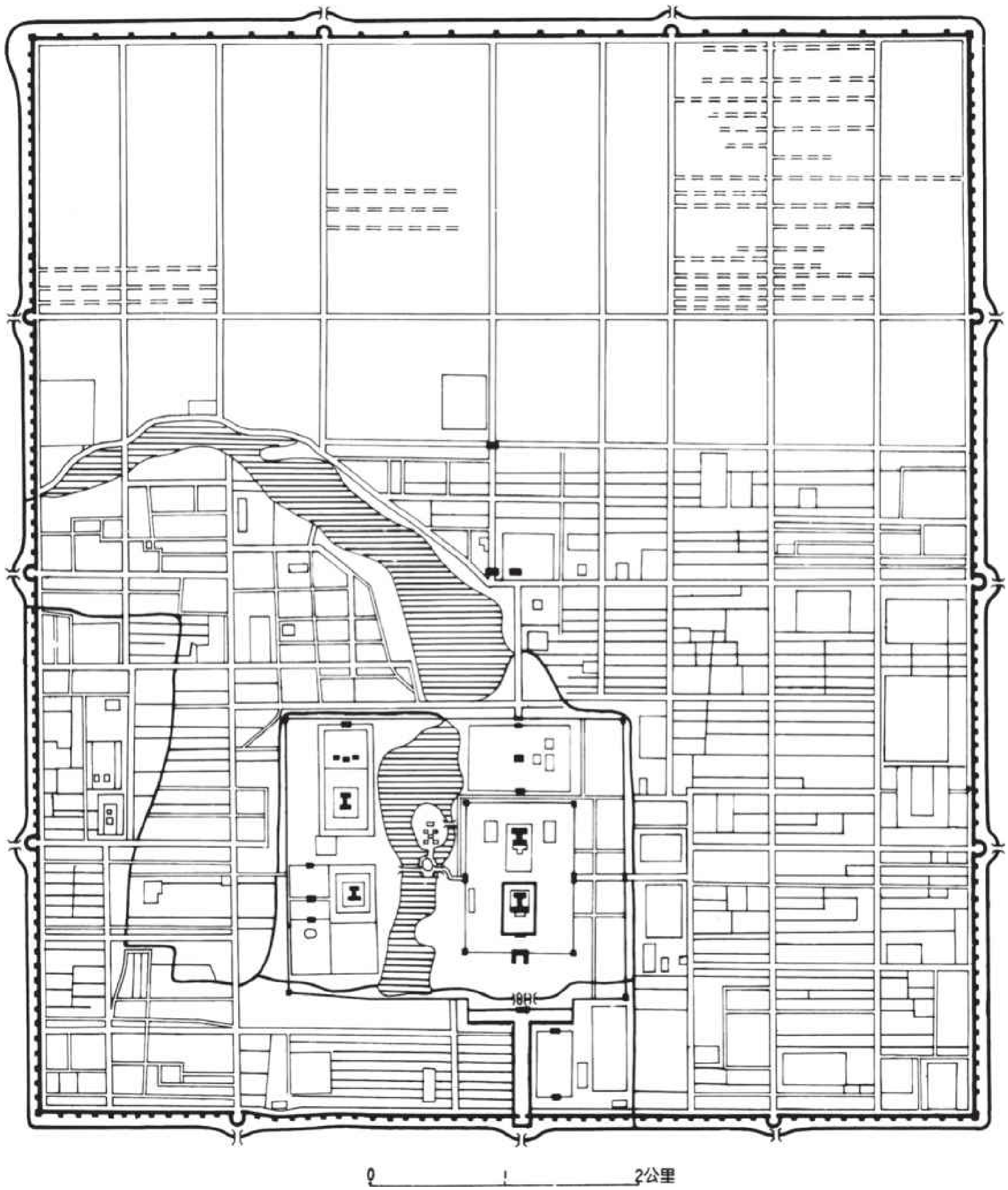
Dadu City 大都

Tong-hui River 通惠河

Lu-gou Bridge 卢沟桥

Lu-gou River 卢沟河

West Mountains 西山



2-6 Reconstruction of the layout of Dadu City (Beijing) during the Yuan Dynasty
元朝大都城平面复原图

Dashed double lines indicate street locations identified by archeological

evidence; in empty areas, archeological evidence is lacking.

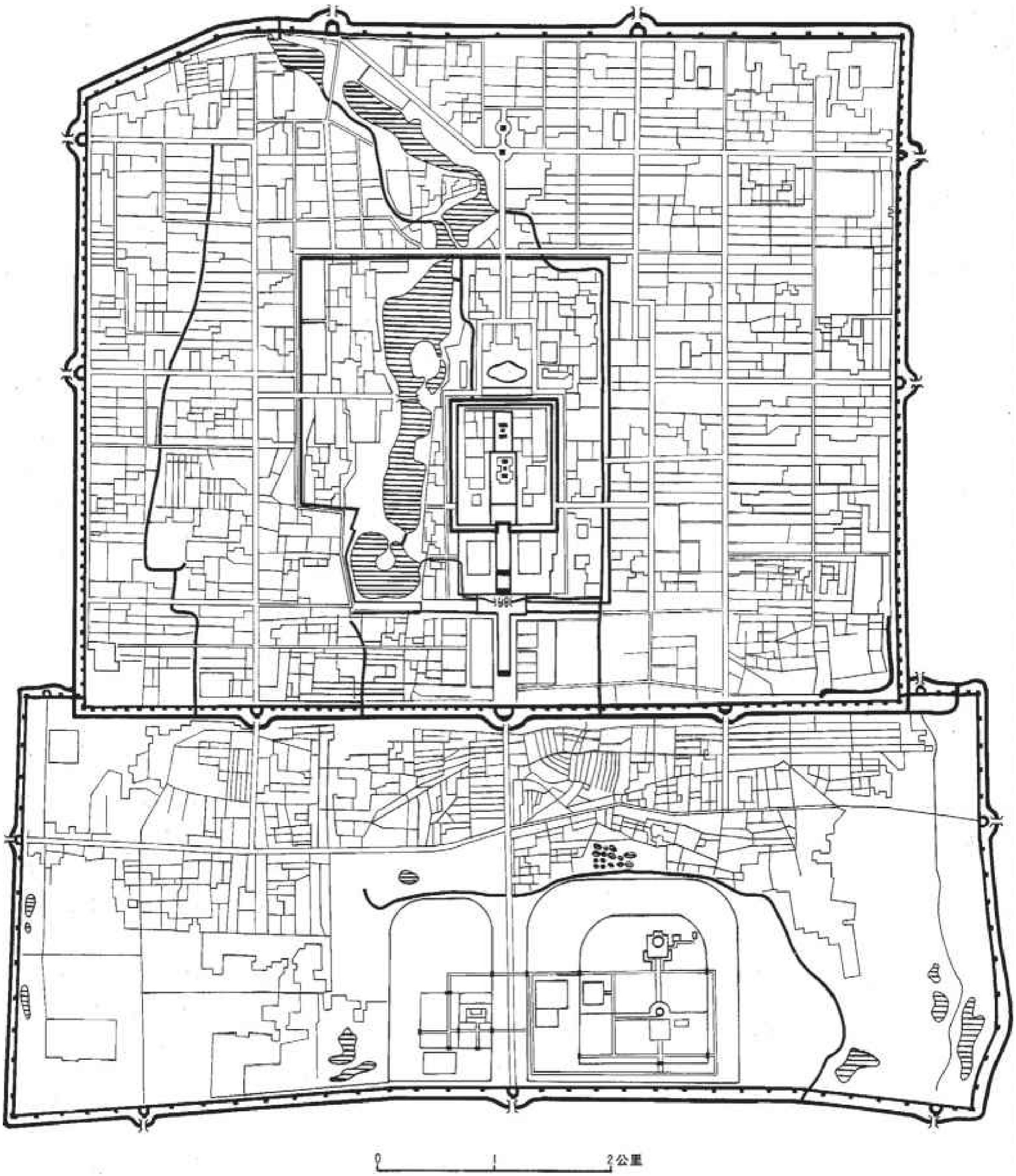
双虚线表示经考古证据显示的街道的位置，空白处表示考古证据缺乏。

The Yuan Dynasty's construction of Dadu City required eighteen years from beginning to end. If the design of Dadu is compared to the elements of ideal city layout set forth in the *Book of Artificers* , such as"palace in front, market in back, temple of ancestors on left, altar of soil and grain on right," and the street plan, it can be seen that these principles were completely realized in the construction of the city. Thus, the design of Dadu City without question had its origins deep in Chinese culture. But it was not just a machine-like copy of the ancient ideal form; its sides were not built in the form of a perfect square, but rather the ideal was modified to meet the requirements of reality to produce a creative work. By building the city around a wide body of water and extending its north-south dimension, it was possible to create a great city which combined grandeur with beautiful scenery. Moreover, the main elements of the ideal plan were still strongly represented, and this was no mean achievement.

Planning Changes in the Ming and Qing Periods

Less than a century after Dadu City was built, an uprising in the lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze River) resulted in the establishment of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), which eventually extended its rule over the whole of China. The Ming Dynasty originally had its capital at Nanjing. After it occupied Dadu, it changed that city's name to Beiping or "North Pacification." During the reign of the third emperor, who intended to rule from Beiping, to begin with the name was changed to Beijing, or "Northern Capital," and then the capital function itself was moved from Nanjing to Beijing. Concurrently, a major reconstruction of the city was begun (Fig. 2-

7). First, the north city wall was moved about 2.5 kilometers to the south, leaving the northwest part of Ji-shui Tan outside the city. Then both the south city wall and the emperor's palace were rebuilt a little to the south. This reconstruction produced the new emperor's palace, or the Forbidden City, which has been passed down to the present, and is today's Palace Museum. Within the Ming Dynasty's Forbidden City, the most important buildings were a row of six great palaces, built along the city's main axis, which symbolized the supreme power of the emperor. The geometric center of the whole city was no longer at the Central Platform, but had shifted south to a point just north of the new Forbidden City. In order to clearly mark the new city center, soil excavated from a new artificial lake at the southern end of the Tai-ye Chi and from a newly constructed moat of the Forbidden City was used to build a hill about forty-seven meters high. This was named Wan-sui Shan (Long Life Mountain) and symbolized the eternal ruling power of the emperor. [2] In addition, the Tai Miao and She-ji Tan were moved from their old locations inside the east and west walls to new locations just outside the south gate of the Forbidden City. They were still placed on the left and right sides of the meridional axis, respectively, in keeping with the tradition of "Tai Miao to the left and She-ji Tan to the right." At the same time, the south, north, and east walls of the Royal City were extended a bit, so the Tai Miao, She-ji Tan, and the new lake south of Tai-ye Chi were all contained within them. [3]



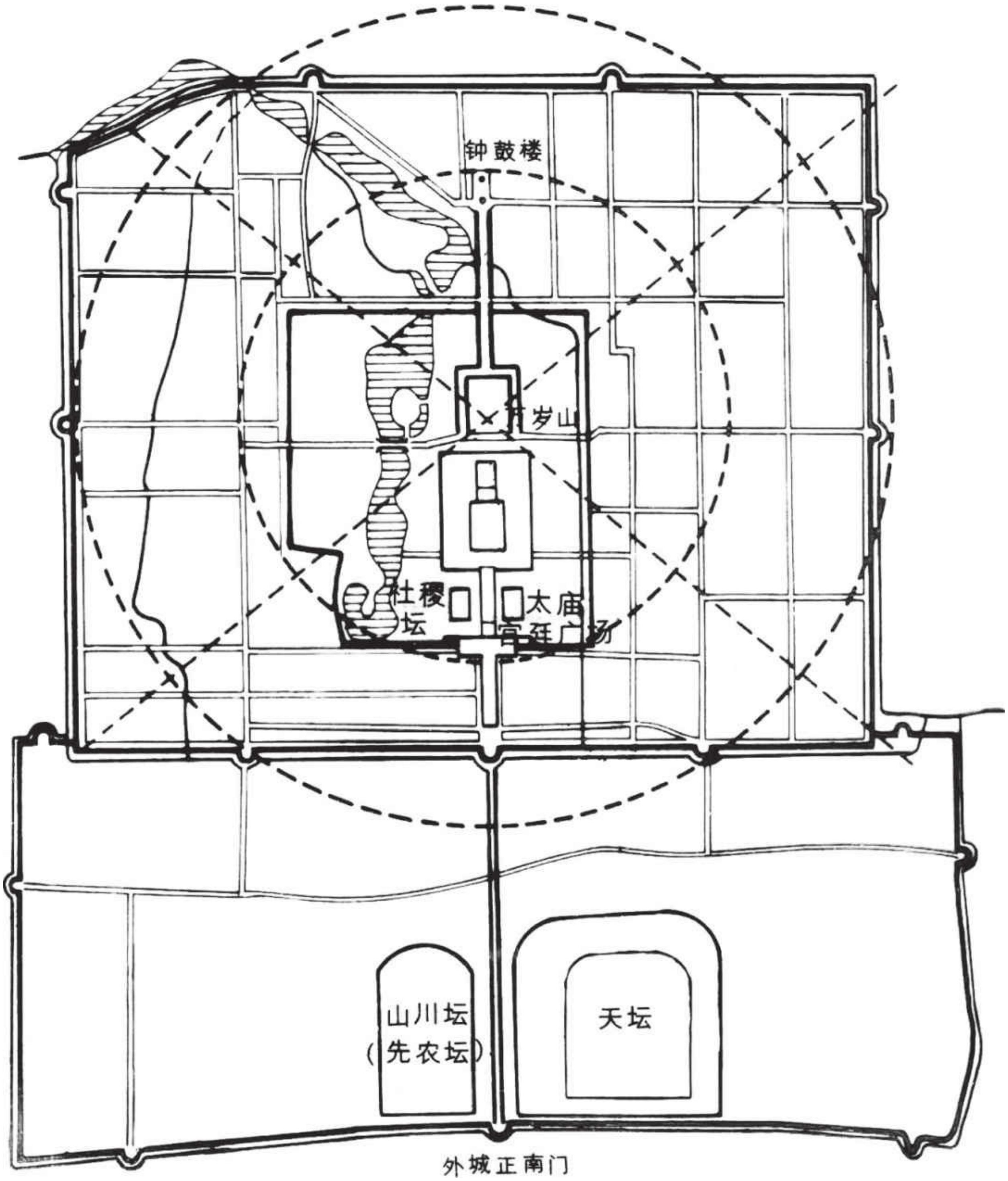
2-7　Plan of the capital of the Ming Dynasty　明代北京城平面示意图

More importantly, two major new groups of buildings were constructed in the southern suburbs, one east and one west of the meridional axis. To the

east was the Tian Tan (the Temple of Heaven), where the emperor paid homage to the gods of heaven, and to the west was the Shan Chuan Tan (the Altar of Mountain and River), where he paid his respects to the gods of mountain and river.[4] Up until 1553, this southern part of Beijing was outside the city wall; then an "outer wall" was built to formally incorporate the above-mentioned temple and altar into the city. The middle gate of this new outer wall was situated on the center axis, between these two groups of buildings. The main north-south road within the gate was built along the axis.

At the northern end of the axis, where the old Central Platform was located, two new buildings were constructed: the Bell Tower to the north and the Drum Tower to the south. The newly extended north-south axis had a full length of almost eight kilometers. The Forbidden City occupied the most important location on the axis; to its north, standing like a picture screen, was Wan-sui Shan; to its south, on the left and right, were the Tai Miao and the She-ji Tan. Between these two temples was the Central Imperial Avenue, which started at the Wu Men (Meridional Gate) at the center of the south side of the Forbidden City and extended to the Tian-an Men (Gate of Heavenly Peace)[5] at the center of the south side of the Royal City. After passing through the Tian-an Men, the avenue widened into a T-shaped palace square. The square was bounded on three sides by red brick walls. Inside the east and west walls, long corridors called the "Corridor of a Thousand Steps" were built. Outside the south central gate of the square was the south central gate of the inner city wall. This gate was known as the Zheng-yang Men, or Front Gate, and the part of Beijing which lay beyond it was called the outer city. Along the main axis of the city, which had been extended, the fundamental principles of the design of Dadu City were further developed, and a higher aesthetic level was achieved.

The Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the last imperial dynasty in China's history, also established its capital in Beijing. Besides erecting more palace buildings in the Forbidden City and in the imperial park around Tai-ye Chi, it did not do much to change the layout of the city. Thus Beijing City—or as we now call it, Beijing's Old City—was preserved until the eve of the birth of New China. Starting with the principles set forth in the *Book of Artificers* with adjustments made to accommodate local geographical characteristics, and then having gone through numerous reconstructions, Beijing has finally come down to us as the ultimate expression of the ideal traditional Chinese city. (Fig. 2-8)



2-8　Dadu City's transformation into Beijing City under the Ming Dynasty　明清北京城平面设计示意图

Wan-sui Shan　万岁山

Tai Miao　太庙

She-ji Tan　社稷坛

Palace square　宫廷广场

Bell Tower and Drum Tower　钟鼓楼

Tian Tan　天坛

Shan Chuan Tan (Xian-nong Tan)　山川坛（先农坛）

It is just this Beijing City that has been the object of high praise from Western urban planners. For example, the renowned Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen, in the preface to his book T*owns and Buildings* , wrote:

> There are excellent German and Japanese guide books giving detailed information about every single palace and temple in Peking. But they do not contain a single mention of the fact that the entire city is one of the wonders of the world, in its symmetry and clarity a unique monument, the culmination of a great civilization. [6]

Another example is provided by the distinguished American city planner Edmund Bacon, who was Executive Director of the Philadelphia Planning Commission for twenty years and made an important contribution to historic preservation and restoration in that city. In his book *Design of Cities* he wrote this regarding Beijing's Old City: Possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking. This Chinese city, designed as the domicile of the Emperor, was intended to mark the center of the universe. The city is deeply enmeshed in ritualistic formulae and religious concepts which do not concern us now. Nevertheless, it is so brilliant in design that it provides a rich storehouse of ideas for the city of today. [7]

Bacon's comment is noteworthy. As a center of imperial rule, he said, it was a great design achievement and should be studied by city planners today.

At the same time, he points out that it contains much that does not serve the needs of the present. This clearly reveals the dilemma we face today.

Plan Changes in the New China Era

Following the progress of history and the passage of time, old cities—especially those of intricate design—unavoidably face the necessity of continuous redevelopment. This is especially true in the case of Beijing's Old City, since the single underlying motif of all its splendid architecture and ingenious design—namely, symbolizing the supremacy of a medieval sovereign—stands in such sharp contrast to the spirit of the present time. The establishment of New China represents the beginning of a new, socialist era. As Beijing is the nation's capital in this new era, the reconstruction of the city should reflect the fact that the people are now the true masters of their country.

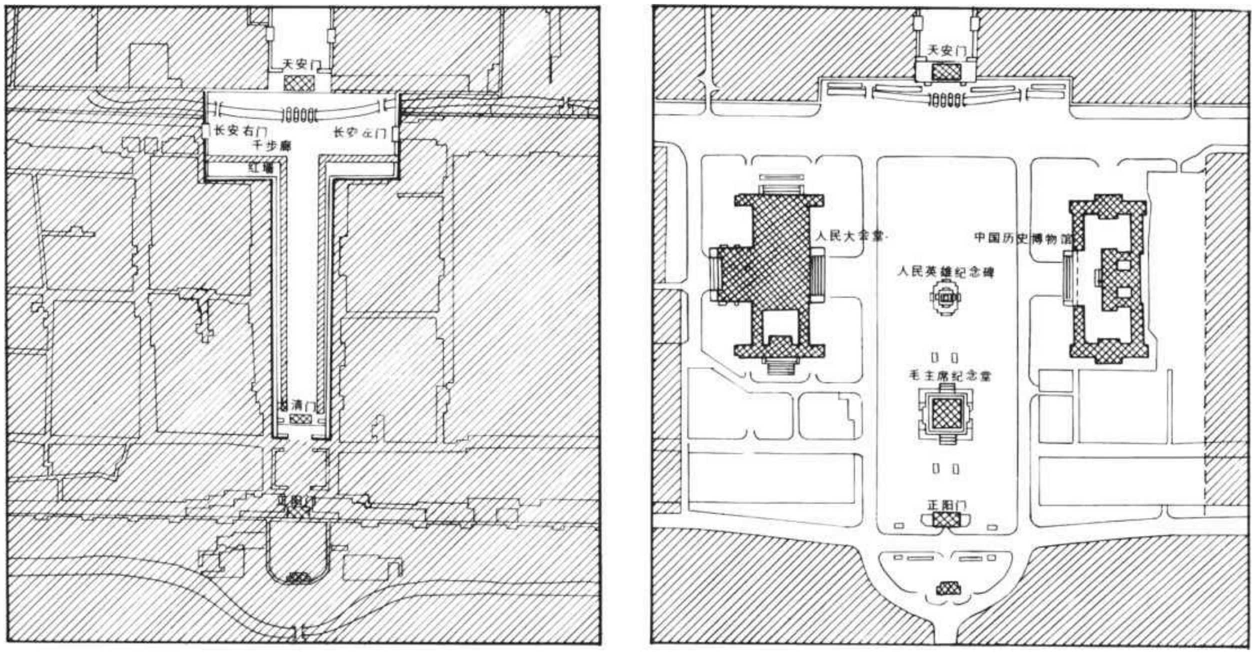
How can this reconstruction effectively be carried out? First, it must be seen that this is not simply a matter of engineering and technology, but also a problem concerning our custodianship of a venerable historical and cultural inheritance, as well as the challenge of creating a new socialist civilization.

All of Beijing's Old City is part of China's historical and cultural inheritance. It is a symbol of the magnificent development of China's culture in imperial times. As Rasmussen pointed out, it is a significant monument to the highest achievements of a great civilization. The new Beijing City, as the people's capital and a symbol of the new socialist culture, can only rise from this historical foundation. But as we assume our charge over this historical and cultural legacy, we must adhere to the principle of maintaining a critical perspective. We can neither totally deny the legacy nor totally accept it. It is important to distinguish between the "wheat" and the "chaff"; we must accept

and make full use of the wheat, while criticizing and giving up the chaff. In this way we can follow the principles of "making the past serve the present" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new," in order to use our historical foundation to create something new. We must note, however, that the standards for distinguishing the "wheat" from the "chaff" have changed through time. Today, we place a high value on all things which benefit the masses or fully express the people's creative abilities. That which truly embodies this populist spirit should be accepted and developed. That which does not should be criticized and given up. Today, this principle must be applied to the reconstruction of Beijing's Old City.

Some reconstruction work affecting the layout of Beijing's Old City has already been done since the establishment of New China. The most notable example of this is the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square. As noted earlier the Tian-an Men was originally fronted by a T-shaped square. This was designed to serve as an imperial square—a place where the emperor performed important ceremonies (Fig. 2-9). On its east, west, and south sides were red walls which totally shut off public access. It was thus a great obstacle to east-west communications within the city. Viewed from the south end of this imperial square, the Tian-an Men loomed to the north as a lofty, ornate palace built upon a red platform. In old times, this sight served to create an impression of grandeur and solemnity. In 1911, after the overthrow of the last dynasty, Tian-an Men Square was opened and people were allowed to pass through, but the red walls were kept as before. On October 1, 1949, the declaration of the establishment of New China took place there. An important reason for this was that Tian-an Men Square was the site of the outbreak of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which set the stage for the New Democratic Revolution. Thus it is one of the places in Beijing's Old City with

an honorable revolutionary tradition.



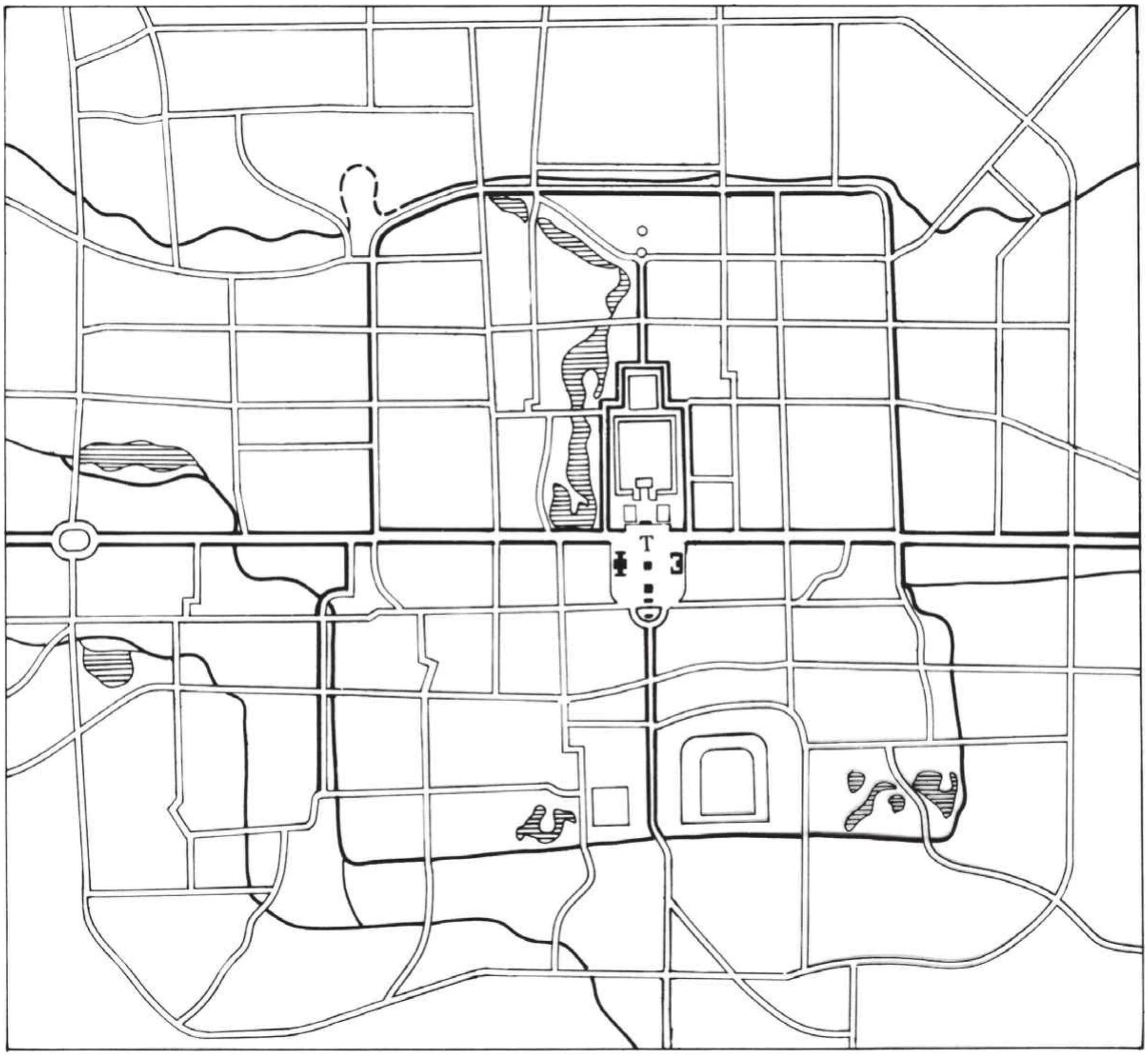
2-9 From imperial square to people's square at the Tian-an Men, Beijing 清朝天安门

Tian-an Men 天安门
Left Chang-an Men 长安左门
Right Chang-an Men 长安右门
Red walls 红墙
Da Qing Men 大清门
Zheng-yang Men 正阳门
Corridor of a Thousand Steps 千步廊
Great Hall of the People 人民大会堂
Museum of Chinese History 中国历史博物馆
Monument to the People's Heroes 人民英雄纪念碑
Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao 毛主席纪念堂

The Tian-an Men, which stands above the square, expresses the full

talent and intelligence of China's working people in the art of construction. It could be considered a masterpiece among the ancient structures of Beijing. As for the red walls on the east, west, and south sides of the square, they still obstructed the movement of people and were actually a public nuisance. Therefore, on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the nation, the red walls surrounding the square were totally demolished, and a new square appeared which was several times larger than the old one. On the west and east sides of the square, two modern buildings were constructed. On the west arose the Great Hall of the People, and on the east was built the structure containing the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution. In the center of the square stands the Monument to the People's Heroes. On the eve of the 30th anniversary of the revolution, the Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao was built on the south side of square, just inside the Zheng-yang Men. The transformation of Tian-an Men Square to the center of political activity was essentially complete. Although its location remains the same, its nature and function have totally changed, and it has an entirely new appearance (see Fig. 2-9). [8]

At the beginning of the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square, its left and right wings extending along Chang-an Street (the street's name was derived from the former left and right Chang-an Men on either side of the old square) were widened and extended to become a broad, tree-lined thoroughfare. This thoroughfare extended to the east and west suburbs and created a major new axis for the whole city (Fig. 2-10). On one hand this reinforced the primacy of Tian-an Men Square's location in the layout of the whole city, and on the other hand it relegated the location of the old Forbidden City to "backyard" status. That ancient symbol of imperial primacy thus lost its exalted position relative to the rest of the city.



2-10 Chang-an Street, Beijing, extending east and west from the Tian-an Men 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道

Although work remains to be done in the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square, its position as the center of political activity in the city has been established. The old buildings on the square, such as the Tian-an Men and the Zheng-yang Men, and the modern buildings, such as the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, all go together very well, showing at the same time continuity

with the past and the new spirit of the present. The principle of "weed through the old to bring forth the new" has been fully realized. With regard to the improvement of the layout of Beijing's Old City, it cannot be said that this was not a success.

There are still many opportunities for today's city planners to apply their creative talents, in accordance with this principle, to the reconstruction of Beijing's Old City. For instance, one such case is the question of what to do with the old Ji-shui Tan. Should we consider it an obstacle to the city's development and fill it in to create land for buildings? Or should we consider it a place of historical significance in the development of the city and protect and improve it?

The Ji-shui Tan of antiquity, as discussed earlier, had a great influence on the location and layout of Beijing's Old City. The city's main axis was set next to the eastern shore of Ji-shui Tan, and the width of the lake determined the location of the east and west city walls. It could be said that had Ji-shui Tan not existed, Beijing would not exist in anything like its present form. In Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty, Ji-shui Tan was of great importance as the northern terminus of the Grand Canal. After the early period of the Ming Dynasty, when the north city wall was moved southward 2.5 kilometers, the northwest part of Ji-shui Tan was excluded from the city, and the area of the lake inside the city was greatly reduced. Subsequent reconstruction of Beijing's Old City, while further developing the primary themes of the original city plan, resulted in the filling of the Grand Canal's bed within the city and the elimination of its upper reaches. All that remained was the spring from Yu-quan Hill, which flowed into Ji-shui Tan and thence on to Tai-ye Chi. After this rearrangement of Beijing's water system, Tai-ye Chi, which was inside the Royal City, was again enlarged by the addition of a new lake

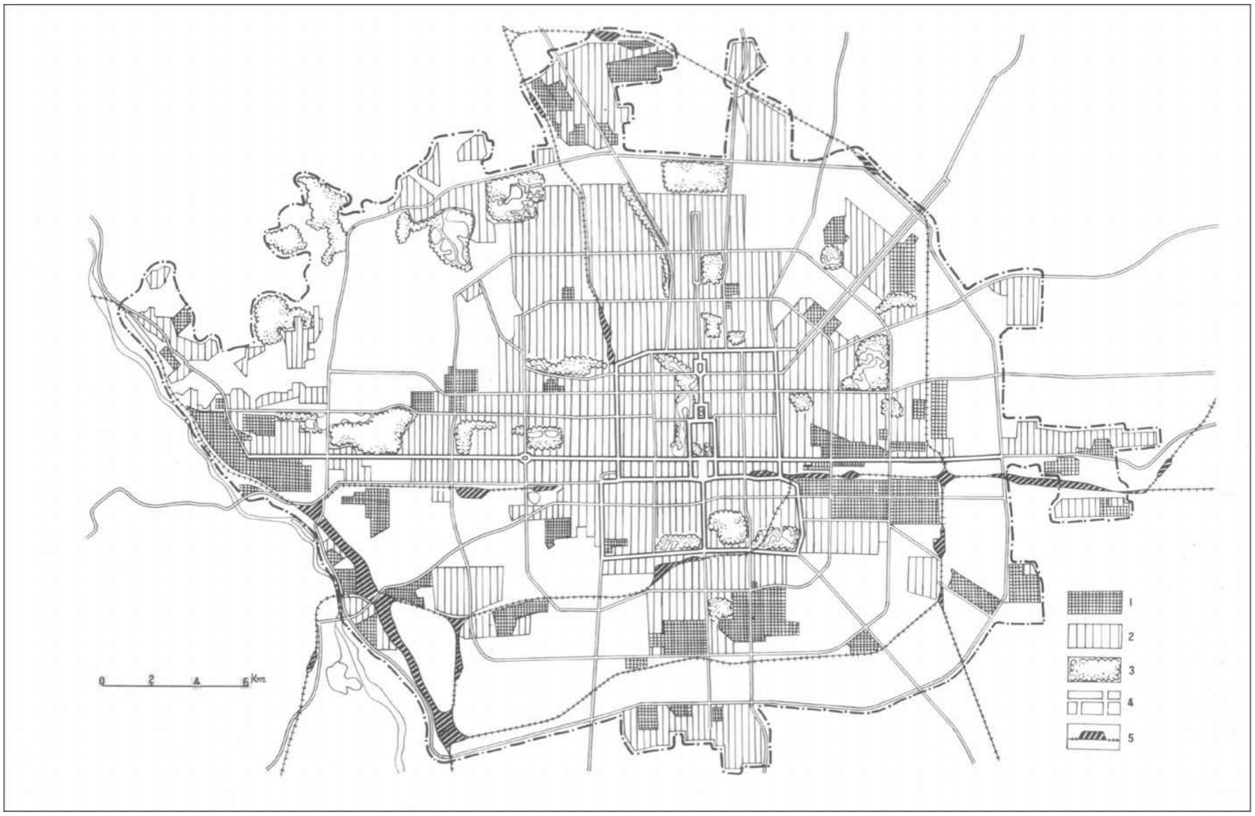
at its southern end. The trees and structures around it increased in number, and it developed into the most scenic park district in the city. The lake became known as the "Three Seas"—the "South Sea" (Nan-hai), the"Middle Sea" (Zhong-hai), and the "North Sea" (Bei-hai). The "North Sea" has now been opened to the public; known as the Bei-hai Park, it is renowned for its most beautiful scenery. This was the location of the Jin Dynasty's imperial retreat, Tai-ning Palace.

Ji-shui Tan, which lay outside the Royal City, has a much different fate than the "Three Seas," with their imperial parks and gardens. Throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties and up to the establishment of New China, it never received much attention from the highest rulers. Thus it has not benefited from any definite plan or development, and has quite naturally become a neglected backwater. The lake shrank into three parts, and only the northwesternmost part was still called Ji-shui Tan. A larger part of the lake, to the southeast, was called Shi-cha Hai. The area remained, however, one of the most scenic parts of the city. Especially lovely was the view looking west from the east shore of Shi-cha Hai; the reflected peaks of West Mountains seemed like part of the city landscape. Therefore this region in old times, especially during the Qing Dynasty, attracted some of the imperial nobility. They built great houses near the lake shore and channeled lake water into their private gardens. In addition, a number of large, wealthy temples were established around the lake. But, apart from the nobles' houses and temples, the greatest part of the lake region became a public recreation place for the common people. The southern part, especially, evolved naturally into a real "people's park." Concurrently there arose in that place a common people's market, where prices were low and merchandise was good. Because of a profusion of lotus growing along the lake shore there, this market came to be

called the "Lotus Market." Up to the eve of the birth of New China, this region remained a haven for the common people, where they could relax and enjoy life in a rustic setting. This informality contrasted sharply with the detailed planning and arrangement of Tai-ye Chi and its imperial gardens.

Now, inside Beijing's Old City, this overlooked lake is still there, and along its shores there are still patches of greenery and glimpses of its former beauty.

Further planning and reconstruction of the Ji-shui Tan district has already been scheduled as part of the effort to improve and reconstruct Beijing's Old City, in coordination with the overall plan for greater Beijing(Fig. 2-11). As this process goes forward, we must consider the historical importance and value of this region. We must consider the strong association of the common people with this place and the present necessity of creating more spacious, pleasant and culturally meaningful recreation areas for our citizens. We must consider the potential for improving the natural environment and making the city a more beautiful place. We must also build our plan upon the historical base we have inherited, all the while maintaining a critical attitude and doing our best to realize the principle of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." Ji-shui Tan is waiting for us to make this effort.



2-11 Land use plan for metropolitan Beijing, 1983 北京市区规划示意图（1983）

1．Industry and warehouse 工业仓库

2．Office and residential areas 工作居住

3．Parks and recreation areas 绿地体育

4．Streets and roads 道路用地

5．Railroads 铁路

Conclusion

This essay examines only two examples, from the geographical perspectives of city location and design, in an attempt to assess what attitude we should have and what basic rules we should observe in the process of reconstructing Beijing's Old City.

In July of 1983, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council approved in principle the Master Plan for the City Construction of Metropolitan Beijing. This plan clearly evaluates Beijing's Old City, and while pointing out those strengths and notable traditional characteristics which should be preserved in the process of reconstruction, it also emphasizes the creation of a new style characteristic of the people's capital in the new era. [9] Thus, we have reason to believe that by the end of this century a new Beijing City will emerge, one which will maintain not only its ancient cultural tradition, but with a new face reflecting a prosperous, new socialist culture. At the same time we also hope that this new culture, which is still developing, can make an important contribution to the civilization of all mankind.

贰　展望首都新风貌：北京旧城城市设计的改造*

一

在当代世界中，中国是一个发展中的国家，同时又是一个新兴的社会主义国家。在经历了具有悠久文化传统的历史发展之后，现在它正面临着一个前所未有的社会变革的新时代，在努力摆脱经济上的落后状态而积极进行现代化建设的同时，一个社会主义的新文化也正在发展中。在进行现代化建设的过程中，结合自己的具体情况，注意吸收外国一切先进的科学技术是必要的。但是在发展社会主义新文化的过程中，如何从自己的历史文化遗产中吸取一切有价值的部分，乃是一个更加重要也更加复杂的问题。绝不能设想一个社会主义的新文化会从天上掉下来或是从某一个外国移植进来，它只能从自己固有的土壤里发育成长。当然这并不排除外来文化的影响，但是这种外来的影响只有在被充分融化于具有自己特色的传统文化之中，它才有可能产生某种真正的社会价值，才能为创造具有时代特征的新文化作出贡献。正是在这一伟大的社会变革的背景下，本文试图以北京旧城城市设计的改造为例，就我们当前所面临的建设社会主义新文化的问题，作一个具体说明。作为一个历史地理工作者，我也只能着重从地理的因素上而不是从城市设计的专门技术上来提出一些个人的观点和看法，或许还可能有值得城市规划学者参考的地方。

二

随着当代世界性城市化的进展，城市规划作为一项专门的科学，已经变得日益复杂、也日益重要。但是这门科学在一些文明古国里，却已早有萌芽，这在古代中国也不例外。惠特利教授的巨著《四方之极》一

书，就充分说明了这一点。他在这部著作中，特别强调了古代中国城市建设在理想化平面设计中的象征意义，引证了《考工记》一书关于都城的平面设计作为一例，进行了饶有趣味的探讨。他还对北京旧城城市设计中象征性的格局，作了高度的评价。[1]

在这里，对于《考工记》中的有关记载，再作些进一步的阐述，或许是必要的。

《考工记》大约写成于公元前5世纪左右，主要是讲工艺制作，其中也记载了帝王都城建筑的平面设计，不过文字的描述过于简略，后人也有不同的说明和图解。如果就其主要内容加以阐述，可以包括下列几项：

（1）都城作正方形，四边筑有城墙，每边长4.5公里，各开三个城门。

（2）城内有九条直街，九条横街。也可解释为三条直街、三条横街，每街各有三条并列的车马大道。

（3）全城的中央是帝王的宫城。宫城的左边是太庙，也就是帝王祭祀其祖先的地方；右边是社稷坛，也就是帝王祭祀土地和五谷之神的地方。宫城的前面是朝廷，也就是帝王临朝听政的地方；后面是市场，也就是全城的商业中心。

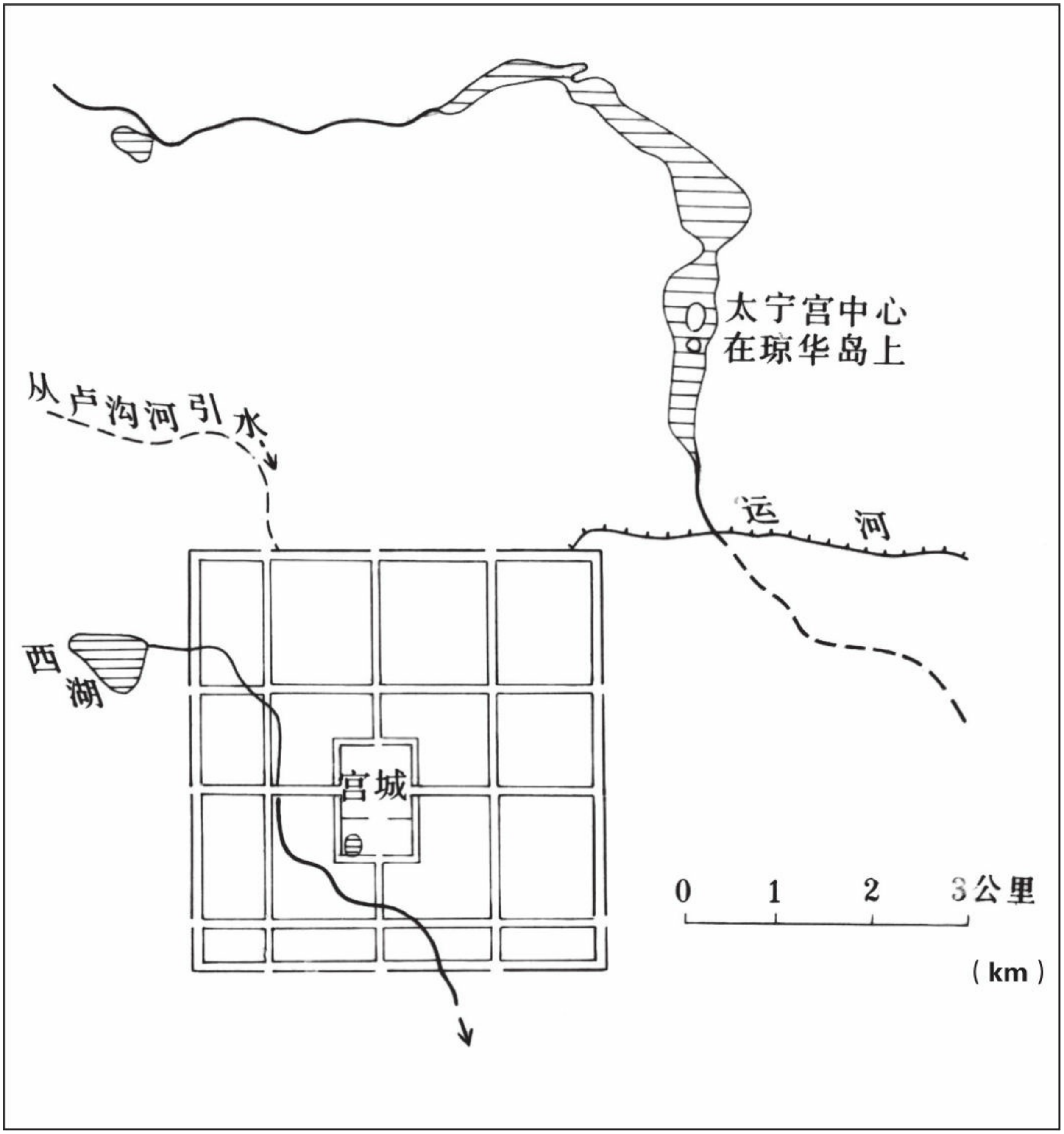
《考工记》的上述记载，指的是帝王的统治中心，也就是国都，是规模最大的城市。记载中的“左祖”、“右社”、“面朝”、“后市”，都是按照正南正北和正东正西的方向排列的。帝王的宫城面向正南，正处于全城中轴线的中心位置。太庙在其东，社稷坛在其西，全城市场在其北。这种城市布局有一条显然存在的南北中轴线，确定了背北面南的主导方向。这一主导方向，和中国古代文明起源的黄河中下游地区有密切的联系。这里的平原地带，大者如华北平原，小者如泾渭盆地、伊洛盆地，地势平坦开阔，又是季风盛行的北温带。春夏秋冬四季分明，夏季高温多雨，冬季北风凛冽。为了夏季通风和降温以及冬季御寒和采光，住宅

建筑中的主要房舍，都是背北面南的，由此而发展成为普遍流行的所谓“四合院”。虽然四合院四面房子都面向当中的庭院，但最主要的住房是北房，也叫正房。实际上这种四合院就是城市建筑在结构上的“细胞”。把这些细胞成条地排列起来就是街巷，把大小街巷有计划地组织起来就是方方正正有城墙包围的城市。作为一国的都城，帝王的宫室就是特大的住宅，或是几组住宅的综合体。周围绕以宫墙，这就是宫城。宫城布置在全城最重要的位置上，这就是全城南北中轴线的中心所在地。同时也是宇宙中心的象征。其次，按照古代的传统来说，只有在一国的都城之内，才有皇家太庙的建筑。至于像中国这样一个以农立国的国家，“社”的建筑、或称“社稷”，又是用来作为帝王统治天下的象征。至于市场，更是城市生活中所必有的。因此，这些基本要素都已经明确地包括在《考工记》所记载的关于帝王都城的理想设计之中了。这是保存到现在的中国古代著作中关于都城规划设计的最早也是最重要的记载，对后来的都城建设是有影响的。但是最为近似也可说是最完整地体现了这一理想设计“面朝”、“后市”、“左祖”、“右社”以及全城街道布局的基本特点的都城，只有一个，那就是历代帝王都城中最后建成的北京城，也就是现在所说的北京旧城。新中国成立后，又决定建都北京，并以北京旧城为中心，开始营建社会主义新时代的人民首都。因此，北京旧城的改造，也就成为当务之急。为了充分说明这一点，就有必要把北京旧城的规划设计，详细介绍如下。

三

北京是一个有三千多年历史的古城，不过她现在的城址是从13世纪中期元朝（1271—1368）大都城的兴建开始的。北京的古城址原在大都城的西南郊。在这个古城址上所建立起来的最后也是最大的一个大城，就是金朝（1115—1234）的中都城。中都城是古代北京城上升为全国性政治中心的开始。

中都城的东北郊外，原有一带天然湖泊，金朝的统治者曾利用这一带湖泊上的自然风光，在其南半部的中心一带，开拓湖面，修筑岛屿，营建了一处风景佳丽的离宫，命名为太宁宫（图2-1）。1215年崛起于北方的蒙古族首领成吉思汗的骑兵南下，攻占了中都城，当时中都城中豪华的宫殿惨遭焚毁，可是城外的太宁宫幸得保全。1260年成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈，决定以中都作为他的统治中心，策划统一中国，但是中都宫殿已成废墟，难于重建。更重要的是中都城的地表水源，只是来自城西的一个小湖——西湖（今莲花池），供水有限。随着城市功能的日益复杂，对于地表水源的需要也日益增加，特别是对于水上运输的要求，更为迫切。因为每年都需要有大量的粮食运送到城市，开凿人工运河尤为必要。金朝的统治者曾开凿了一条人工渠道，把城西永定河（当时叫做卢沟河）的河水，顺地形的自然坡度东流，通过中都北护城河，继续向东直达通州，计划把从华北平原上征收的粮食和物资，沿天然河流北运、集中到通州，然后转运中都城下。但是遇到永定河洪水暴涨，难以控制，终未收到预期的运输效果。由于上述原因，忽必烈决定放弃中都旧城，改以太宁宫的湖泊为中心，命令熟悉古代典章制度并且有筑城经验的汉族学者刘秉忠，进行规划设计，另建新城。刘秉忠和他的一个学生，即长于天文历算和水利工程的郭守敬共同合作，从1267年开始，直到1285年，才把新城连同它的运河系统全部兴建完成。这就是历史上赫赫有名的大都城。正是在大都城修建期间，马可·波罗来到这里，并且出仕元朝。后来他回到意大利，在追忆中对大都城规模的宏伟、宫殿的精美，极口称赞，这就是见于《马可·波罗游记》中的汗八里城。



2-1　Beijing's early urban nuclei: Zhongdu City and Tai-ning Palace　金朝中都城与太宁宫位置略图

Imperial Palace　宫城

West Late　西湖

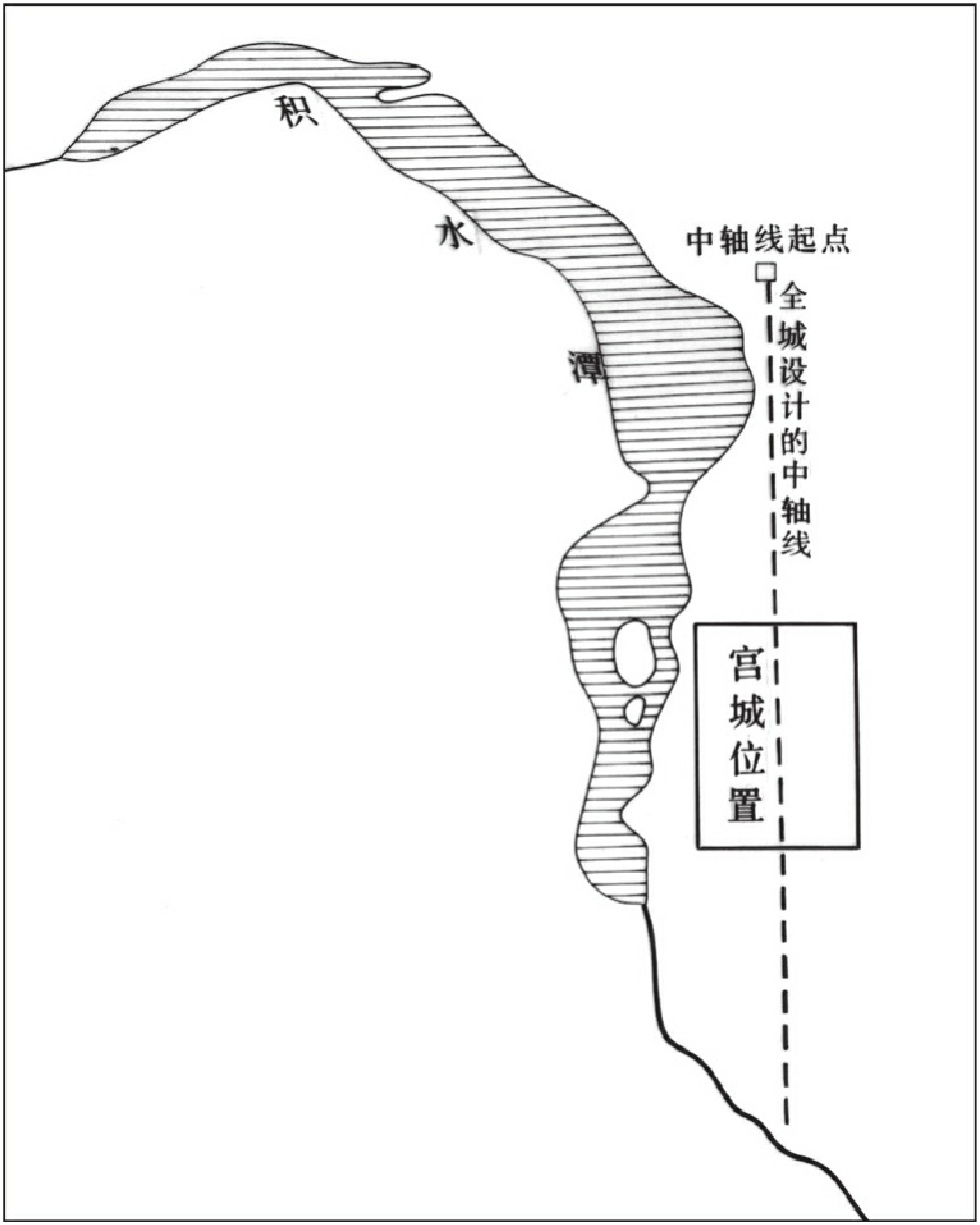
Aqueduct from Lu-gou River　从卢沟河引水

Canal　运河

Main buildings of the Tai-ning Palace on the Qiong-hua Island　太宁宫中心在琼华岛上

大都城的修建过程略如上述。至于大都城的规划设计，没有任何档案资料保存下来，因此只好根据已经复原的大都城平面图，参考有关的一些历史记载加以分析。根据个人所见，依照可能的设计程序，试作说明如下：

（1）首先是紧傍北部湖泊——当时叫做积水潭的东岸，选定了全城南北中轴线的位置（图2-2）。这条中轴线的北端，确定在积水潭的东北岸上，皇帝的宫殿则确定在南部湖泊的东岸，是为宫城。宫城平面设计的中心，也就正好落在已定的南北中轴线上。



2-2　Set of the axis and location of the emperor's palace　大都城中轴线的选择与宫城位置的确定

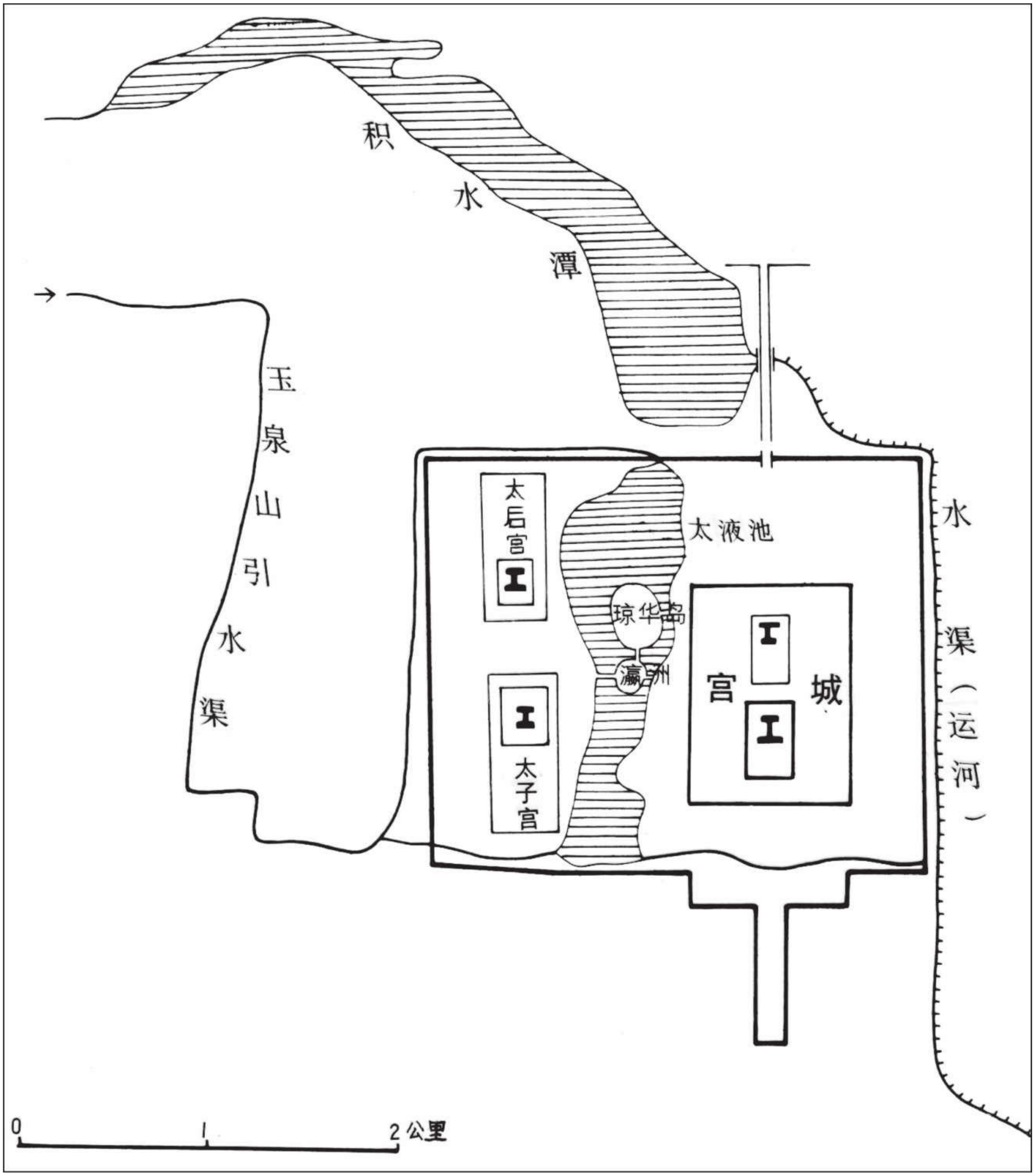
Ji-shui Tan　积水潭

Main axis of the city　全城设计的中轴线

Starting point of the main axis　中轴线起点

Location of the Imperial Palace　宫城位置

（2）其次，在南部湖泊的西岸，又分别兴建了南北两组宫殿。南为皇太子的宫殿，北为皇太后的宫殿。这两组宫殿的四面，也都筑有宫墙，和湖泊东岸的皇帝宫城，遥遥相望。旧日的太宁宫，正好居于这三者中间，湖中的一个小岛，原名瀛洲。从瀛洲通向东西两岸，各建一桥，把三组宫殿联系在一起。瀛洲北面另有一个大岛，叫做琼华岛，则是旧日太宁宫主要建筑所集中的地方。三组宫殿的四周又绕以城墙，是为皇城。从此南部湖泊遂被圈入皇城之中。按照传统的惯例，命名为太液池。沿太液池周围开辟为皇家园林。至于北部湖泊因为已经隔在皇城之外，遂另开人工渠道，引水南下，绕经皇城东墙之外，流出南郊。与此同时，又为圈入皇城之内的太液池，另辟新水源，把城西北玉泉山下的泉水，经过人工渠道，直接引入太液池。其下游流经宫城的前方，向东流出皇城，注入积水潭下游的水渠。（图2-3）



2-3　Kernel of Dadu City　大都皇城平面略图

Imperial Palace　宫城

Palace of the emperess dowager　太后宫

Palace of the crown prince　太子宫

Tai-ye Chi　太液池

Ying-zhou Island　瀛洲

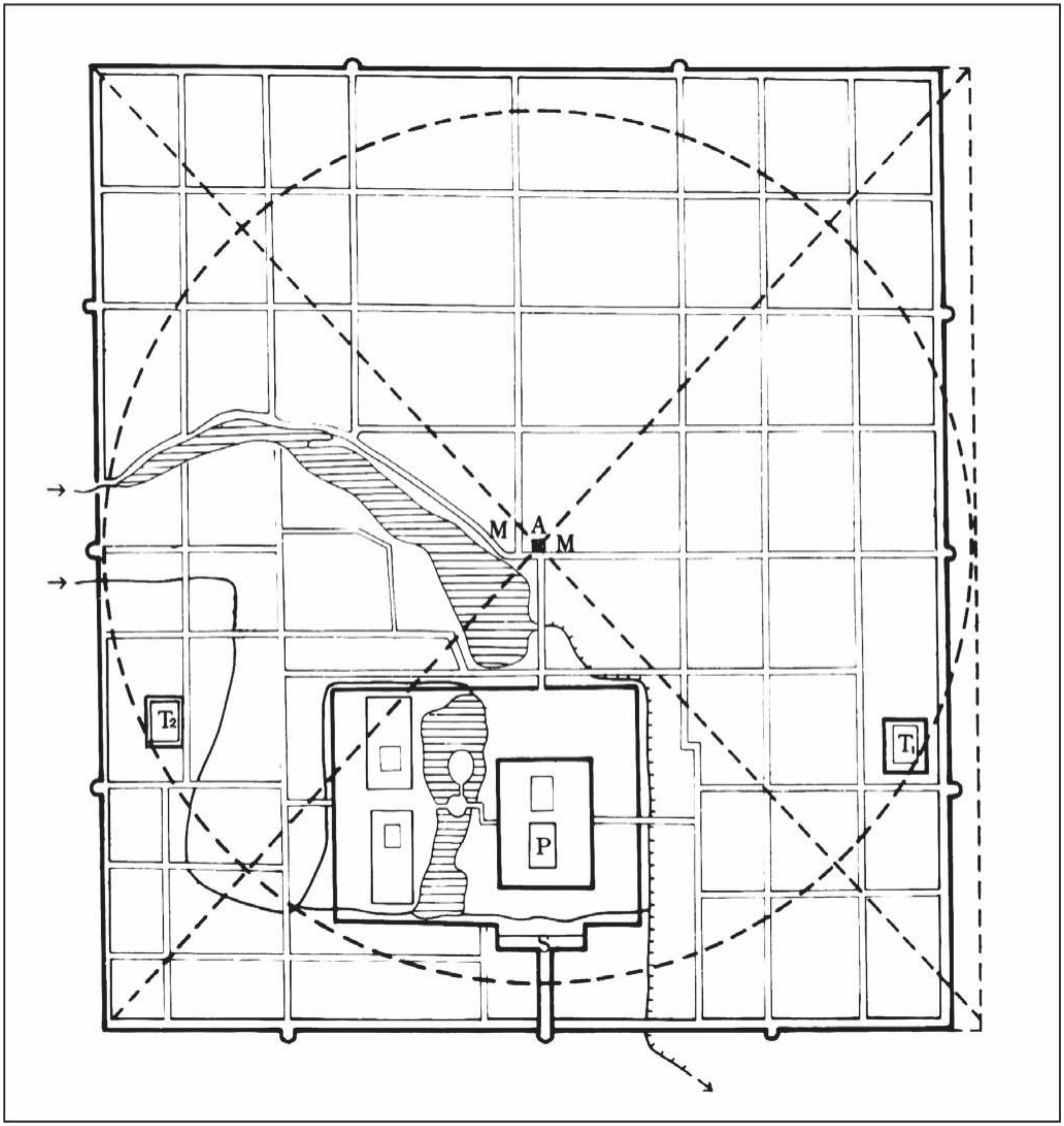
Aqueduct from the Yu-quan Hills　玉泉山引水渠

Ji-shui Tan　积水潭

Canal　水渠（运河）

（3）皇城之外又兴建大城。大城设计的几何中心，就定在皇城中轴线的北端，在这里筑台立碑，石碑上刻有四个大字“中心之台”。这就充分说明，全城的平面设计是经过了精密测量的。从“中心之台”向西直到积水潭的西端，约3.3公里，这就是整个积水潭的宽度。以此宽度作为标准稍向外延，确定了大城西墙的位置。本来应该以同一标准尺度确定大城东墙的位置，只是在这一位置上原有一块洼地，不宜筑墙，因此大城东墙的位置，只好稍向内移。从“中心之台”向南，选定相去约3.75公里的距离，确定大城南墙的位置，这样就可以把皇城适当地包括在大城之内。然后再以同等的距离，确定大城北墙的位置。结果，四面大城的城墙建成之后，略呈长方形。东、西、南三面城墙，各开三门，北城墙只开两门。在东城墙最南一门之内，兴建了太庙。在西城墙最南一门之内，兴建了社稷坛。在全城11个城门内以及各个城门中间，大约以相等的距离，开辟了基本上相互正交的宽阔街道，连同紧靠四面城墙之内的所谓“顺城街”在内，全城中正南正北和正东正西的大街，各有9条。然后在南北平行的大街之间，又规划了相互平行的东西向“胡同”。这样，整个大都城的平面格局基本完成。（图2-4）这里应该着重说明的是大城南面正中一门，正当南北中轴线的起点，位置特别重要。从大城南门以内，直到皇城南门之间，沿着中心御道的两侧，开辟了一个丁字形的广场，相当于古代所谓“外朝”。从皇城南门进入宫城，恰好是在全城的中轴线上，兴建起皇宫中最主要的宫殿，而宫殿内正中的宝座也就正好落在这条中轴线上。这一设计的主题，即在说明皇帝“普天之下，

唯我独尊”的思想，是具有十分浓厚的象征色彩的。



2-4　The layout of Dadu City (Beijing)　大都城平面设计示意图

A：Central Platform　中心之台

P：Imperial Palace　宫城

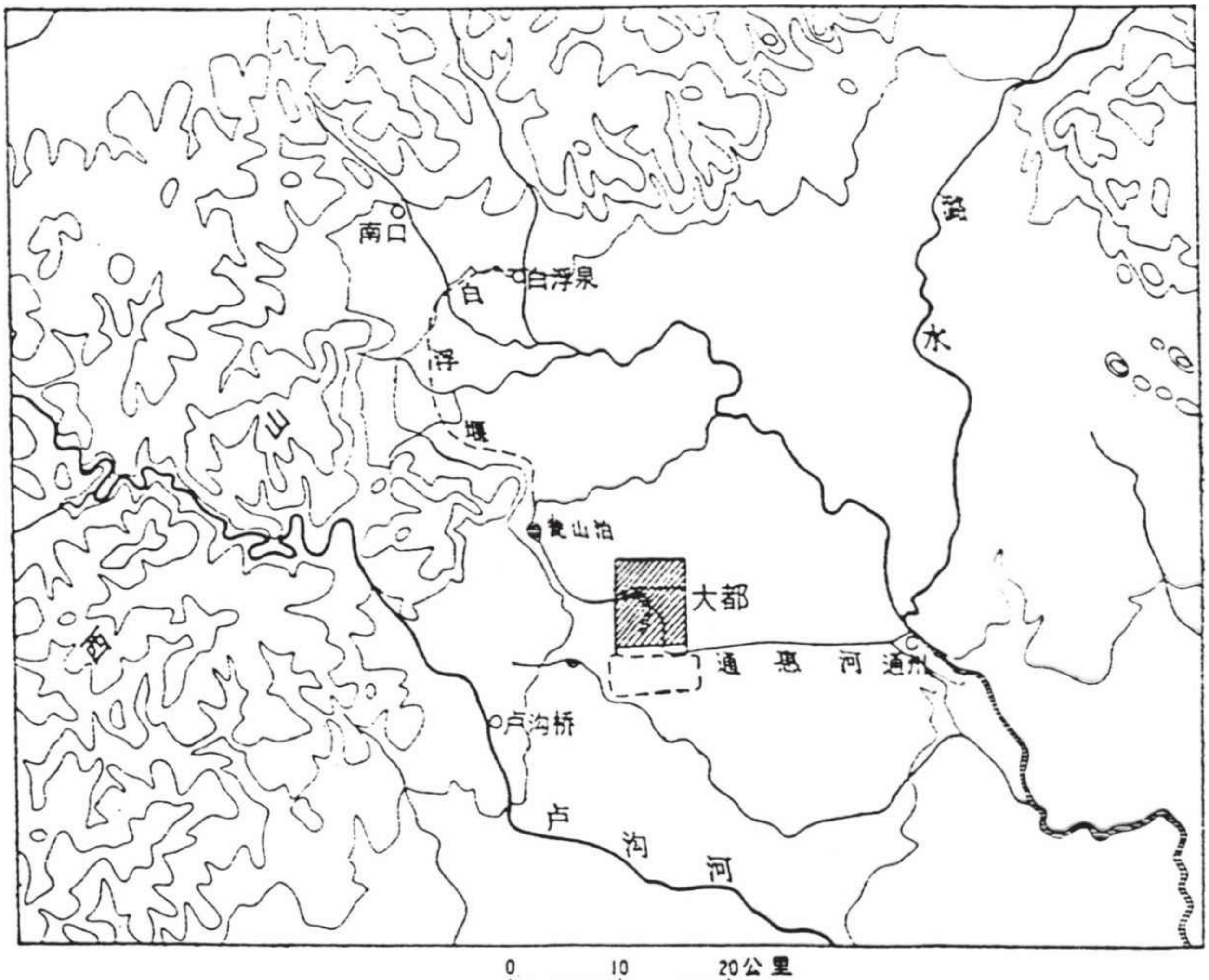
M：Market　市场

S：The Palace Square　宫廷广场

T_1：Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

T_2：Altar of Soil and Grain　社稷坛

（4）兴建大都城的最后一项工程，就是从西北山下利用泉水为新建的大都城开辟新水源（图2-5）。当时曾把西北沿山一带的泉水，除去玉泉山的泉水专为皇城内的太液池供水之外，都汇聚入一条渠道，流注大都城内的积水潭，然后绕经皇城东墙外南下，流出城外，与金朝所开旧渠相接，直达通州，这就是历史上有名的南北大运河最北的一段。这大运河航行的终点就在积水潭。运河开成之后积水潭上停泊了满载食粮和南货的江南船只。它的东北岸上“中心之台”周围一带，包括沿湖北岸的一条斜街，就成了全城最繁华的商业中心（图2-6）。



2-5　Watercourses in the vicinity of Dadu City　大都城近郊水道略图

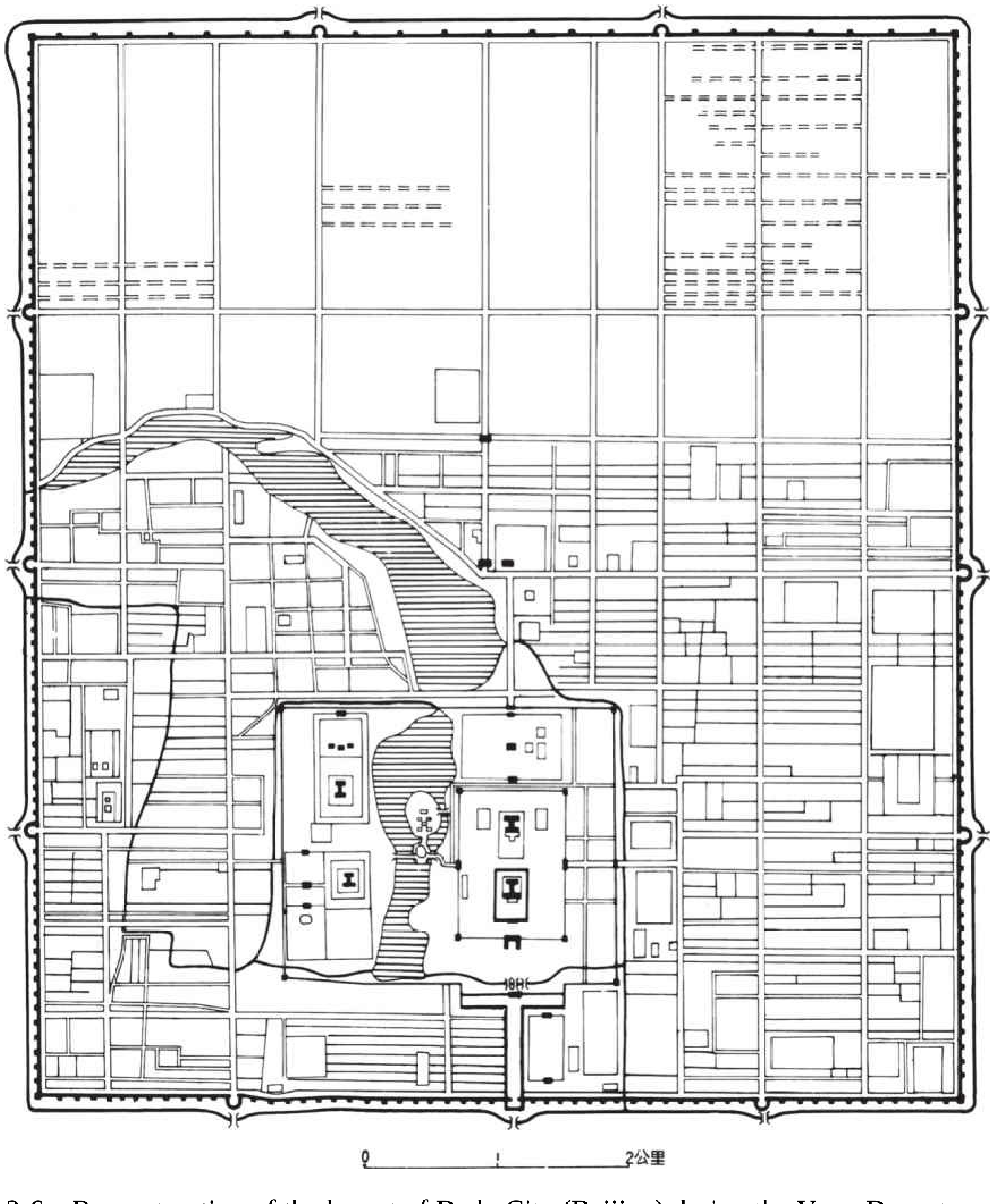
Dadu City　大都

Tong-hui River　通惠河

Lu-gou Bridge　卢沟桥

Lu-gou River　卢沟河

West Mountains　西山



2-6 Reconstruction of the layout of Dadu City (Beijing) during the Yuan Dynasty

元朝大都城平面复原图

Dashed double lines indicate street locations identified by archeological

evidence; in empty areas, archeological evidence is lacking.

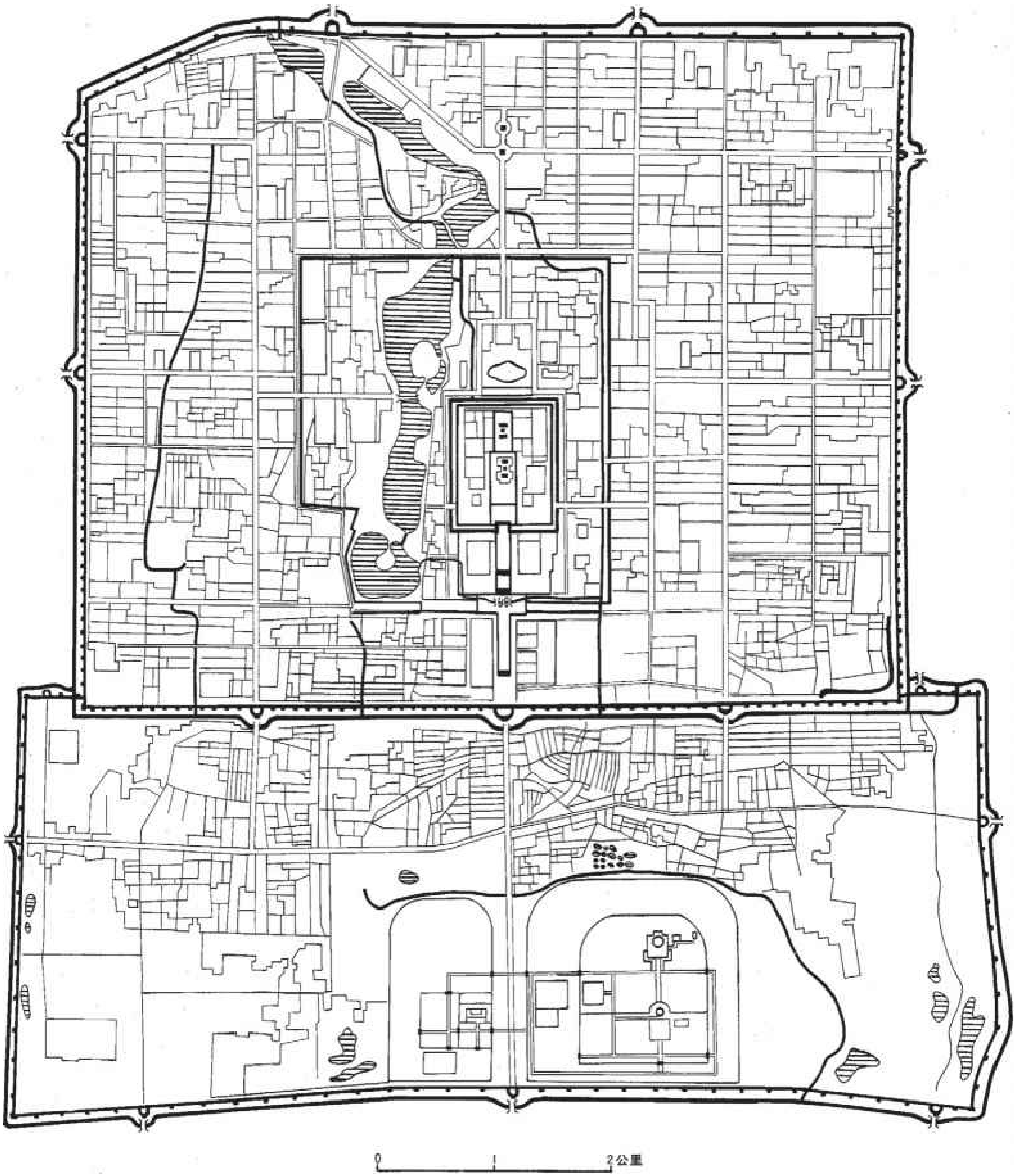
双虚线表示经考古证据显示的街道的位置，空白处表示考古证据缺乏。

元大都城的兴建，历时近二十年终于落成。如果把它的平面规划和《考工记》的理想设计作一比较，不难看出《考工记》中“左祖”、“右社”、“面朝”、“后市”以及街道布局的几项基本要素，都在大都城内完全体现出来。由此可见在大都城的规划设计中，是有着深厚的文化渊源的。但是它并非机械地照抄古代的理想设计，不拘泥于大城四面均等的正方形轮廓，而是结合地方上的地理特点和现实要求，进行了创造性的发展，利用一片辽阔的水面为中心，扩大了全城在南北方向上的深度，从而规划出一座规模宏伟而且具有优美自然风光的大城，并强有力地显示了它在设计上的主题思想，这不能不说是一种卓越的成就。

四

大都建成后不到百年，兴起于长江下游的明王朝（1368—1644）夺取了全国的统治权。明朝最初建都南京，攻占大都后先改称大都为北平，其后迁都北平，遂改名北京。北京一名就是从这时开始的。与此同时，又大兴土木，改建了大都城（图2-7）。最初是把北城墙南移2.5公里，因而把积水潭西北一区的水面隔在了城外。其后又把南城墙以及整个宫城的位置稍向南移，因此又重建新宫城，这就是一直保留到现在的紫禁城（即今故宫博物院）。紫禁城内最重要的建筑，也就是象征皇帝至高无上的统治权的前后六座大殿，仍一律建筑在全城的中轴线上，只是全城设计的几何中心，已经不在原来“中心之台”所在的地方，而是相应地南移到新建的紫禁城的正北面。为了充分显示这一新定的全城中心，就以新开凿的太液池南端的湖泊和新挖掘的紫禁城护城河的泥土，在这里堆筑了一个中峰高约47米的土山，命名为“万岁山”，借以象征皇帝的统治权万世长存。[2] 此外，还把原在东城墙以内的太庙和西城墙以内的社稷坛，分别迁建到紫禁城南门之外的左右两侧，仍然保持着“左

祖”、“右社”的传统规制。同时又把皇城的南、北、东三面城墙稍向外移，于是太庙、社稷坛以及新开凿的太液池南端的湖泊，都被包入皇城之中。[3] 更重要的是在全城正南方的郊外，分别兴建了东西两组重要的建筑群，在东边的是天坛，在西边的是山川坛，是皇帝分别祭天和祭山川之神的地方。[4] 这两组建筑群的正中间，也正是全城中轴线向南郊垂直延伸的地方。到了1553年又在北京大城的南面，修筑外城，遂把上述两坛正好包入城中。外城正南门就建在这两组建筑中间的全城中轴线上。门内的南北大道就是沿着这条中轴线开辟的。至于中轴线的北端，则是旧日的“中心之台”所在的位置，为此又在这里新建了南北两座大建筑，在南边的是鼓楼，在北边的是钟楼。这条新延长的南北中轴线，全长接近8公里。紫禁城占据了这条中轴线上最重要的位置，北面有耸立如画屏的“万岁山”，南面有左右并列的太庙和社稷坛。两者之间的中心御道，从紫禁城正南面的午门开始，向南通过皇城正南面的天安门[5]，便是进一步发展了的丁字形宫廷广场。广场三面有红墙包围，沿红墙修建了连檐通脊的“千步廊”。出广场的正南一门，就是内城正南面的正阳门。出正阳门，便是外城。这个进一步改造过的北京城，城市轮廓呈凸形，它通过进一步延长的全城中轴线，把大都城平面设计的主题思想，又作了进一步的发挥，从而取得了更高的艺术效果。

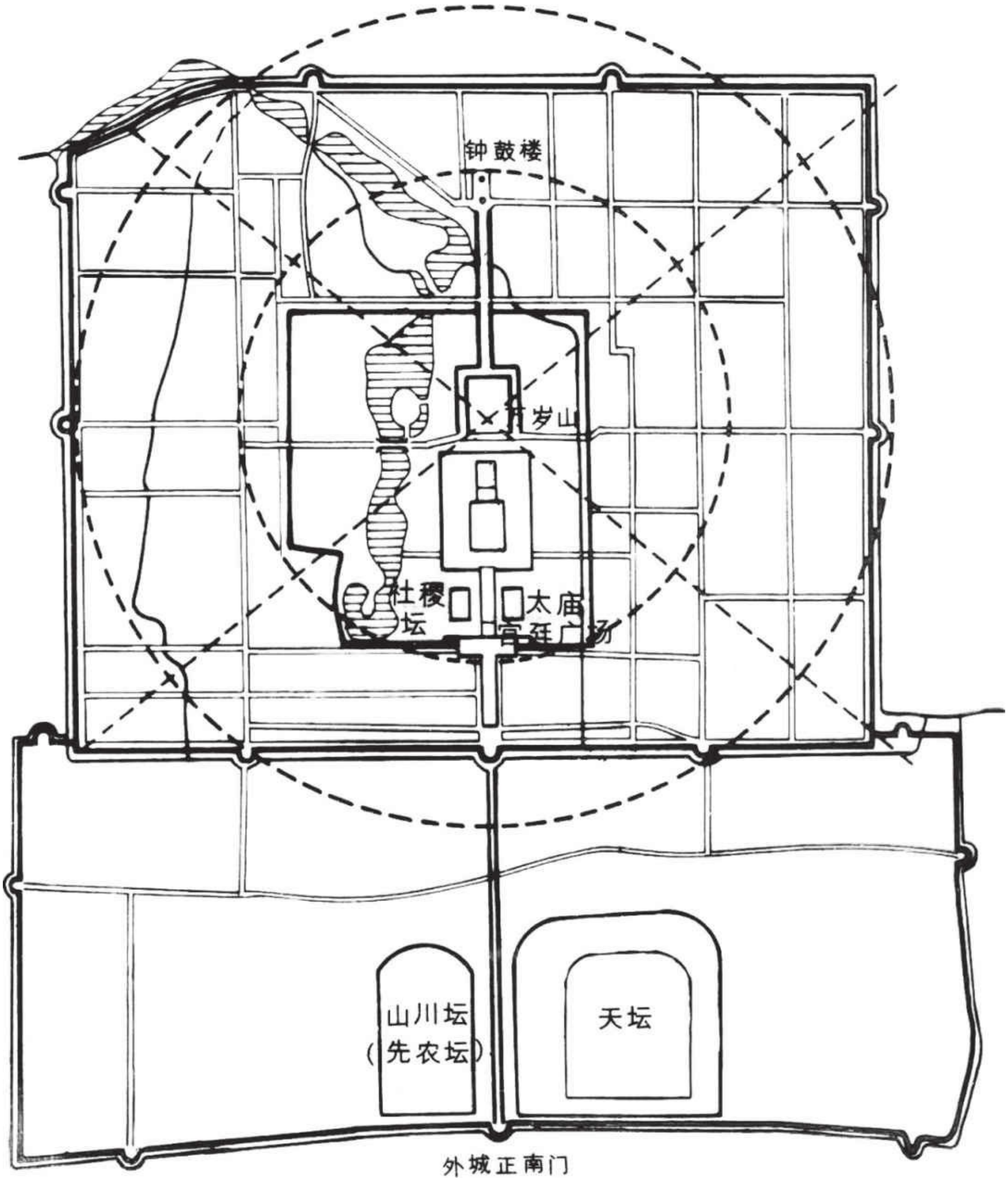


2-7　Plan of the capital of the Ming Dynasty　明代北京城平面示意图

清朝（1644—1911）——也就是中国历史上最后的一个封建王朝，继而在北京建都，除去增建宫室和继续辟治以太液池为中心的皇家园林

之外，对于整个北京城并没有更大的改变。这个北京城——现在我们称它为“北京旧城”，一直被完整地保留到新中国诞生的前夕。它正是以《考工记》的理想设计为出发点，结合本地的地理特点进行规划，一再改造，终于达到了中国古典城市在建筑上的最高典型（图2-8）。正是这个北京城，获得了西方城市规划学家的高度评价。例如丹麦著名建筑与城市规划学家罗斯穆森，在其所著《城镇与建筑》一书的序文中，就曾这样写道：

> ［……］整个北京城的（平面设计）匀称而明朗，是世界的奇观之一，是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。[6]



2-8 Dadu City's transformation into Beijing City under the Ming Dynasty 明清北京城平面设计示意图

Wan-sui Shan 万岁山

Tai Miao　太庙

She-ji Tan　社稷坛

Palace square　宫廷广场

Bell Tower and Drum Tower　钟鼓楼

Tian Tan　天坛

Shan Chuan Tan (Xian-nong Tan)　山川坛（先农坛）

又如在美国，曾主持故都费城城市规划达二十年之久并作出了重要贡献的培根，在他的《城市设计》一书关于北京旧城的一节中也曾写道：

> 在地球表面上人类最伟大的单项工程，可能就是北京城了。这个中国城市是作为封建帝王的住所而设计的，企图表示出这里乃是宇宙的中心。整个城市深深浸沉在仪礼规范和宗教意识之中，现在这些都和我们无关了。虽然如此，它的（平面）设计是如此之杰出，这就为今天的城市（建设）提供了丰富的思想宝库。[7]

培根的这一评论是很值得重视的。它既肯定了北京旧城在过去作为帝王统治中心进行建造的卓越成就，以及它在今天城市设计上所能提供的参考价值，同时也指出了它包含的某些主要内容，现在已经不合时宜。实际上，他所指出的这种不合时宜的地方，也正是我们目前在计划改造北京旧城时所面临的一个主要问题。

随着历史的发展和时代的前进，古老的城市——特别是经过详细规划设计的城市，必然要面临着不断改造的问题。这个问题在北京旧城的改造上之所以显得特别突出，最根本的原因，就是北京旧城在规划设计上以非凡的艺术手法集中表现的封建皇帝“唯我独尊”的主题思想和当前的时代精神，是完全矛盾的，也是根本不能调和的。新中国的建立，标志着社会主义新时代的开始。北京作为这个新时代人民的首都，人民就有理由要求它在全城的规划上能充分表现出人民的权威、人民的力量、

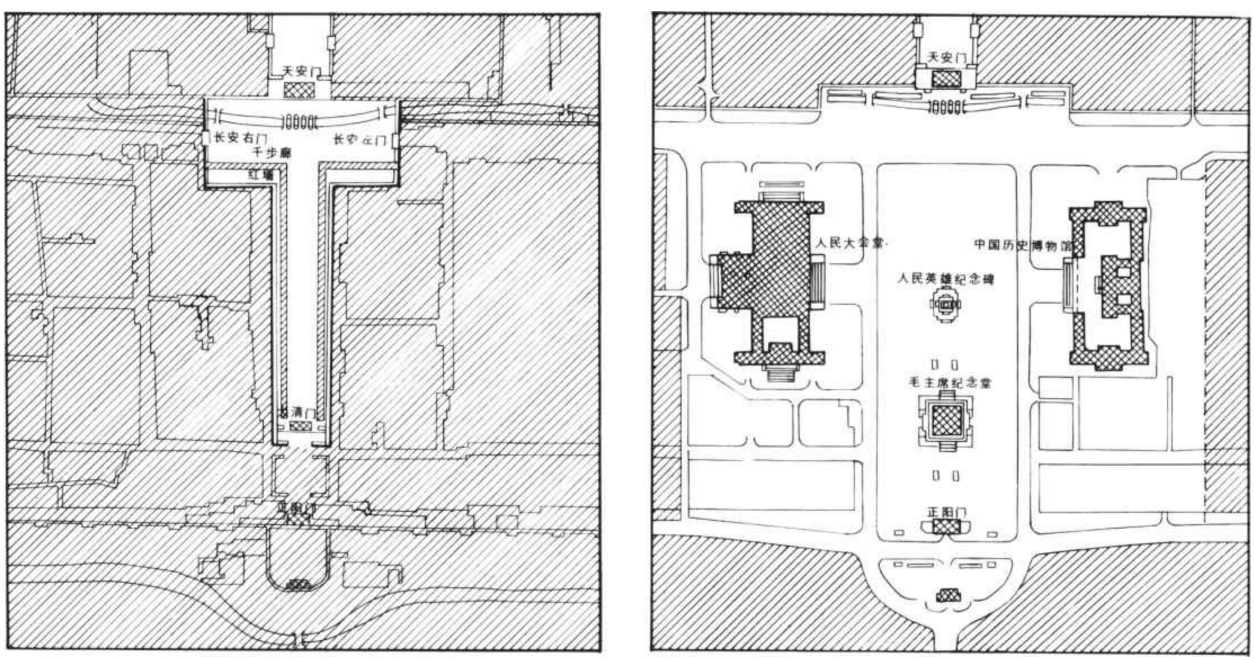
人民已经成为这个国家的真正主人翁的主题思想。怎样才能真正有效地进行这一改造，这首先不是一个单纯的工程技术问题。从本质上来说，这乃是一个如何对待悠久的历史文化遗产的问题，也是直接关系到如何发展社会主义新文化的问题。整个北京旧城正是中国历史文化遗产的一部分，象征着封建时代传统文化的高度发展，正如罗斯穆森所指出的：它乃是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。而新的北京城，象征着社会主义新文化的先进典型的人民首都，也就只能从历史形成的基础上脱胎成长。但是对于自己的历史文化遗产，我们必须坚持批判继承的原则，既不能全盘加以否定，也不能毫无区别地兼容并蓄。重要的是能区别其精华和糟粕。凡属精华的部分，必须继承和发扬；凡属糟粕的部分，则必须批判和扬弃。这样就可以达到“古为今用，推陈出新”的目的，就可以在历史形成的基础上获得创新。

但是，区别精华与糟粕的标准，也是因时代的不同而各有差异。在今天，我们认为凡是有益于人民群众的、充分表现出人民群众创造性的，也就是真正具有人民性的东西，就应该继承和发扬。反之，就必须予以批判和扬弃。在今天，这个对于古代文化批判继承的原则，也同样适用于北京旧城的改造。

新中国建立以来，在北京旧城的改造中，仅就原有的城市平面设计这一方面来说，已经取得了一定的经验。突出的一例，就是天安门广场的改造。

如前所述，天安门前原有一个T字形的广场，在当初是专门作为一个宫廷广场来设计的，是皇帝举行重要活动的地方（图2-9）。它的东西南三面有红墙包围，严禁平民百姓进入其中，因此乃成为全城东西交通的一大障碍。从这个宫廷广场的南端，向正北遥望天安门，正是建筑在红色台基上的一座巍峨而华丽的殿堂，在旧日用以显示帝王宫阙的宏伟和庄严。1911年中国历史上最后一个王朝被推翻之后，天安门前的广场开放通行，可是三面红墙保存如旧。1949年10月1日新中国的开国大

典，就是选定在这里举行的，一个重要的原因就是这个广场正是1919年揭开了新民主主义革命序幕的五四运动爆发的地方，因此也是北京古城里最具有光荣革命传统的地方。屹立在广场正面的天安门，充分显示了古代劳动人民在建筑艺术上的智慧和才能，算得是古代建筑的精华。至于包围在它东、西、南三面的红墙，却依然是影响人民参加广场上群众活动的一大障碍。因此在建国十周年的时候，广场上的红墙被全部拆除，一个扩大了数倍的新广场展现在人们面前。新广场的西侧和东侧，分别建立起两座现代大建筑，西边的是人民大会堂，东边的是中国历史博物馆和革命博物馆，中间矗立着巍峨高大的人民英雄纪念碑。到了建国三十周年的前夕，又在广场的南部、正阳门的内侧修建了毛主席纪念堂。作为人民首都政治活动中心的天安门广场，从此基本建成。它的位置虽然依旧，可是它的性质和作用已经完全改变，它的面貌也已经是焕然一新（见图2-9）。[8]



2-9 From imperial square to people's square at the Tian-an Men, Beijing 清朝天安
门

Tian-an Men　天安门

Left Chang-an Men　长安左门

Right Chang-an Men　长安右门

Red walls　红墙

Da Qing Men　大清门

Zheng-yang Men　正阳门

Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊

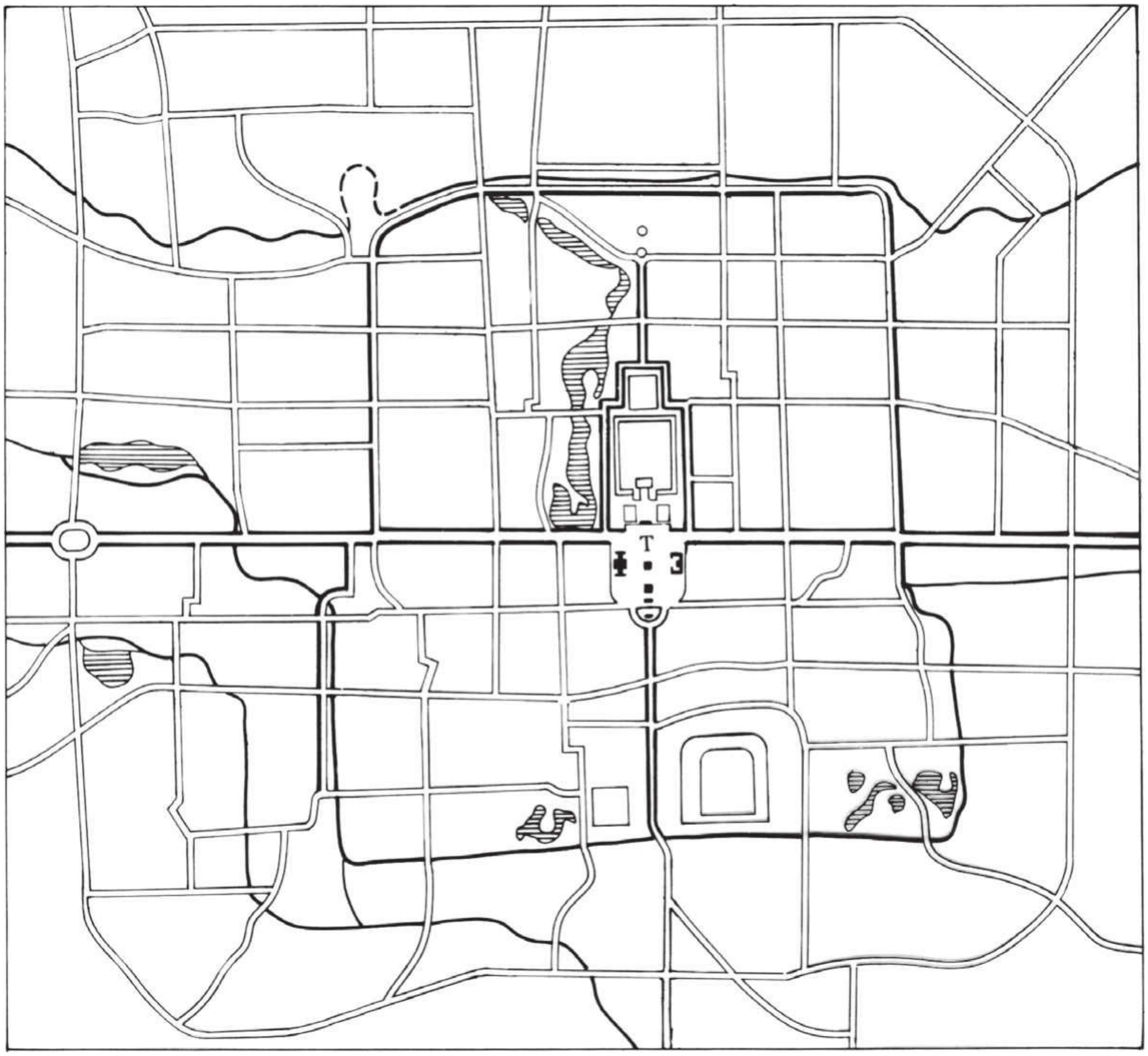
Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂

Museum of Chinese History　中国历史博物馆

Monument to the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao　毛主席纪念堂

在天安门广场开始扩建的时候，作为它左右两翼的东西长安街——取名于旧日宫廷广场的东长安门和西长安门——也大为加宽和延长，成为一条宽阔平坦的林荫大道，一直伸向东西郊外，从而形成了一条横贯全城的新轴线，它一方面加强了天安门广场在全城平面布局上的中心位置，另一方面也就等于把旧日的紫禁城推到了“后院”的位置（图2-10）。相形之下，旧日那条象征帝王统治中心的南北中轴线，也就失去了它在全城中独一无二的支配地位。现在天安门广场的改建虽然还有发展余地，但是它作为全城政治活动中心的地位，已经完全确定。广场上古老的建筑如天安门、正阳门和现代的建筑如人民大会堂和历史与革命博物馆，十分和谐地联系在一起，既反映了悠久的历史文化背景，又显示了新时代的精神和面貌，充分体现了“古为今用、推陈出新”的原则。在改造北京旧城的平面设计上，这不能不说是成功的一例。



2-10　Chang-an Street, Beijing, extending east and west from the Tian-an Men　从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道

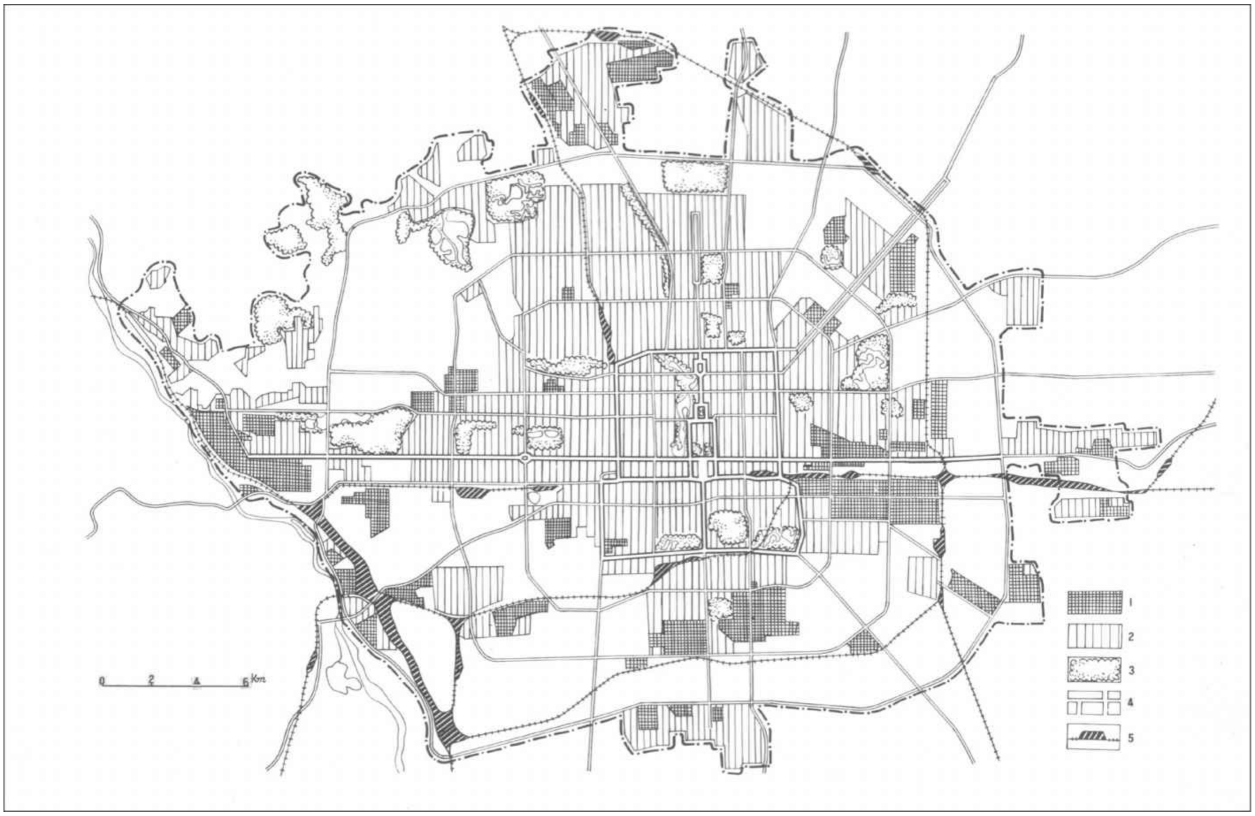
根据这同一原则，在旧城的改造中，也还大有余地正等待着当代的城市设计者去发挥他们艺术创造的才能。在这里也可姑举一例，作为说明。这就是北京城内旧日的积水潭，今后应该如何去处理它，是把它视同城市发展的障碍而任意填塞改为建筑用地呢？还是应该看到它在城市发展中的重要作用而加以保留和改造？

如前所述，旧日的积水潭和北京旧城的建址关系至为密切，因为从

一开始，全城设计的中轴线，就是紧傍积水潭的东岸确定下来的。同时最初大城东西两面城墙的位置，也是以积水潭的宽度为标准而决定的，因此可以说如果没有积水潭，也就不会有现在的北京旧城。在元朝大都城内，积水潭作为南北大运河的终点，是受到一定的重视的。明初把大都北城墙南移2.5公里之后，竟把积水潭的西北部隔在城外，因此城内湖泊的面积大为缩小。其后进一步改建北京城，虽然把原有的全城平面设计的主题思想作了进一步的发展，但是城内大运河的故道已被阻绝，上游渠道也遭淤废。只剩下玉泉山下的泉水，这时被全部引入积水潭，然后流注太液池。经过这次水道系统的重新调整之后，由于太液池南端已开凿了一个新湖，因此圈在皇城之内的太液池的水面又有所开拓，沿湖一带的园林建筑也与日俱增，终于发展成为北京城内规模最大、景色最为秀丽的园林区。这时园中的湖泊已有“三海”之称，即南海、中海和北海。现在北海已经开放，这就是以风景名胜著称的北海公园。它的前身也就是金朝的离宫——太宁宫。

和三海的皇家园林命运悬殊的是隔在皇城之外的积水潭。积水潭自明清以来，一直到新中国成立之前，再没有受到最高当权者的重视。因此也从来没有进行过统一的规划和开发，只是听其淤塞湮废。湖面也被收缩为三部分。最西北的部分仍然叫做积水潭，东南的大部分改名为什刹海。但是沿湖一带仍是旧城之内富有自然风光的一带地方，特别是从什刹海东岸掠过浩瀚的水面，遥见西山峰峦，如在眼前。因此这一带湖上风光，在旧日——特别是在清代，曾经吸引了一些皇室贵族，在沿湖一带修建府第，并引湖水辟治私家园林。另外也有一些富有的寺庙，环绕湖泊周围就地兴建起来。但是在这些贵族府第和大小寺庙之外，广阔的湖滨地区却成了城市广大居民群集游憩和进行娱乐活动的场所，特别是在它的南部，自然形成为一处真正的民间乐园。同时这里也是一处物美价廉的平民市场。后来由于湖泊西岸广种荷花，因此这处市场也就被叫做荷花市场了。直到新中国成立的前夕，这里仍然不失为平民百姓的

游乐场所，这和旧日太液池上精心设计、逐事增华的皇家禁园，形成了鲜明的对照。现在，在北京旧城的腹地，还保留着什刹海这一区残存的湖泊以及滨湖一带若断若续的绿地。考虑到它在历史上的重要作用和价值，考虑到过去它所具有的强烈的人民性、群众性，同时还考虑到它在改善自然环境、美化首都市容上所具有的极大的可能性，以及为广大人民群众创造更广阔、更美好、更富有意义的历史文化风景区的必要性，如何进一步规划和开发这一地区，现在已经提到改造北京旧城的议事日程上来，并已列入北京城市建设的总体规划之中（图2-11）。这也应该是在历史形成的基础上，坚持批判继承的原则，力求能做到古为今用、推陈出新的一个例子，只是还有待我们努力去实现它。



2-11 Land use plan for metropolitan Beijing, 1983 北京市区规划示意图（1983）

1. Industry and warehouse 工业仓库
2. Office and residential areas 工作居住
3. Parks and recreation areas 绿地体育
4. Streets and roads 道路用地
5. Railroads 铁路

本文只是从城址的地理特点和城市的平面设计这两个方面，举出两个例子，借以说明在改造北京旧城的过程中，我们所应该坚持的基本态度和应该遵循的基本原则。

1983年7月，中共中央和国务院已经原则上批准了《北京城市建设总体规划方案》，这个方案对北京旧城作了明确的评价，指出在旧城的改造中，要注意继承和发扬旧城原有的独特风格和优点，又要体现出作

为社会主义新时代人民首都的新面貌、新格局。[9] 为此我们有理由相信，到本世纪末，一个足以显示具有悠久文化传统的新北京城，将会以崭新的面貌，出现在我们面前，它象征着一个社会主义的新文化已经在这个古老的国家里，发育成长，欣欣向荣！同时，我们也希望这个正在发展中的新文化，也能为全人类的文化发展，作出应有的新贡献。

③ VIEWS ON THREE MILESTONES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF BEIJING CITY*

1

'If you do not understand the past of Beijing City, you are unable to know the present of it and of course it is impossible for you to estimate the future of it too. The development of a city is a continuous process in which the past, present and future are situated on the same chain of time'. [1] Beijing is a world-famous city of history and culture, whose planning and construction has deep historical and cultural origins. Especially on the newly selected location through the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the favorable conditions of river and lake water system were fully utilized. The convex contour of closely combined inner and outer cities in spatial structure was finally completed in accordance with the planning principles which come down in one continuous line of the construction of capital city in China since the ancient time and above all with the consecutive renewals and reforms. At the center of it, there goes through a middle axis from north to south, i.e. starting from the Gulou and the Zhonglou (the Drum-tower and the Bell-tower) in the north running down to the Yongdingmen (a city gate) in the due south, the length of which is approximately 8 kilometers. This spatial structure of organic combination of inner and outer cities had been perfectly preserved up to 1949, the year of the establishment of New China.

New China established its capital again in Beijing and according to the needs of time has carried out the city planning and construction in succession, taking the old city as the core. Judging from the spatial structure of the whole

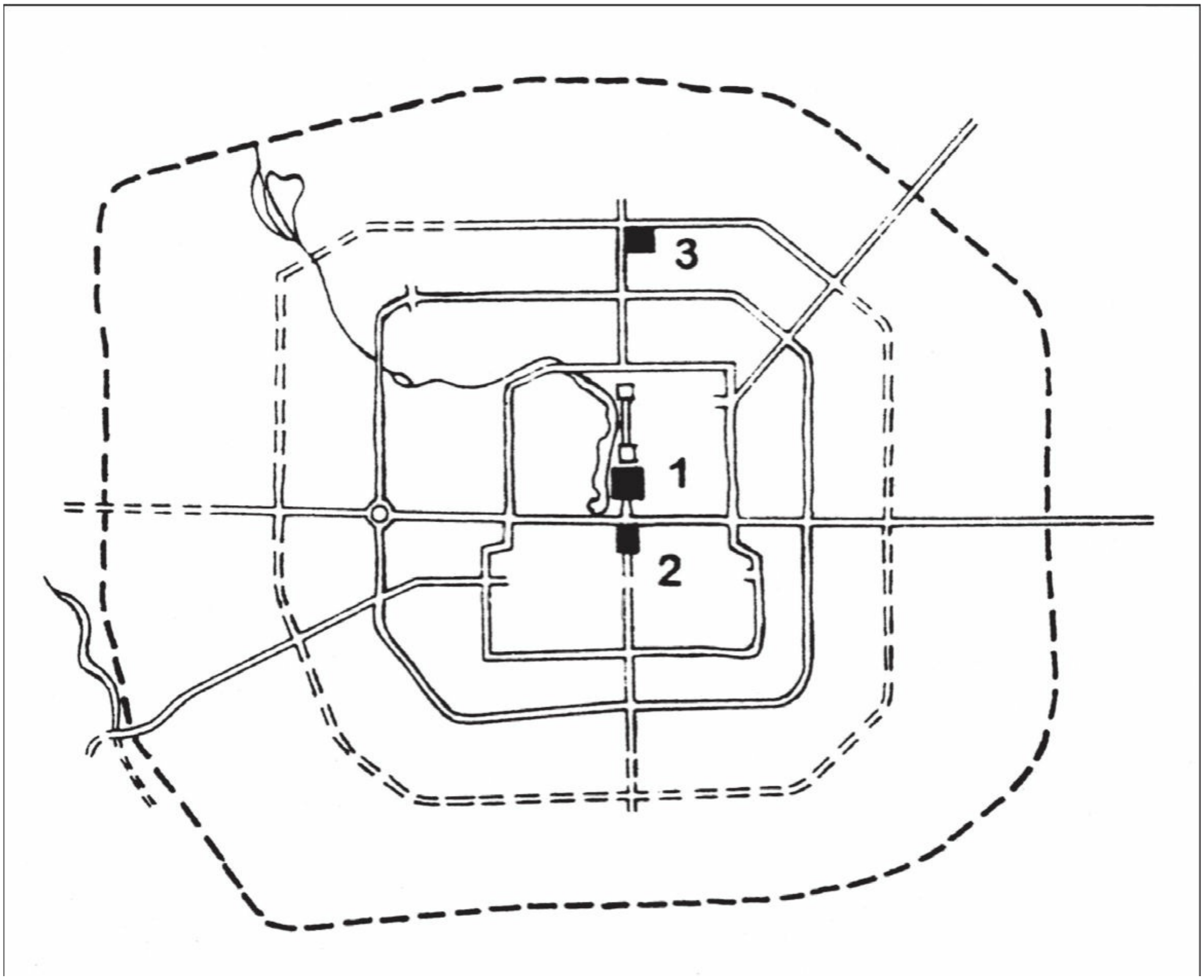
city, the most important thing, and foremost thing too, was the enlargement of the Tian'anmen Square, i.e. to convert the enclosed square of imperial court of old days into a broad and magnificent city square. At the same time, two wings of the Tian'anmen Square, the eastward and westward Chang'an Boulevards, were also broadened and extended, thus making a scene just like a horizontal axis from east to west crossing the vertical axis of old days from north to south at the Tian'anmen Square.

Along with the demolishing of city wall of old days, the construction of the Second, Third and Fourth Ring Roads was carried out one by one. All these ring roads have naturally led to the extension of northto-south middle axis inside the old city. This had been fully shown in the city planning map of the early stage. The south extension line of middle axis inside the old city had as its basis the road bed stretching from the Yongdingmen Gate down to the Dahongmen Gate at Nanyuan. As for the north extension line of the middle axis, there is no basis available because the area from the Gulou and the Zhonglou to the north Second Ring Road was totally blocked by the dwellings. This was directly related to the practice of breaking the historical tradition of the Jin Zhongdu, the middle capital of the Jin Dynasty, and not establishing the due north gate at the time of founding the Yuan Dadu, grand capital of the Yuan Dynasty. There is also no basis available for the further extension to the due north after crossing the residential areas, and there was the blocking of important buildings in between as well.

Therefore, except the portion inside the old city wall, this north extension line of the middle axis hadn't started being opened up until the eve of the convening of the Eleventh Asian Games in 1990, so that it could be linked with the north Fourth Ring Road under construction for the same purpose at that time. The northern portion of it is Beichen Road now. The

location of the then-established main venue of the Asian Games, that is, the National Olympic Sports Center, is on the east side of the intersection of Beichen Road and north Fourth Ring Road. To the north sits the Beijing International Convention Center constructed at the same time, and the two face each other across the Fourth Ring Road. This place is just situated to the due north of the old city, wide in area, nearer to the capital airport and rather convenient for the international communication. So far as the selection of geographical location thereof is concerned, therefore, it is very suitable too for this grand international activity, with the call for 'Unity, Friendship, Progress', to have this place as the center to take place.

In fact, it is just the successful convening of the Asian Games in Beijing and the decision of constructing the National Olympic Sports Center thereupon that makes me become conscious that in the planning and construction of Beijing City, the concept which can be called 'Three Milestones' is taking form (Fig. 3-1). The study reads as follows:



3-1 Views on Three Milestones in the construction of Beijing City 北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑的初步设想

1．Forbidden City (Palace Museum) 紫禁城（今故宫博物院）

2．Tian'anmen Square 天安门广场

3．National Olympic Sports Center 国家奥林匹克体育中心

The First Milestone is the core construction of the Beijing City in history, the Forbidden City. It has been 570 odd years old since it was built, representing the core of the Beijing City construction under the rule of feudal dynasties and being a masterpiece in China's traditional art of architecture as well. Up to now it still erects at the center of the spatial structure of the whole

city, but it is not only the art wealth of the Chinese people but has been classified as the 'World Cultural Heritage' with global reputation also.

The Second Milestone is the Tian'anmen Square which symbolizes outstandingly that a new age has arrived after the founding of New China. It has gifted the middle axis of the whole city of long tradition with wholly new significance, reflecting the characteristics of 'making the past serve the present; weeding through the old to bring forth the new' of the age in city construction and the special meaning of inheriting the past and ushering in the future in cultural tradition.

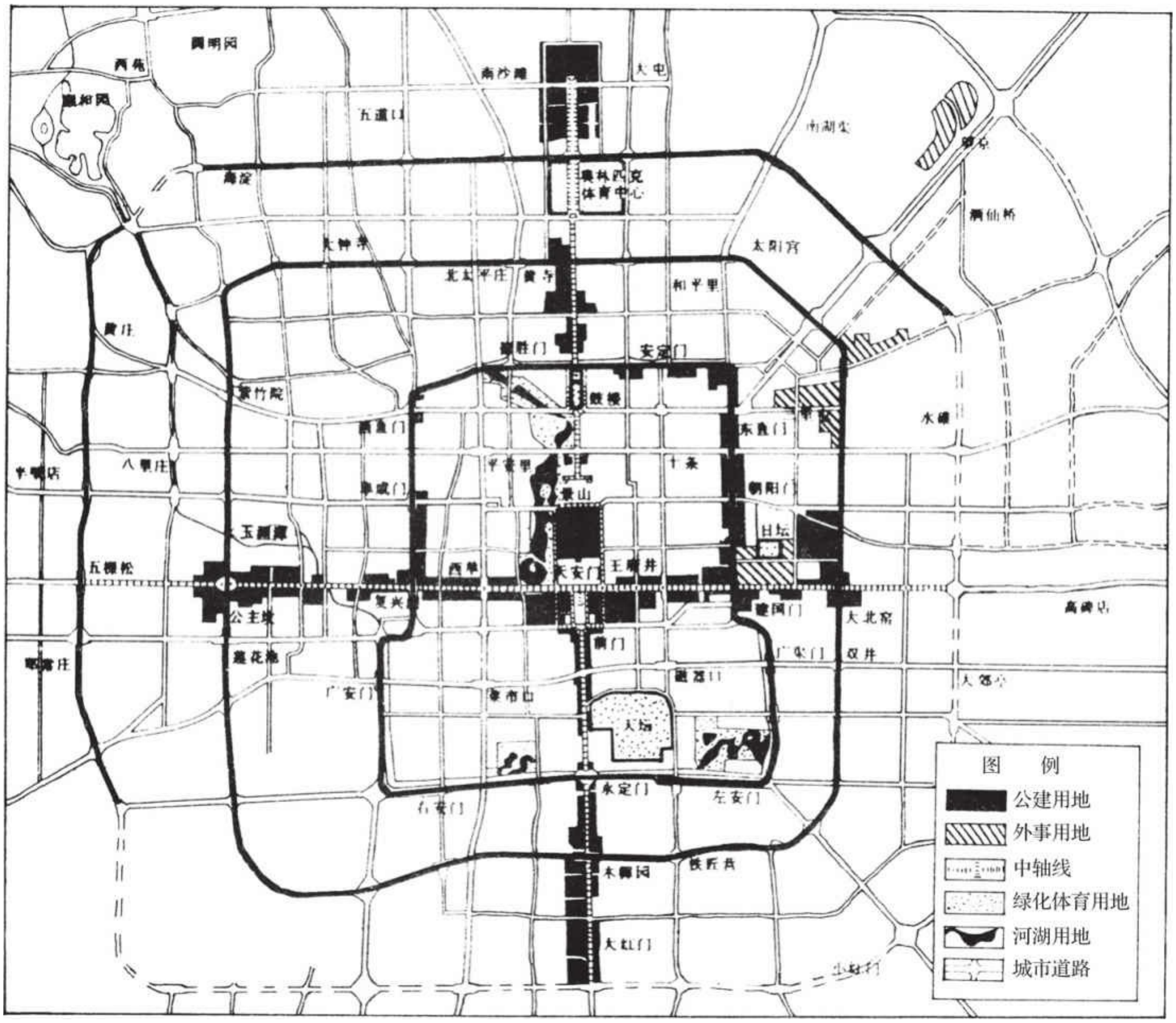
The Third Milestone, as mentioned above, is that in the beginning it was only due to the convening of the Asian Games and the construction of the National Olympic Sports Center that it started showing the arrival of the age of Beijing marching towards an international metropolis. The first time I openly put forward this idea was May 14, 1991 when I was making a report at the academic discussion in Architectural College, Qinghua University. At that time I only indicated it orally and did not write in the text of speech. [2]

Now three years have passed. Facing the 21st century and inheriting the fine tradition of various master plans since the 1950s, the latest Master Plan of Beijing City has further put forward the new target of establishing the modern international metropolis under the new situation of reform and opening to the outside world and of establishing socialist economic system. It is also pointed out in the target 'to protect the famous historical and cultural cities under the consideration of the whole, especially to do this from the view of macroscopic environment of urban layout'.

What was first and foremost to put forward thereon was the 'protection of middle axis of the old city' and the direction that on the north and south extension lines of the middle axis of the old city, the following symbolic

planning and design were to be made out respectively: 'the south extension line should embody the image of the South Gate of the city; along the north extension line should be retained the broad green belts, on the two sides and north point of which the public building complex should be the culmination and the termination of the city axis, reflecting outstandingly the new style and features of the capital in the 21st century'.

What should be specially noticed here is that the west and east sides of the north extension line of middle axis are the very sites of the National Olympic Sports Center and the Chinese Nation Garden under construction. As for the north point of it, it is going to be built into the public building complex, and its completion in accordance with the plan in the area will really be considered the Third Milestone in the history of the city's planning and construction (Fig. 3-2).



3-2 The north extension of the middle axis of Beijing City 北京城市中轴线的向北延伸

Public Construction areas 公建用地

Foreign affairs areas 外事用地

Parks and Recreation areas 绿化体育用地

Middle axis 中轴线

Rivers and Lakes 河湖用地

Streets and roads 城市道路

（From Beijing Daily, April 1, 1994 摘自《北京日报》，1994年4月1日）

2

It is necessary to explain further too that the extension towards the due north of this middle axis of the whole city in the planning is actually a new development against historical tradition.

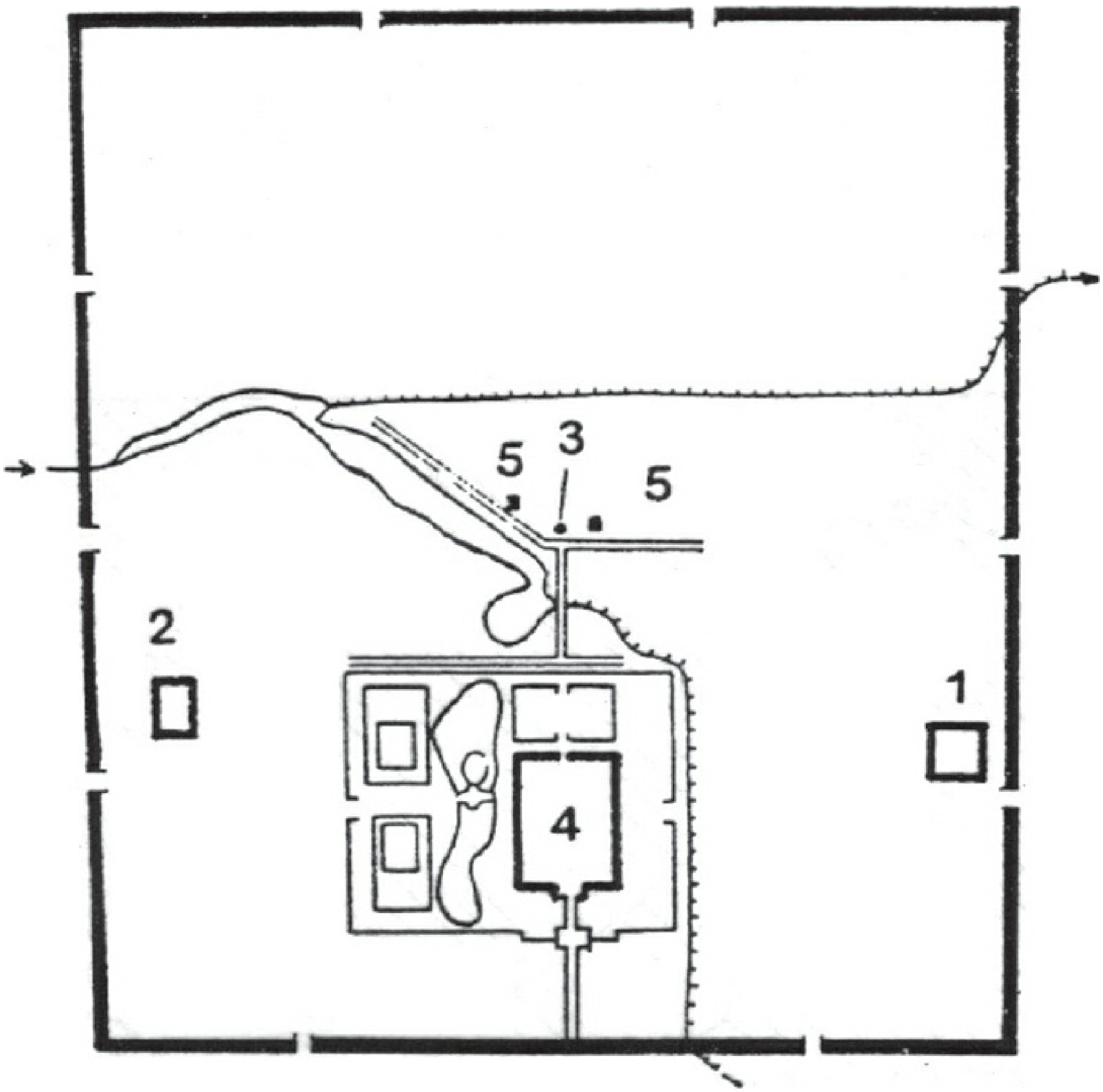
The original middle axis inside the Beijing old city was defined at the time when the Yuan Dadu, the capital city of the Yuan Dynasty, was first constructed, but its historical origins in fact existed very long. What is more important is that it in a concentrated way embodied the traditional thought in the days of the imperial power: Facing the South to Be Emperor, i.e. the emperor should face the due south to rule the world. This was reflected conspicuously in the beginning of the planning and design of the Yuan Dadu.

The planning and design of the Yuan Dadu can be traced up to the description of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state' in *Kaogongji* of *Zhou Li* (the book recording the work of craftsmen at the Warring States Period, 475-221 B.C.), but the design of the city walls was in fact totally different from the description of the book. Now it is explained separately as follows:

So far as the layout of the core buildings in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state' is concerned, it reads like this: the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the left side, the Altar of Land and Grain on the right side, Court facing ahead and Market on the back side (*zuozu youshe*, *mianchao houshi*).

By comparison, it is analyzed with the help of sketch map of the Yuan Dadu that by the so-said *zuozu* it means in fact the Imperial Ancestral Temple at the foot of the east wall inside the city. By *youshe* it means in fact the Altar of Land and Grain at the foot of the west wall inside the city. By *mianchao* it denotes the place analogous to the'Grand Inner Portion' on the extension line from the 'Central Terrace towards the due south inside the city, i.e. the

predecessor of the Forbidden City. By *houshi* it denotes the bazar area near the 'Central Terrace' on the due north of the 'Imperial Palace' (the Grand Inner Portion) (Fig. 3-3).



3-3 The sketch map of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty “左祖右社，面朝后市”思想在元大都布局中的体现

1．Imperial Ancestral Temple 太庙

2．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

3．Central Terrace　中心之台

4．Imperial Palace　大内

5．The distribution area of market　市场分布区

（Redrawn according to Hou Renzhi, Historical Atlas of Beijing, Beijing Publishing House, 1988, pp. 27-28.　侯仁之绘制，《北京历史地图集》，北京出版社，1988，第27—28页）

In accordance with the above mentioned comparison, it explains just as it is in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', that the'left' is the east, the 'right' is the west and the 'back' is the north. Only the site where the royal court was located is specially called 'court facing ahead' not 'in front'. Why? After pondering over it scrupulously, I think if the 'court facing ahead' is understood as 'court in front', it seems not so exact. Because the word 'facing' (*mian*) contains the meaning 'looking forward to', that is to say: if you sit in the middle looking forward to the due south, that will be the court; if you turn back looking towards the north, that will be the site of market. Here it implies the meaning of giving priority to the south.

In fact, in the Chinese history, the main palaces of the capitals of successive dynasties all faced the due south in the planning. After the Yuan Dadu in the Yuan Dynasty, the further developed Beijing Capital City of the Ming and Qing dynasties further embodied this point in concentration, i.e. the well-preserved Forbidden City and two sides thereof, the Imperial Ancestral Temple (now the Working People's Palace of Culture) and the Altar of Land and Grain (now the Zhongshan or Sun Yat-sen Park).

Having been aware of above mentioned points, let us now analyze further the general planning of the Yuan Dadu—why it is totally different

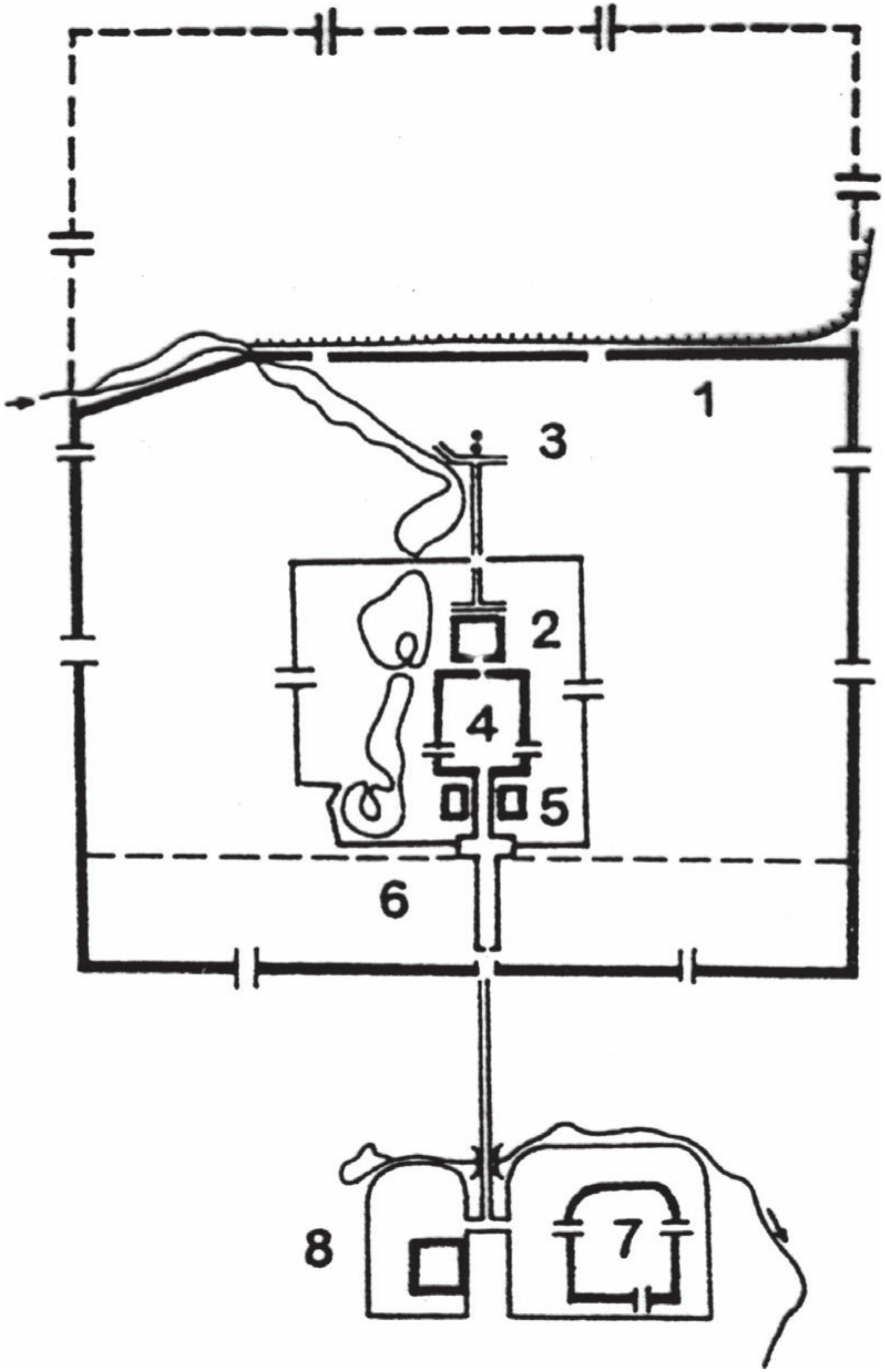
from the planning system of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the Citystate' on the city outline and the installation of city gates.

In accordance with the design of the big city in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', it is square, each side being nine li, with three gates on each side (f*ang jiuli, pang sanmen*). However, the Yuan Dadu is not a square, but a rectangle slightly longer from north to south. Besides three gates each for the east, west and south sides, there are only two gates, the east and west ones, on the north side with the middle portion totally closed. This kind of difference is utterly not accidental.

The reason why the plane structure of the Yuan Dadu is rectangle is directly related to the full use of the natural lakes and rivers which flow from northwest to the due south inside the city. I have another special article to elaborate this and will not talk too much here. [3] As for the fact that there is no gate right in the center of the north city wall is concerned, it is against the traditional regulations of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', hence a very unique issue worth attention.

Actually, it is due to the very fact that the north gate was deliberately omitted that the middle axis running from north to south, which was the basis for the design of the whole city, taking the 'Central Terrace of the whole city as the starting point, only stretched to the south. Just under such circumstances, when the Yuan Dadu was rebuilt at the early years of the Ming Dynasty, it was further extended southward along the original middle axis on the basis of reducing the northern city first, and the Wansui Hill (now the Jing Hill) was piled up in place of the original 'Central Terrace' as the symbol of center for designing the new city. At the same time, on the due south of Wansui Hill, the Imperial Palace, now the Forbidden City, was constructed along the middle axis.

Besides this, the Imperial Ancestral Temple in the east part and the Altar of Land and Grain in the west part of the Yuan Dadu were respectively moved to the east and west sides of the due south part of the Forbidden City, which was still fit for the ancient system of *zuozu youshe* , *mianchao houshi* . Then the newly built six big halls on the middle axis inside the Forbidden City further embodied the traditional system of Facing the South to Be Emperor (Fig. 3-4).[4]



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3-4　Surface planes of Beijing City in the middle age of the Ming and Qing dynasties　明中叶北京城空间结构的核心部分最后定型，清代继承不变

1．The rebuilt and newly built north city wall at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty　明初改建、新建北墙

2．Wansui Hill (now Jing Hill)　万岁山（景山）

3．Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower (south)　钟楼（北）、鼓楼（南）

4．Forbidden City　紫禁城

5．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

6．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

7．Temple of Heaven　天坛

8．Altar of Mountain and River (now Xian Nong Tan)　山川坛（先农坛）

（Source: Same as Fig. 3-3, pp. 31-32.　来源同图3-3，第31—32页。）

After the completion of the Yuan Dadu, the middle axis of the whole city kept extending towards the south suburb again in accordance with the tradition of Praying to the Heaven in the South Suburb (*jitian yu nanjiao*). After crossing a small river which flew from west to east, the axis had two imperial building complexes separately built on the east side and west side, the Temple of Heaven on the east and the Altar of Mountain and River (now the Xian Nong Tan) on the west. After that, the city walls on three sides, east, west and south, were built, enclosing these two important complexes inside the city walls, as a result of which, Beijing started having inner and outer parts.

From that onwards, Beijing City, the combination of inner and outer parts, became the last built capital city in the times of the ruling of imperial power. It further embodied the thought 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' in

the traditional ideology, and was preserved intact until the birth of New China in 1949 (see Fig. 3-4).

Now only after having the full knowledge of the theme which is embodied in concentration in the original planning and construction of Beijing City, can we really learn that today the creation of the northern extension line of the middle axis of the whole city and the further construction of public architectural complex at the north point thereof,'reflecting outstandingly the new style and features of the capital in the 21st century', are of epoch-making significance.

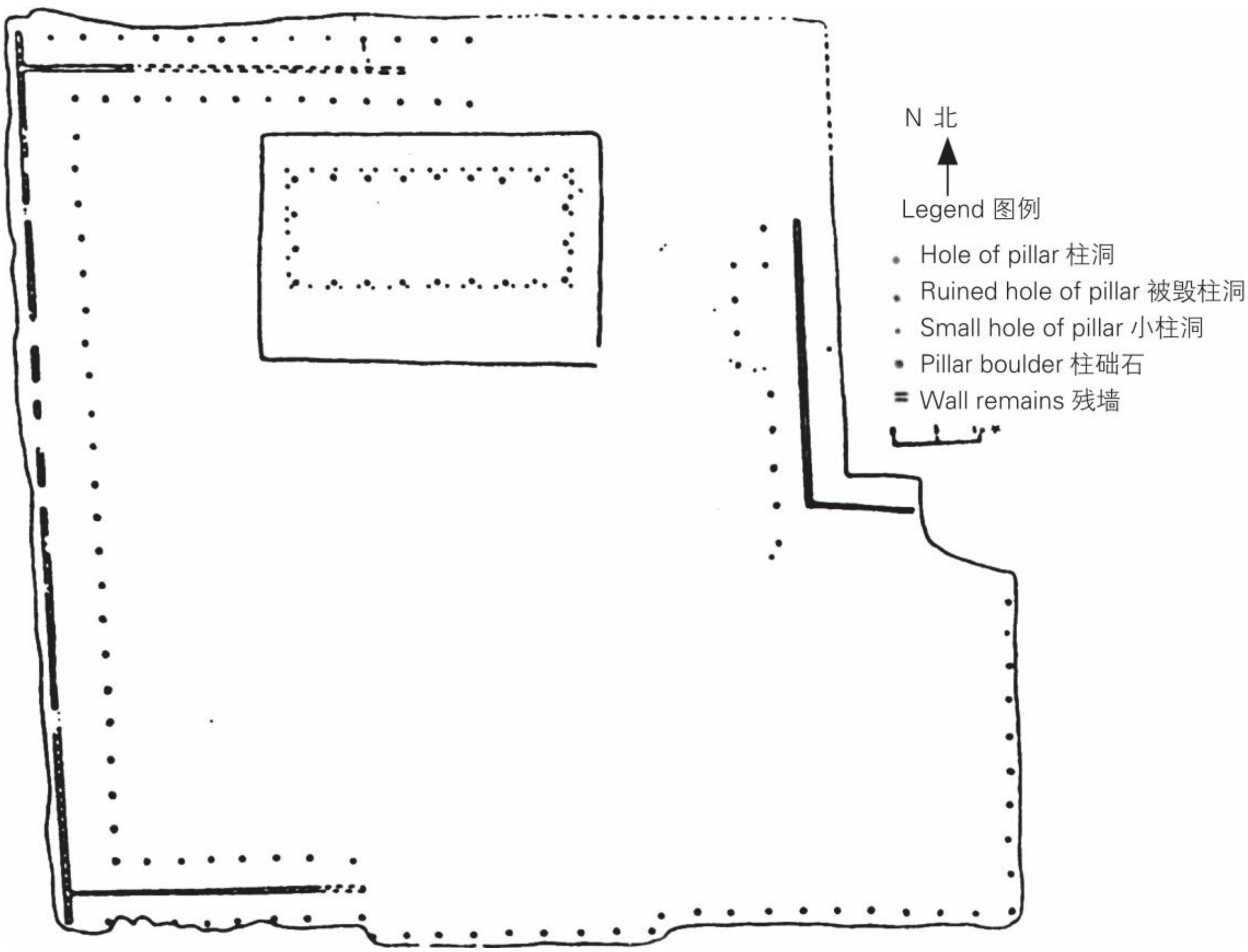
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Finally, what is to be explained more is that it has been emphasized more than once above that in the palace construction of various dynasties in China, the traditional thought of 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' was embodied from the beginning to the end, and the southward extension of the middle axis of the Beijing City in old days again and again was also influenced by this traditional thought. Then from where did come this kind of traditional thought?

So far as the answer of this question is concerned, the discovery by archaeologists has provided the most important reference materials.

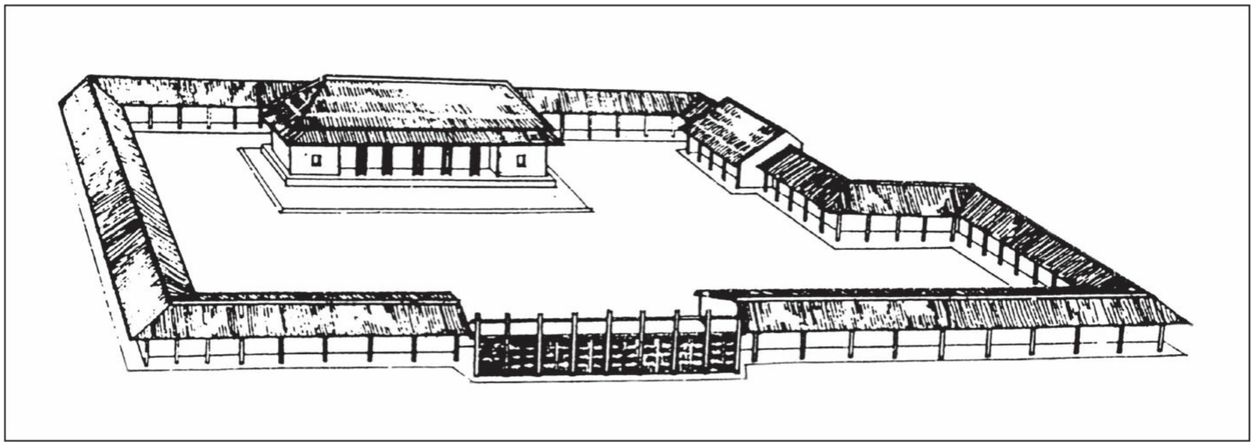
In the early 1970s, the ruins of a palace of no later than the early Shang Dynasty were excavated at Erlitou, Yanshi County, Henan Province. At the middle part of the site, there is an obvious rammed terrace base, about 0.8 meter high above the present ground, 108 meters in length from west to east, 100 meters in width from north to south. At the center of the southern part of the terrace base, there are ruins of doors with eight bays in width. In the middle of the northern part of the terrace base rose the pisé foundation 3.1

meters high, 36 meters from east to west, 25 meters from north to south. In accordance with the arrangement of the pillar holes round it, it can be concluded that this building is eight bays in width and three bays in length. Slightly north of the pisé foundation is the relic of the hall, 30.4 meters from west to east and 11.4 meters from north to south. The whole building structure, with the hall as the principal part, faces southwards as shown in the Fig. 3-5. [5] In accordance with the restored figure made out of the above mentioned discovery, the characteristic is much more explicit that the whole construction of the palace faces the due south (Fig. 3-6). [6]



3-5 Plan of No. 1 palace base at Erlitou, Yanshi County 偃师二里头早商一号宫殿基地平面图

（From: Archaeology, No. 4, 1974　《考古》，第4期，1974）



3-6　Drawing of the restored palace　偃师二里头早商一号宫殿复原图

（Redrawn according to Ancient Architecture of China, 1983, p. 24　根据《中国古建筑》重制，1983，第24页）

Therefore, it can be imagined that the palace hall in the Central Plain Region (comprising the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River) in China from the ancient time on faced the due south. Thereafter, this rule was inherited in successive dynasties without exception. Hence, the socalled thought of Facing the South to Be Emperor gradually took shape in the ideology. This speciality of the dynasties established in the China Central Plain is reflected in the capital planning and design.

The forming of this characteristic was closely related to the geographical environment of the Yellow River Valley. The Yellow River Valley is located just at the region where the semi-tropical monsoon climate of the northern hemisphere is most typical. In winter, the high atmospheric pressure in the northwest of Asian continent is formed and the cold and strong north wind attacks the middle and lower parts of Yellow River with the severe cold lingering on for months. In summer, the center of high atmospheric pressure moves towards the southeast Pacific Ocean and the south monsoon bringing

rain makes the temperature rise in such a way that summer heat even becomes unbearable. As a result of that, it is most suitable for the facade of the house to face the due south with the closure of the northern side to avoid wind and coldness of winter. The opening of doors and windows towards the southern side is not only convenient to get winter sunshine obliquely coming into rooms, but also for the air circulating in summer time. It can be imagined that in order to adapt to this climatic characteristic, the earliest palace buildings in Yellow River Valley since the ancient time, have adopted the style of facing the south with the back to the north, as it is seen in the archaeological discovery at Erlitou, Yanshi County. Having been existing for a long time, this practice became a custom. When it was recorded in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', it was quite enough to make clear upon noticing 'the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the left side, the Altar of Land and Grain on the right side, Court facing ahead and Market on the back side' their relative positions. Here the words 'facing ahead' are of great importance. It denotes fronting the southern direction, as a result of which the tradition of so-called 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' in the ideology finally came into being.

In accordance with the geomancy theory in later times there is also explanation concerning the question of facing the south in construction design. For example, Zhang Ziwei of the Song Dynasty wrote in his book entitled *Yu Sui Zhen Jing* that temples, courts, palaces, and prefecture and county offices all face the south without any exception, the reason of which is to manage in the face of brightness. [7] There is no record concerning whether in the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty the absence of the gate of due north was owing to the impact of geomancy theory or not. So let us lay it aside for the time being. However, it is very obvious that the geographical conditions

of the Yellow River Valley led to the construction of palace facing the south in the beginning.

Translated by Li Guanghui

叁　试论北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑[*]

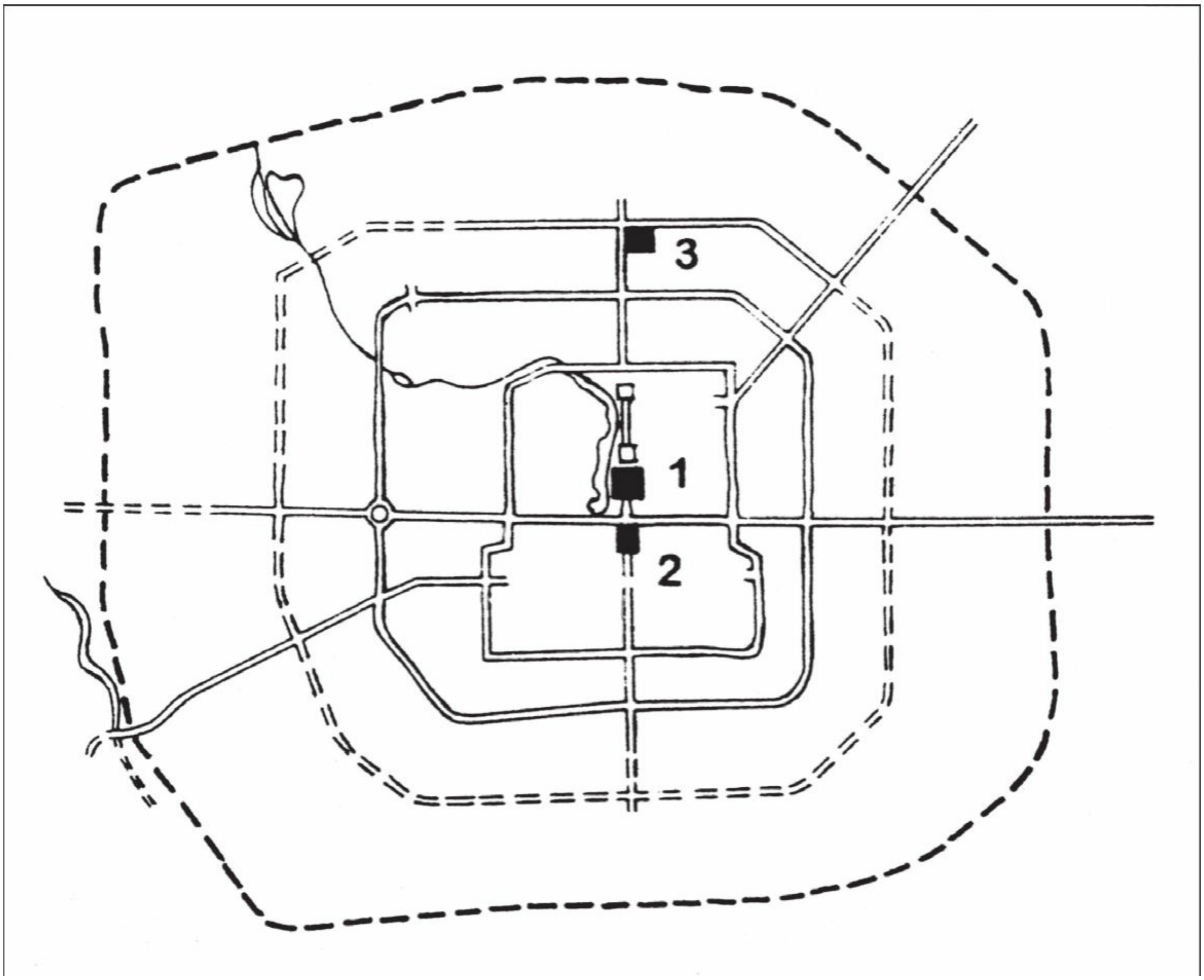
一

“不了解北京城的过去，就无法认清北京城的现在，当然也就不可能预测北京城的未来。城市的发展是一个连续的过程，过去、现在和未来处在同一时间之链上。”[1]北京是举世闻名的历史文化名城，它的规划建设有着深厚的历史文化渊源。特别是经过元明两代在新选择的城址上，充分利用河湖水系的有利条件，根据自古以来我国关于都城建设一脉相承的规划特点，又加以不断的更新和改造，终于在空间结构上完成了内外两城紧相毗连的“凸”字形轮廓，中间贯以自北而南的中轴线，北起鼓楼与钟楼，南至全城正南方的永定门，长近8公里。这一内外两城有机结合的空间结构，一直完整地保留到1949年新中国的成立。

新中国重新建都北京，根据时代的要求，相继进行了以旧城为核心的城市规划和建设。从全城的空间结构上来看，最重要的，也是首先进行的就是天安门广场的扩建，把旧日封闭式的宫廷广场，转变为恢宏开阔的城市广场。同时又将广场两翼的东西长安街加以拓宽和延长，有如一条东西横轴线与旧日自北而南的纵轴线交会在天安门广场上。

其后随着旧日城墙的拆除，又开始进行了二环路、三环路和四环路的设计。这些环路从构图上自然导致旧城内南北中轴线向外的延伸，这在早期的城市规划图上已经充分显示出来。旧城中轴的南延长线，已有从永定门通向南苑大红门的路基作为依据。至于旧城中轴的北延长线，则无所依据。因为从钟鼓楼到北二环，完全为民居所阻隔，这与元大都城初建立时就打破历史传统不设正北门有直接关系。越过这一带民居再向正北方延伸，也同样是无所依据的，其间也还有重要建筑的阻隔。所以这条全城中轴的北延长线，除去旧城墙内的一段外，直到为了迎接1990年第11届亚运会的召开，这才开始打通，以与为了同一目的也正在

开辟中的北四环路相接，其北段就是现在的北辰路。当时兴建的亚运会主会场，也就是国家奥林匹克体育中心，就选建在北辰路与北四环相交处的东侧，在其北面隔四环路相望的就是同时兴建的国际会议中心。这里恰处北京旧城的正北方，地域开阔，又去首都机场较近，国际上的来往也比较便捷。因此从地理位置的选择上来说，这次盛大的以“团结、友谊、进步”为号召的国际活动以这里为中心召开，也是很相宜的。实际上也正是由于这次亚运会在北京的胜利召开，以及由此而决定的国家奥林匹克体育中心的建设，才开始使我意识到在北京城的规划建设中，可以称之为“三个里程碑”的设想正在形成中（图3-1）。试论如下：



3-1　Views on Three Milestones in the construction of Beijing City　北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑的初步设想

1．Forbidden City (Palace Museum)　紫禁城（今故宫博物院）

2．Tian'anmen Square　天安门广场

3．National Olympic Sports Center　国家奥林匹克体育中心

第一个里程碑是历史上北京城的中心建筑紫禁城。它的建成至今已有五百七十余年，代表的是封建王朝统治时期北京城市建设的核心，也是中国传统建筑艺术的一大杰作。到今天它依然屹立在全城空间结构的中心，但已不仅仅是中国人民的艺术财富，而且已被列为“世界文化遗产”，享誉全球。

第二个里程碑就是新中国建立之后，在北京城的空间结构上，突出地标志着一个新时代已经来临的天安门广场。它赋予具有悠久传统的全城中轴线以崭新的意义，显示出在城市建设上“古为今用，推陈出新”的时代特征，在文化传统上有着承先启后的特殊含义。

第三个里程碑如上所述，最初是由于亚运会的召开和国家奥林匹克体育中心的兴建，才开始显示出北京走向国际性大城市的时代已经到来。我第一次公开提出这一设想，是1991年5月14日在清华大学建筑学院的一次学术报告会上，当时也只是做了口头上的陈述，并没有写出书面的讲稿。[2]

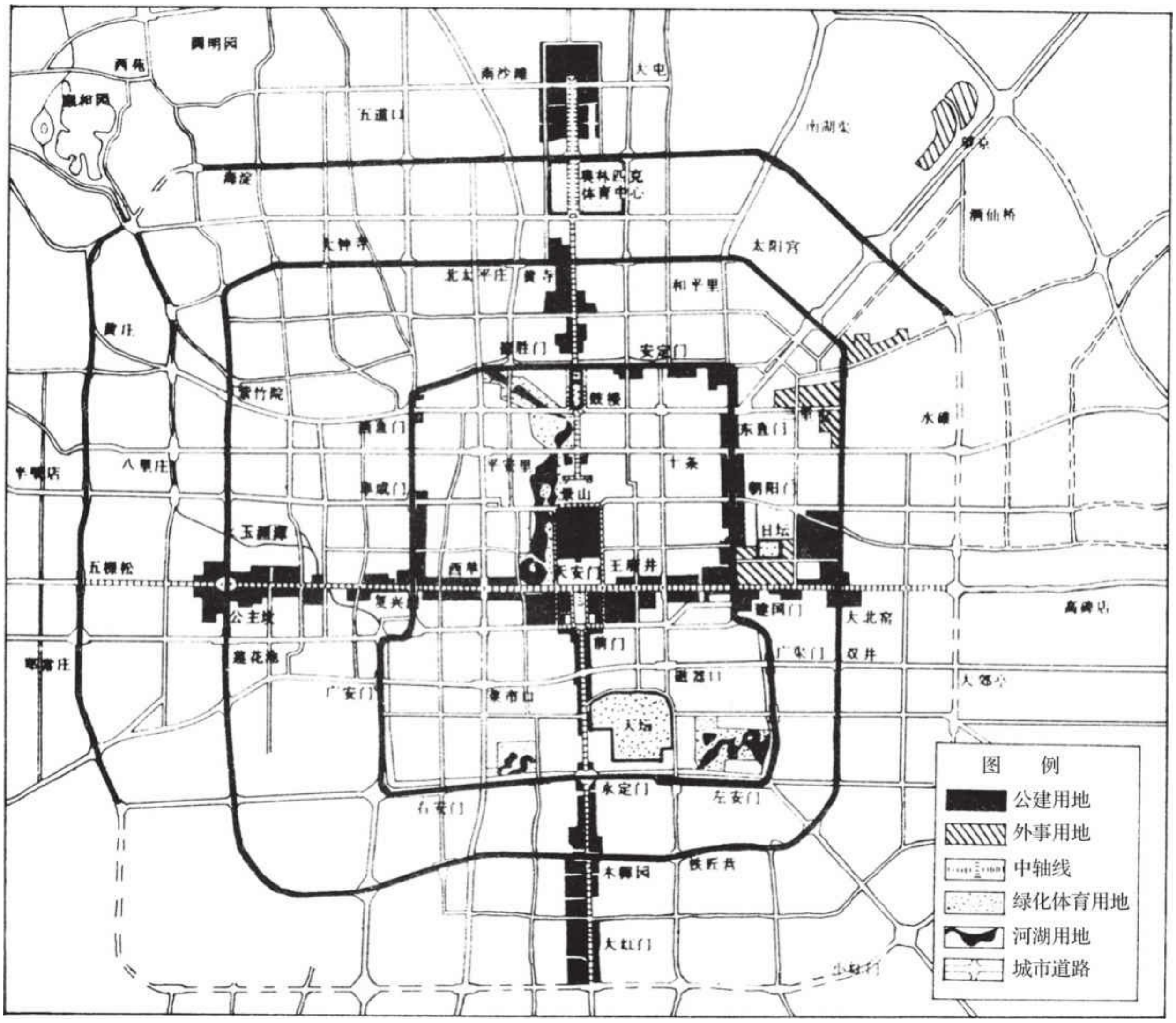
而今时过三年，面向21世纪的《北京城市总体规划》，继承了50年代以来历次城市总体规划的优良传统，又在改革开放和建立社会主义经济体制的新形势下，进一步提出了建设全方位对外开放的现代化国际城市的新目标。其中也包括了“历史文化名城的保护与发展”的重要项目，并且指出“要从整体上考虑历史文化名城的保护，尤其要从城市格局的宏观环境上保护历史文化名城”。

其中首先提出的就是“保护传统城市的中轴线”，并且决定在旧城中轴线的南北延长线上，分别进行下列象征性的规划设计，即“中轴南延长线要体现城市‘南大门’形象；中轴北延长线要保留宽阔的绿带，在其两侧和北端的公共建筑群作为城市轴线的高潮与终结，突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”（着重号系作者所加）。

这里应该特别注意的是这中轴北延长线的东西两侧，正是国家奥林匹克体育中心和正在兴建的中华民族园所在之地。至于其“北端”，也就是要作为城市轴线的“高潮”和“终结”的所在处，还要建成“突出体现2l世纪首都的新风貌”的公共建筑群。因此，这一区公共建筑群按计划的完成，就真正可以看作是北京城市规划建设中的第三个里程碑了。

总结以上所述，《北京日报》1994年4月1日“图解新闻版”为介绍《北京城市总体规划》所刊载的一幅示意图，正好可供参考，转载如下

（图3-2）。



3-2 The north extension of the middle axis of Beijing City 北京城市中轴线的向北延伸

Public Construction areas 公建用地

Foreign affairs areas 外事用地

Parks and Recreation areas 绿化体育用地

Middle axis 中轴线

Rivers and Lakes 河湖用地

Streets and roads 城市道路

（From Beijing Daily, April 1, 1994　摘自《北京日报》，1994年4月1日）

在这里还可以进一步设想，上文提出的三个里程碑在建筑设计上还是应该各有其时代特征的。例如紫禁城作为第一个里程碑，它那巍峨壮丽的宫阙，就充分显示了皇权时代帝王至上的思想。天安门广场作为第二个里程碑，它在扩大宫廷广场为城市广场的基础上，又融合古今建筑为一体，从而呈现出继往开来的新气象。现在作为第三个里程碑，又处在整个城市空间结构的顶点上，其总面积还将超过旧日的紫禁城，对于这一区公共建筑的总体规划必须早做考虑，更重要的是如何设计和营建方能“突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”，这就为当代建筑学家提出了一个十分重要的新课题。愿拭目以待，早观厥成。

二

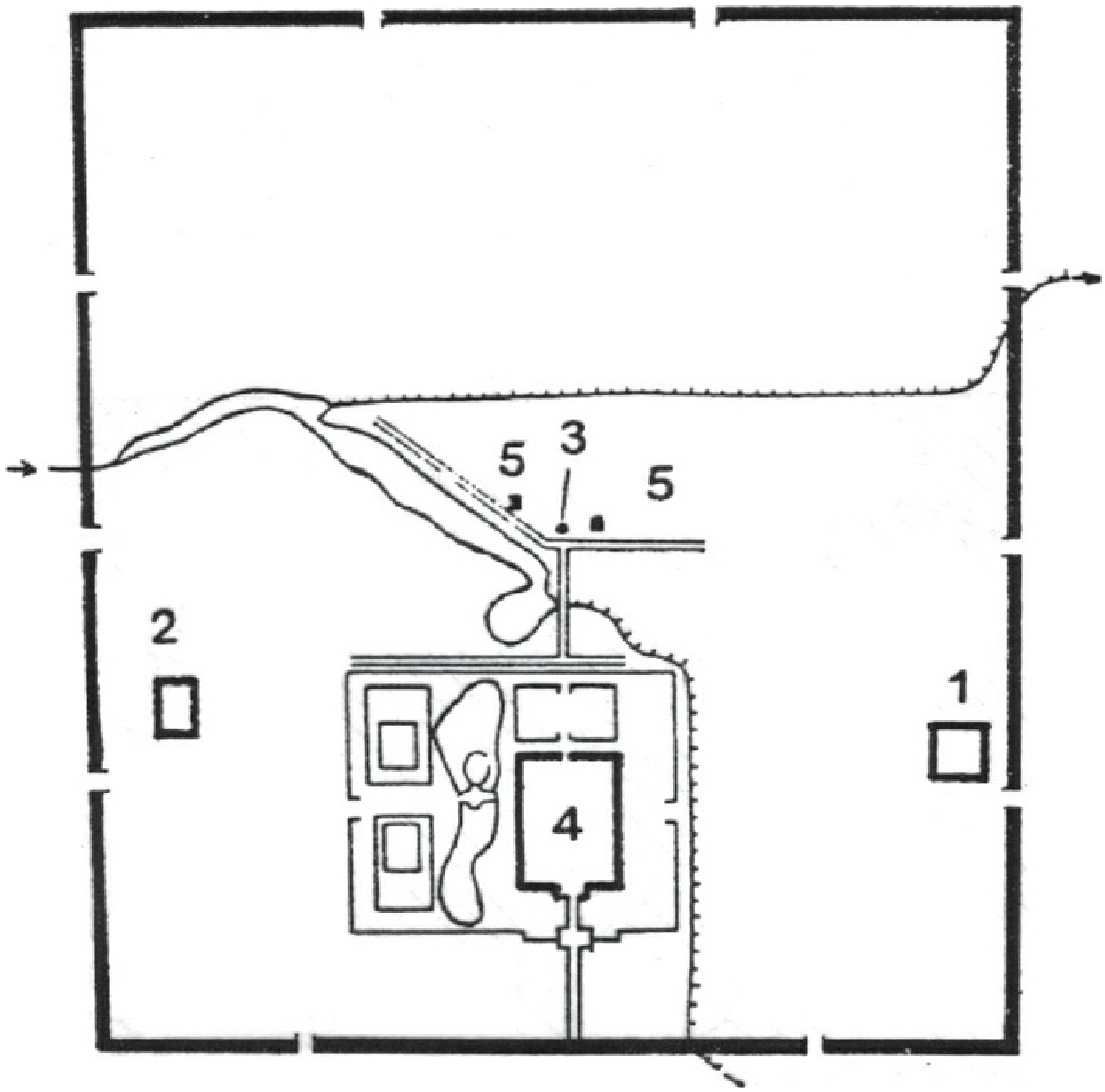
还应该进一步说明的一点，就是在北京城总体规划上这条全城中轴线向正北方的延伸，乃是一反历史传统的新发展，是具有划时代的意义的。

北京旧城以内原有的中轴线，是元大都初建时所确定的，但是它的历史渊源却由来已久。更重要的是它还集中体现着一种皇权时代的传统思想，即：“面南而王”，也就是说皇帝要面向正南来统治天下。这一点在大都城的规划设计中，从一开始就突出地反映出来。

大都城的规划设计，其核心建筑的布局，可以追溯到《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”的描述，这是明显易见的；可是大都城四面城墙的设计，却与“匠人营国”的描述大相径庭。分别说明如下。

“匠人营国”关于其核心建筑的布局是这样写的：“左祖右社，面朝后市。”对比之下，借助于元大都的略图，进行分析，所谓“左祖”，就是大都城内东城墙下的“太庙”；“右社”就是大都城内西城墙下的“社稷坛”；“面朝”所指，相当于大都城内自“中心之台”向正南方延长线上的“大内”，也就是紫禁城的前身；“后市”所指，就是“大内”正北“中心之

台”附近一带的市场（图3-3）。



3-3　The sketch map of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty　“左祖右社，面朝后市”思想在元大都布局中的体现

1．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙

2．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛

3．Central Terrace　中心之台

4．Imperial Palace　大内

5．The distribution area of market　市场分布区

（Redrawn according to Hou Renzhi, Historical Atlas of Beijing, Beijing Publishing House, 1988, pp. 27-28.　侯仁之绘制，《北京历史地图集》，北京出版社，1988，第27—28页）

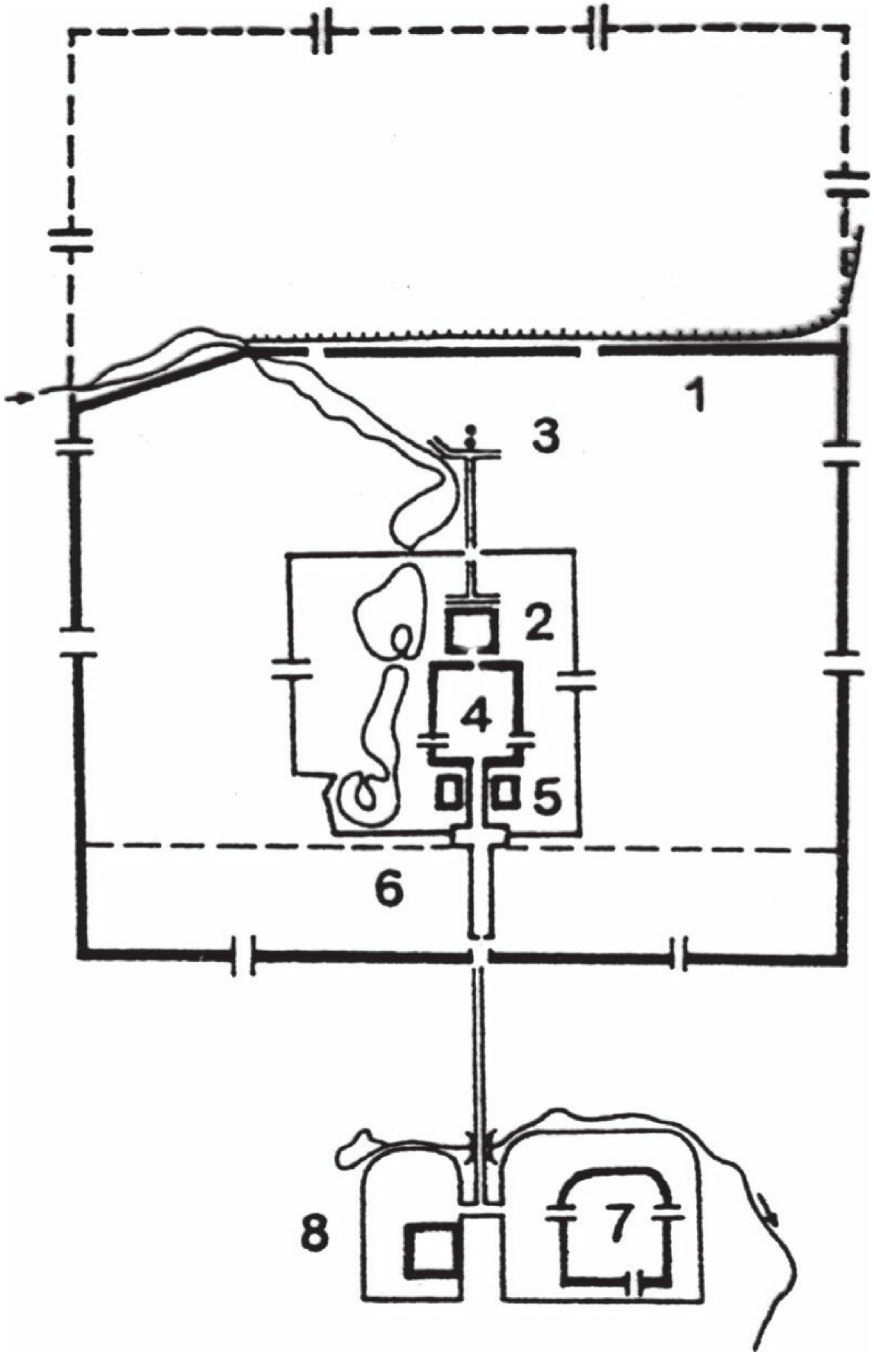
根据以上的对比，恰好说明“匠人营国”中的“左”就是东，“右”就是西，“后”就是北，只是朝廷所在独称“面朝”，而不称“前”，这是为什么？细加思索，如果把“面朝”二字只是理解为“前有朝廷”，似乎还不甚确切。因为这里的“面”字，含有“前瞻”的意思，也就是说：要居中向正南方望去是朝廷，转身反顾身后的北方，就是市场所在。这里就暗示着以“南”为上的含义。事实上，中国历代都城在规划设计上，其主要宫殿都一律面向正南。继元大都之后，又进一步发展了的明清北京城，更是集中表现了这一点，这就是现在保存完好的紫禁城，以及进一步迁移到紫禁城前方左右两侧的太庙（今劳动人民文化宫）和社稷坛（今中山公园）。

在明确了上述各点之后，再来进一步分析元大都城的总体规划，在城市轮廓和城门设置上，又是如何与“匠人营国”的规制大相径庭的。

按“匠人营国”关于大城的设计是“方九里，旁三门”。而大都城的营建，并非四面等同的正方形，而是南北略长的长方形，而且除去东西南三面各有三门外，北面却只有东西两门，正中间却是完全封闭的。这种差异，绝非偶然。

大都城的平面结构呈长方形，这与充分利用城内从西北转向正南的一带天然湖泊，有直接关系，作者另有专文说明，此不赘言。[3] 至于在北面城墙的正中央不设北门，却有悖于“匠人营国”的传统规制，是十分突出的一个问题，应该引起重视。实际上也正是有意识不设北门，因此自北而南作为全城设计依据的中轴线，也只是以全城的“中心之台”为起

点向南延伸。正是在这一情况下，明朝初年改建大都城，在首先减缩北城的基础上，又进一步沿着原有的中轴线，继续向南开拓，重新堆筑了万岁山（今景山）以代替原来的“中心之台”作为新城设计中心的标志。同时又在万岁山的正南方，继续沿着中轴线新建大内，也就是现在的紫禁城。此外，又将大都东城下的太庙和西城下的社稷坛，分别改建到紫禁城正南方的东西两侧，依然符合“左祖右社”的古制。于是紫禁城内中轴线上兴建起来的前后六座大殿，也就更进一步体现了“面南而王”的传统体制（图3-4）。[4]


1
3
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7

3-4 Surface planes of Beijing City in the middle age of the Ming and Qing dynasties 明中叶北京城空间结构的核心部分最后定型，清代继承不变

1．The rebuilt and newly built north city wall at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty 明初改建、新建北墙

2．Wansui Hill (now Jing Hill) 万岁山（景山）

3．Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower (south) 钟楼（北）、鼓楼（南）

4．Forbidden City 紫禁城

5．Imperial Ancestral Temple 太庙

6．Altar of Land and Grain 社稷坛

7．Temple of Heaven 天坛

8．Altar of Mountain and River (now Xian Nong Tan) 山川坛（先农坛）

（Source: Same as Fig. 3-3, pp. 31-32. 来源同图3-3，第31—32页。）

就在上述大城之内核心地区的规划建设完之后，又根据“祭天于南郊”的传统，将全城的中轴线继续向南郊延伸，在越过一条自西而东的小河之后，又分别在东西两侧，兴建了两组皇家建筑群。在东侧的为天坛，在西侧的为山川坛（后改称先农坛）。其后又兴建东、西、南三面城墙，将这两组重要建筑群圈入城内，于是北京始有内外城之分。

从此这内外合一的北京城，就成为皇权统治时代最后建成的一座都城，它又进一步体现了传统的意识形态中“面南而王”的思想，并且完整地保存下来，一直到1949年新中国的诞生（见图3-4）。

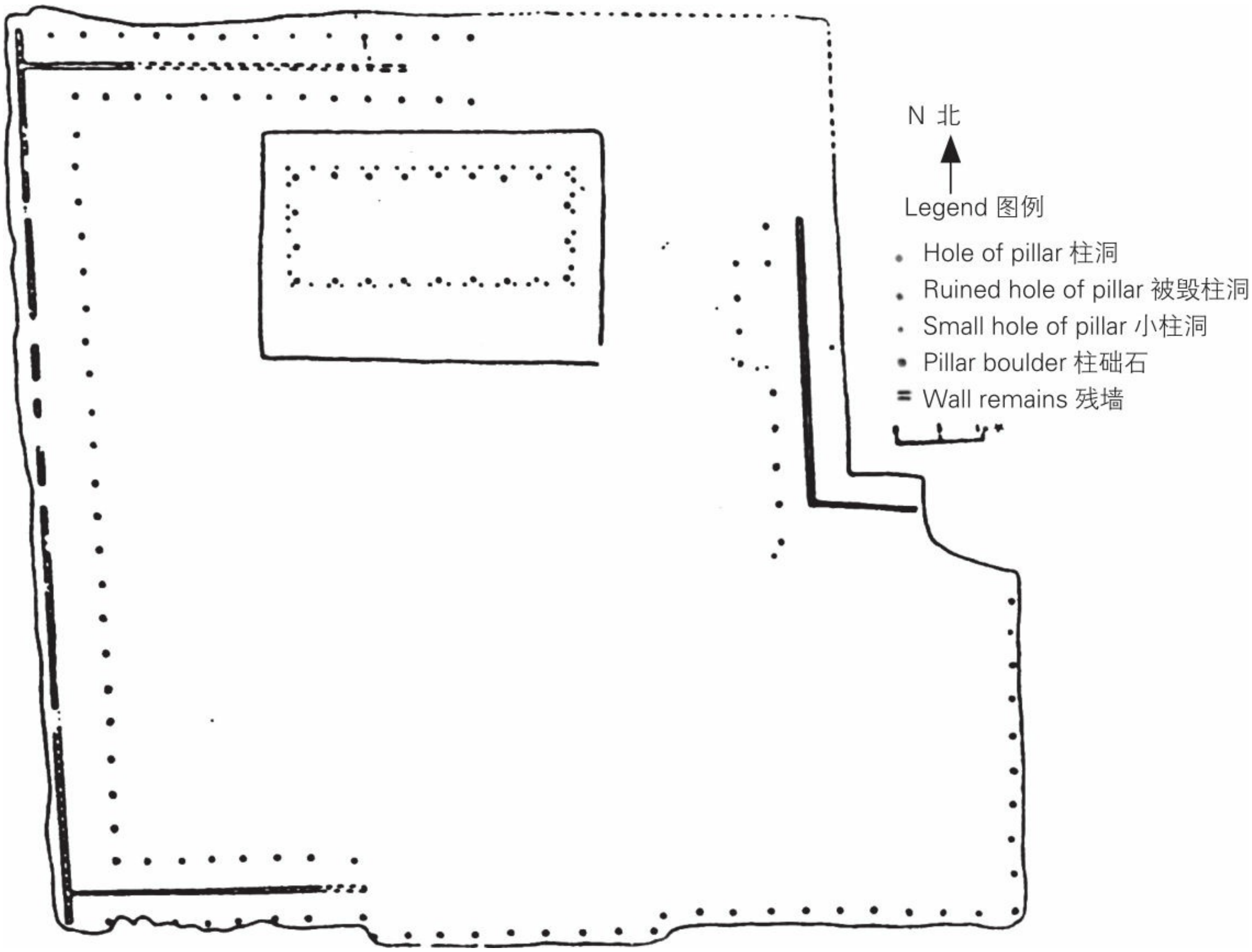
现在只有充分认识到北京这座历史文化名城在其原有的规划建设上所集中体现的主题思想，才能真正体会到今天开辟全城中轴北延长线以及进一步在其北端兴建“突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”的公共建筑群，确实是有着划时代的意义的。

三

最后，还应该说明的是：上文一再强调中国历代宫殿建筑，都始终体现了“面南而王”的传统思想，而且旧日北京城的中轴线一再向南延伸，也同样是这一传统思想的影响。那么这种“面南而王”的传统思想又是如何产生的呢？

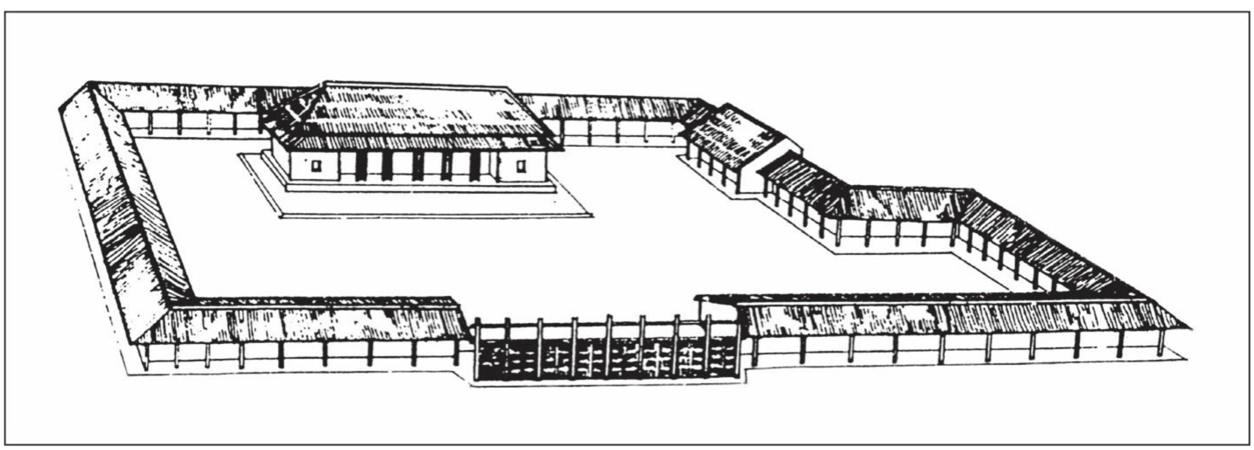
关于这个问题的答案，考古学的发现提供了最重要的参考。

70年代初，在河南省偃师县二里头，发掘出至少是早商时期的一处宫殿遗址，其中部，有一明显的夯土台基，高出地面约0.8米，东西长108米，南北宽100米。台基南侧的中央，有门址遗迹，面阔8间。殿堂地居台基中央之北部，有夯土台，土层厚3.1米。殿堂东西长36米，南北宽25米，根据周围柱洞的排列，可以断定该建筑面阔8间，进深3间。基地中央稍北为殿堂遗址，东西长30.4米，南北宽11.4米。以殿堂为主的整体结构面向南方，如图3-5所示。[5] 根据上述发现制为复原图，则整体宫殿建筑面向正南的特点，就更加显明（图3-6）。[6]



3-5 Plan of No. 1 palace base at Erlitou, Yanshi County 偃师二里头早商一号宫殿基地平面图

（From: Archaeology, No. 4, 1974 《考古》，第4期，1974）



3-6 Drawing of the restored palace 偃师二里头早商一号宫殿复原图

（Redrawn according to Ancient Architecture of China, 1983, p. 24 根据《中国古建筑》重制，1983，第24页）

由此可以设想，中国中原地区自古以来的宫殿建筑就是面向正南方，此后历代相承，莫不如此。因此在意识形态里逐渐派生出所谓“面南而王”的思想。这一特点在中国的中原王朝中，正是历代都城在规划设计上的一大特色。这一特色的形成，和黄河流域的地理环境是有密切关系的。黄河流域正处于北半球亚热带季风气候最为显著的地区，冬季在亚洲大陆西北内部形成高气压，寒冷强劲的偏北风，袭击着黄河流域中下游，气候严寒，长达数月。夏季高气压中心转向东南太平洋上，来自南方致雨的季风，又使温度上升，甚至暑气逼人。于是房屋建筑面向正南最为相宜，北侧封闭以御冬季风寒，南侧开设门窗，既便于冬季阳光斜射室内，又有利于夏季空气流通。可以设想，为了适应这一气候特点，从古代起，黄河流域最早的宫殿建筑，如偃师县二里头的考古发现所见，就采取了背北面南的形式。这一特点长期延续下来，相沿成习。到了《周礼·考工记》“匠人营国”的记载中，只要记述“左祖右社，面朝后市”，就足以说明彼此之间的方向，而“面朝”的“面”字在这里就特别重要，它指明了是面向南方，由此终于衍生出意识形态中所谓“面南而王”的传统。按后世的风水学说，就建筑设计面向南方，也有解说。例如宋人张子微在所著《玉髓真经》一书中就曾写道：“庙朝宫殿府县治廨，无不向南，盖取向明而治之义。”[7] 元初规划大都城，不设正北门，是否也有风水学说的影响，未见有明文记载，姑不具论。只是追本溯源，黄河流域的地理条件，导致了最初宫殿建筑取向正南，则是十分明显的。

④ F ROM BEIJING TO WASHINGTON A Contemplation on the Concept of Municipal Planning*

I. Recommendation of the Topic

Beijing and Washington are two capital cities of two countries with totally different social systems. The design and planning of the two cities have their unique features respectively. Chronologically, there is a long interval between their initial constructions, yet their design and planning both reflect the depth of their own cultural and historical background. The original plan of old Beijing is a masterpiece of city planning in feudal China, while the plan of Washington inherits the elegance of the sixteenth-century Renaissance tradition and the graceful urban design of Western Europe, and is a marvellous specimen of the achievement in the era of rising capitalism.

China, after the lapse of feudal dynasties, suffered from the oppression of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. She is now in the era of socialist construction. America, on the other hand, is a highly developed capitalist nation, still following the capitalist road and even casting her influence abroad. The two capital cities, which are the focal point of expression for their respective national cultures and histories, would be confronted with different problems in city planning and design.

For city planning and design, Beijing and Washington share some similarities in form, but they are fundamentally different. The most prominent feature in common is the decision at the infant stage of city construction to fix a central axis line for the layout of the whole city. Nevertheless, their

fundamental difference consists in the respective themes to be represented owing to the totally different social systems in the very beginning of their planning.

II. The City of Beijing (Peking)

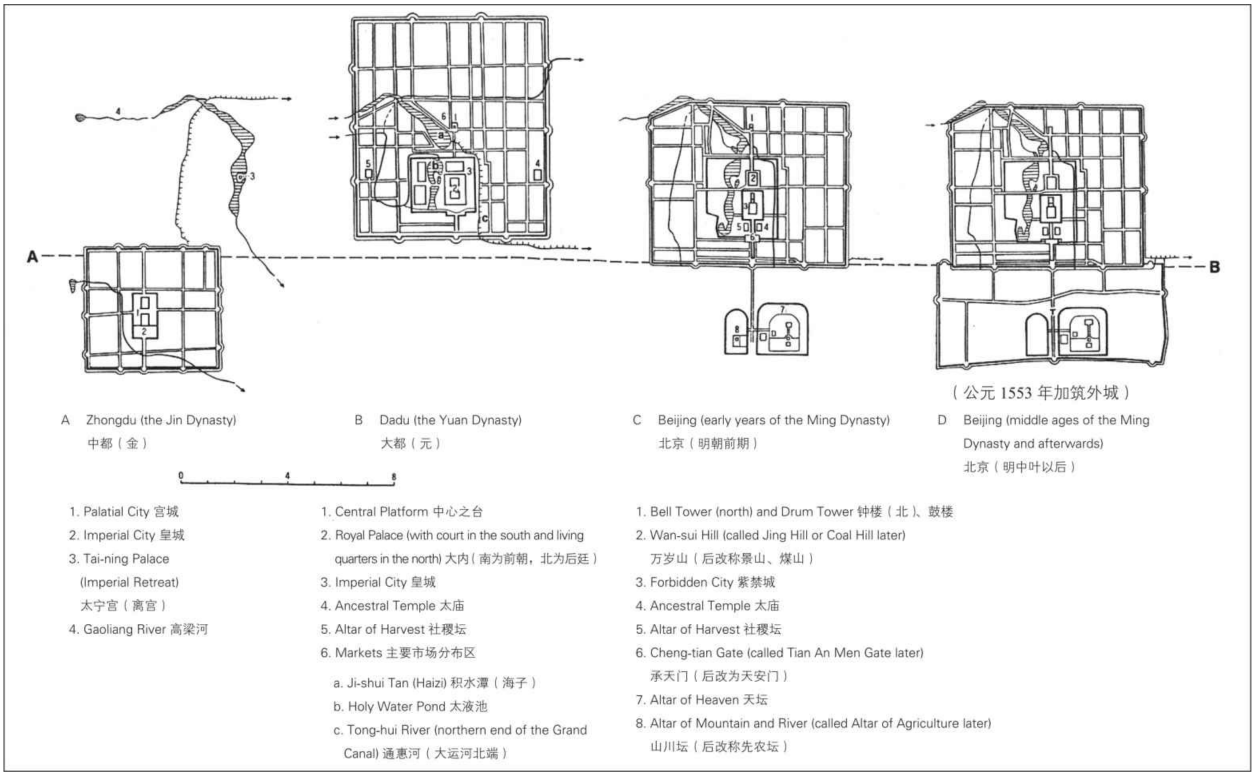
●Changes of Beijing's City Sites and Its Present Location

The origin of the primitive settlement of Beijing could be dated back to over 3,000 years ago. It was located at the southwest part of present Beijing city which had not begun to be built until about 720 years ago(1267 A.D.). The lake district of the ancient Gaoliang River was chosen to be the center for the design and plan of the new city, that is, the Dadu City (the Great Capital) of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). The city underwent some reconstruction in the early days of the Ming Dynasty(1368-1644) and a new name Beijing was given to it. In 1553 A.D., an outer wall was added in the southern part of Beijing city. Thus, we have an inner city and an outer city of Beijing, both encircled by city walls. The two combined took the shape of a Chinese character "凸", occupying an area of 62 sq. km. Hence the surface plan of Beijing city was fixed, and it had been preserved as it was until 1949 A.D., when the New China was born. It is now called the Old City of Beijing.

At the beginning of building old Beijing, the southern half of the lake was enclosed within the city and was designed as the central part of the royal garden in the Imperial City. In accordance with the feudal tradition, it was named "Tai Ye Chi" (the Holy Water Pond). In the early part of the Ming Dynasty a new lake was dug at the southern tip of the Holy Water Pond. This is the present Nan Hai (the South Sea). The upper part of the original lake left out of the Imperial City was called Ji-shui Tan (the Reservoir). It was also in

the early years of the Ming Dynasty that the northern city wall of the capital was moved southward, thus excluding the northwestern part of Ji-shui Tan from the city. The excluded part was called Tai-ping Hu (the Peaceful Lake), which was filled up during the Cultural Revolution. And the other part inside the northern wall of the great city but outside of the Imperial City is the Shicha Hai of today, made up of Qian Hai (the Front Lake), Hou Hai (the Back Lake) and Xi Hai (the West Lake). The southwestern tip of Qian Hai had also been filled up and reclaimed for building sites recently.

In sum, the original lake district furnished essential geographical conditions for the establishment of the Old City of Beijing. Its original appearance had long been altered, but it still occupies an important place. There is a plan to connect the six south and north lakes (that is, Nan Hai, Zhong Hai and Bei Hai in the south and Qian Hai, Hou Hai and Xi Hai in the north), which is part of the general plan for developing the new Beijing. In order to illustrate the theme of the plan of the Old City, it's better to show the changes of watercourses and city sites of old Beijing in the following figure. (Fig. 4-1)



4-1 City sites of old Beijing (from Zhongdu City in the Jin Dynasty to Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties) 北京旧城址变迁（金中都到明清北京）

（Broken line from A to B is a reference line to demonstrate the relative positions of city sites vertically AB间虚线表示城址南北移动的相对位置）

●Theme of City Plan

As shown in Figure 4-1, we see clearly that several changes in the shape of the Old City of Beijing, from rectangular to the ingenious shape of a Chinese character "凸", took place. However, the axis line running through the city from north to south, though extended, had no sideward shift. Actually the axis line was the basis of the surface plan of the capital. This is true of the design of the Inner City as it is of the Outer City. It must be pointed out that even before the building of the outer walls, two groups of architecture had been built in 1420 A.D., that is, the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of

Mountain and River (later renamed the Altar of Agriculture). They were located symmetrically on the east and west sides of the prolonged axis line. And with building of the outer walls in 1553 A.D., a newly prolonged central axis line with a total length of 8 km., implicitly linking the Inner City and the Outer City, took shape, which impressed one with the sense of unity so much that it appeared that the two parts of the city had been planned and completed at the same time. And the "凸"-shaped capital, when compared with Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty and Beijing in the early years of the Ming Dynasty, renders a greater sense of stableness and security. It is this feature of the layout of the city that has won enormous appreciations and praise from Western architects and city planners for its aesthetic value. The Danish architect S. E. Rasmussen remarked Beijing as "one of the wonders of the world, in its symmetry and clarity a unique monument, the culmination of a great civilization." [1] The American city planner E. N. Bacon praised highly of it, saying "Possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking.... [I]t is so brilliant in design that it provides a rich storehouse of ideas for the city of today." He also highlighted central axis line and the lakes adjacent in yellow and blue, which appeared prominent and vivid against the greyish surface plan. [2]

One should, however, note more the thought underneath the design of the surface plan. From the architectural perspective, two points should be clarified:

1. Relationship between building of city walls and city plan

According to Chinese tradition, all ancient cities were built with walls. Hence the Chinese character "城" (cheng) has a dual meaning. It may mean "a city" or "the wall of a city." It can also be used as a verb. For example, in "Cart Driving," one poem from Minor Odes, *Book of Poetry* , one of ancient

classics, there is a line, "wall the place in the north." Here the word "wall," used as a verb, means "to build city walls." Building of city walls is most essential in the design and plan of a capital city. For example, *Kaogongji* (*A Study of Engineering*), a volume of the ancient classics *Zhou Li or The Rites of Zhou* completed during the Age of Spring and Autumn (770-476 B.C.), had a paragraph "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City," which summarized the experiences in city building since the founding of the Zhou Dynasty, and on its basis established a standard for capital city building as follows:

> A capital city should be square in shape, each side being nine *li* long. There should be three gates on each side. Within the city, there are nine thoroughfares running longitudinally and another nine latitudinally, each wide enough for nine chariots driving abreast. On the left side within the city an ancestral temple should be erected. And on the right side there should be an altar of harvest. The court should be built to face the front while the market square should be placed at the rear of the court.

It is self-evident that the imperial court is in the center of the city. For this idea, reference can be made to He Ye-ju's *Research on the System of Capital City Building* , from which some quotation could be cited as follows:

> Why was the imperial court located in the middle of the capital? I think this is closely related to the doctrine of "to choose the middle" esteemed by the people of Zhou and it cast great influence on the determination of the location of a capital. To build the capital in the middle of a kingdom is not only convenient for the subjects from different directions to pay tributes to the king, but also easier for the king to reign over the country from the center.[3]

It should be noted that of all the capital cities built in the feudal

dynasties in China, the Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty is the one built according to the standards closest to those set by "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." Certainly this was directly related to the main designer of the city Liu Bingzhong (Liu Kan). Liu was a practicallyminded person and well versed in classics. He had lectured in the Zijin College at the eastern foot of the Taihang Mountains, where the famous astrologist and expert on water conservancy Guo Shoujing studied under him. Before the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty, Liu had been ordered by Kublai Khan to design on the northern shore of the Shandian River on the upper reaches of the present Luan River, Kaiping City (called Shangdu City later), whose remains can still be found today. This achievement won Liu the recognition of Kublai Khan, so the latter bestowed him the name "Bingzhong"(Adherence to Loyalty). In 1260 A.D., Kublai Khan entered and got stationed in Zhongdu, the last big city that developed on the site of the primitive settlement. Seven years later he decided to build a new city around the Taining Palace (an imperial summer retreat in the lake district) to the northeast of Zhongdu City, and he again appointed Liu in charge of the task. Guo Shoujing was also recommended to participate and made great contribution especially to water conservancy and construction of the Grand Canal.

It is necessary to point out that the shape of the Great Capital was rectangular with the north-south walls longer than the east-west walls, rather than square as prescribed in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." This was out of necessity to fully utilize the watercourses. Another discrepancy was that residential palaces in the "Grand Inner Portion"(equivalent to the later Forbidden City) did not lie at the geometric center of the capital but slightly south of it, though it was still situated on the axis line in the plan, which also fitted into the doctrine of "to choose the middle."

From the construction of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty to the supplement of outer walls in the middle ages of the Ming Dynasty, the surface plan of this city had underwent several alterations, and thus become vastly different from the ideal described in the classics, but the basic concept the city was trying to express was still the same. Moreover, it had been more prominent, especially owing to prolonging the axis line twice. Therefore, the following part will be devoted to the discussion of the design of the axis line and the concept beneath.

2． Implications of axis line design and its historical and cultural background

The artistic effect that the axis line rendered in the layout of the Old City of Beijing has been highly appreciated by city planners home and abroad, while its implications and historical and cultural background are to be further explored.

In another paper "On the Remolding of the Old Beijing City"[4] by the author, it is recorded that Kublai Khan decided to build the new capital before the founding of the Yuan Dynasty and the geometric center of the plan of the capital was fixed on the northeastern shore of the lake Jishui Tan. At this spot was erected a stone tablet with four characters "中心之台"(The Central Platform) carved in it. Taking the platform as the starting point, a straight line was drawn closely along the eastern shore of the Jishui Tan as the central axis of the whole city. The imperial palaces were built on the eastern shore of the Holy Water Pond, exactly in the middle of the axis, so that the front court Daming Palace (Palace of Brilliance) and the residential palace Yanchun Ge (Prolonged Spring Palace) occupied the most significant sites of the city. Hence, the idea embodied by the central axis became very clear, that is, the absolute power of the emperor. The Ancestral Temple and the Altar of Harvest, the two complexes of symbolic significance, were placed on the left

and right sides of the palaces respectively within the city walls as prescribed by "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." Later, as the capital was rebuilt by the Ming emperors, the original geometrical center of the Inner City was moved south to the Central Peak of the Jing Hill, which was the original site of the Prolonged Spring Palace during the Yuan Dynasty. And these two groups of buildings were also moved southward to the two sides in front of the Forbidden City. The result of this is that the concept embodied by the design of the axis becomes more prominent. With the building of the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Mountain and River in the southern suburb, the axis was further prolonged to the south. Its influence on the planning and design of the Old City of Beijing became even more significant, also making the theme represented thereby more prominent.

Another question to be further clarified is: How is it decided that the axis of the capital as it appeared on the surface plan runs perpendicularly from north to south and extends this way? The question seems simple, but it concerns the issue of orientation in the design and planning of a capital, that is, it must face towards the due south. From it derives the doctrine of "facing the south to be king." There is no direct reference in documents to when this idea applied to city planning originated. However, in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City" in *Kaogongji, Zhouli* , there is an implication that the city should be built towards the south. As for the layout of the capital, there are such prescriptions, "left for the Ancestral Temple and right for the Altar of Harvest"—"left" refers to east and "right" west, and "court in the front(south) and market at the rear (north)." The north-south orientation of city had long been accepted by Chinese as a tradition and passed down. Archaeological discoveries have provided concrete evidence. All the ruins of the foundations of the palaces from the early Shang Dynasty attest to that the

original structures above were facing south.[5] Two foundations found in the Shang ruins indicate that the palaces not only faced southward but also stood on the same north-south line with one in front of the other, which should be the primitive form of the principle —"court in the front and living quarters at the rear."[6] The foundations of city walls were also excavated in the capital relics of Shang; they appeared almost square, only the palaces were in the northeast of the city.[7] Most probably the idea of building the palaces in the middle of the city, i.e. on the central axis, hadn't took shape or established as a rule until the Zhou Dynasty. This is the initial thought from which the traditional principle recorded in the classic of *Zhouli* developed. These became the rules for workmen to follow in the building of a capital in later times. The theory of "to choose the middle" was a reflection of that thought as it appeared in the passage of "Judge the Situation" (*Shenshi*) in *The Book of Spring and Autumn by Lü Buwei* (*Lüshi chunqiu*) in the later part of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) that "All rulers of ancient times did choose the middle place under the Heaven to establish their kingdoms."

The facts mentioned above show that in designing the plan for a capital, the concept was to arrange the building of the city to face southward. This is deeply rooted in historical and cultural background and tradition. This fact is that the central part of China is located in the monsoon land of the northern hemisphere, where strong northwesterly winds blow with fierce coldness in winter. In summer southeasterly winds prevail causing the weather to be hot and humid with heavy rainfall. Thus to keep out the bitterly cold wind and to get the most sunshine and warmth, it was advisable and reasonable to build the houses with windows and doors facing south and the high walls in the back facing north. This requirement of building principle and rule of "facing south" gradually prevailed in the design and planning of municipal

construction. And from this principle and rule derived the doctrine of "facing the south to be king." Such a tradition can be traced to the time of slave society. It became a confirmed system during the feudal era. Beijing, a famous historical and cultural city, has preserved these characteristics in the planning and design of its buildings.

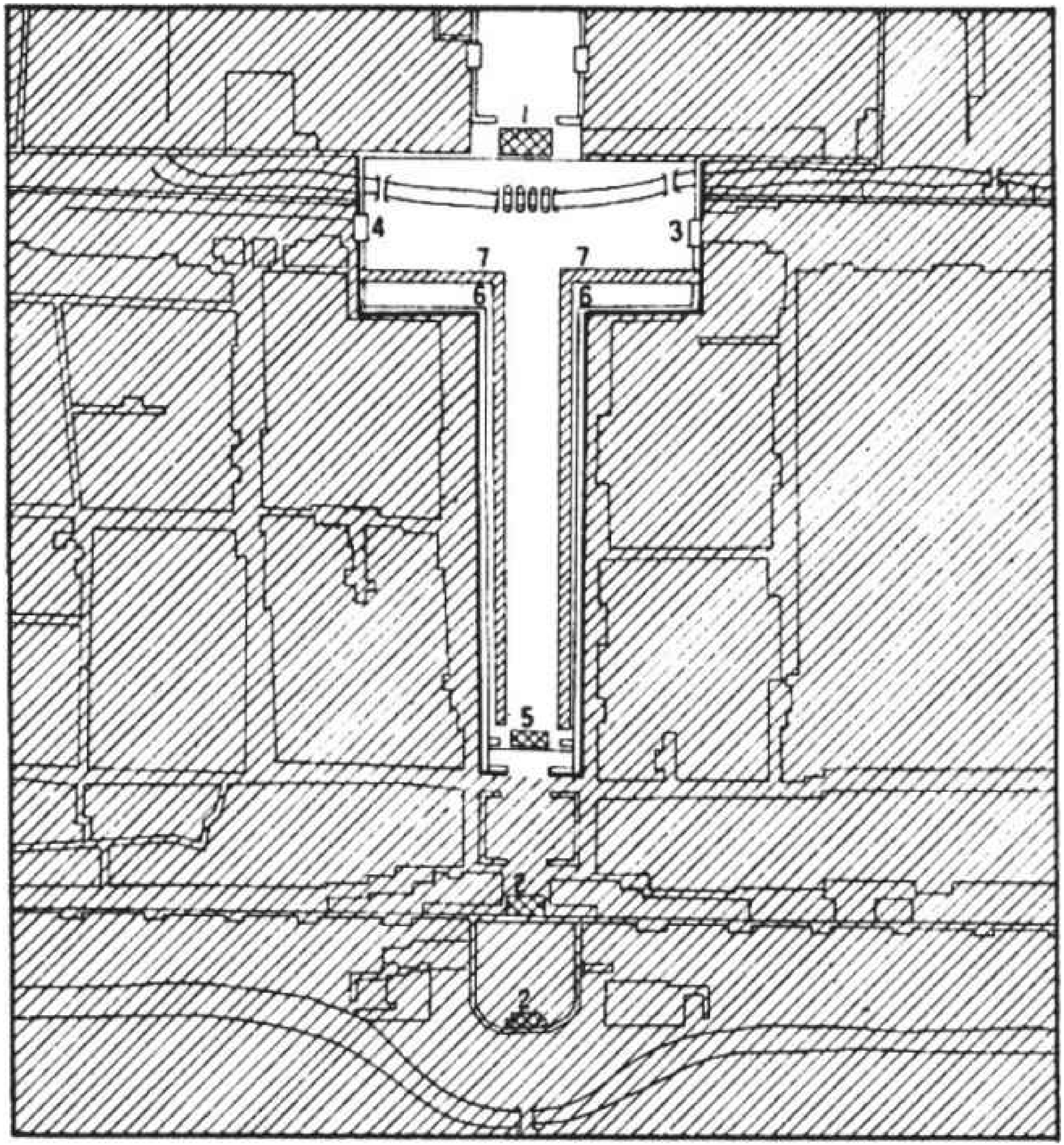
●The Essential Task of Transforming Old Beijing and the Achievements

With the birth of New China, the task of transforming Old Beijing into the capital of the People's Republic of China was put on the agenda. This is to say, while preserving the special characteristics of this famous historic city of cultural richness, we must supply new concepts which reflect the spirit of the new era. This is not an easy task. What we have done in the past thirty years showed that we have committed some irretrievable mistakes and damage. Nevertheless, we have had some achievements among which the transformation of Tian An Men Square is one.

Tian An Men Square was once the imperial court of feudal sovereignty. It was surrounded on three sides by red walls, along the inside of which there was a long corridor each made up of rooms whose eaves and ridges were connected successively. It was called "A Thousand Steps Corridor."The court within the red walls was in a "T" shape. It had been the place where royal ceremonies took place showing off the absolute authority of the feudal emperors. The place was out of bounds to the common people. The court was located on the central axis which is symbolic in the sense that it expressed the feudal ideology of "the Emperor is the Almighty Sovereign."

Entering the gate of Tian An Men, one must pass through layers of enclosed space in order to reach the nuclei of the royal buildings. They are

the grandest buildings in the Forbidden City—Tai He Dian (the Palace of Prosperity and Peace), Zhong He Dian (the Central Peace Palace), Bao He Dian (the Palace of Preserving Peace), and the royal residential palaces in the rear part of the Forbidden City—Qian Qing Gong (the Palace of Heavenly Purity), Jiao Tai Dian (the Palace of Mutual Prosperity) and Kun Ning Gong(the Palace of Feminine Calmness). (Fig. 4-2)



4-2　Imperial square before Tian An Men in the Qing Dynasty　清代天安门前宫廷广场

1．Tian An Men　天安门

2．Zheng Yang Gate and Archery Tower　正阳门及其箭楼

3．Left Chang An Men　长安左门

4．Right Chang An Men　长安右门

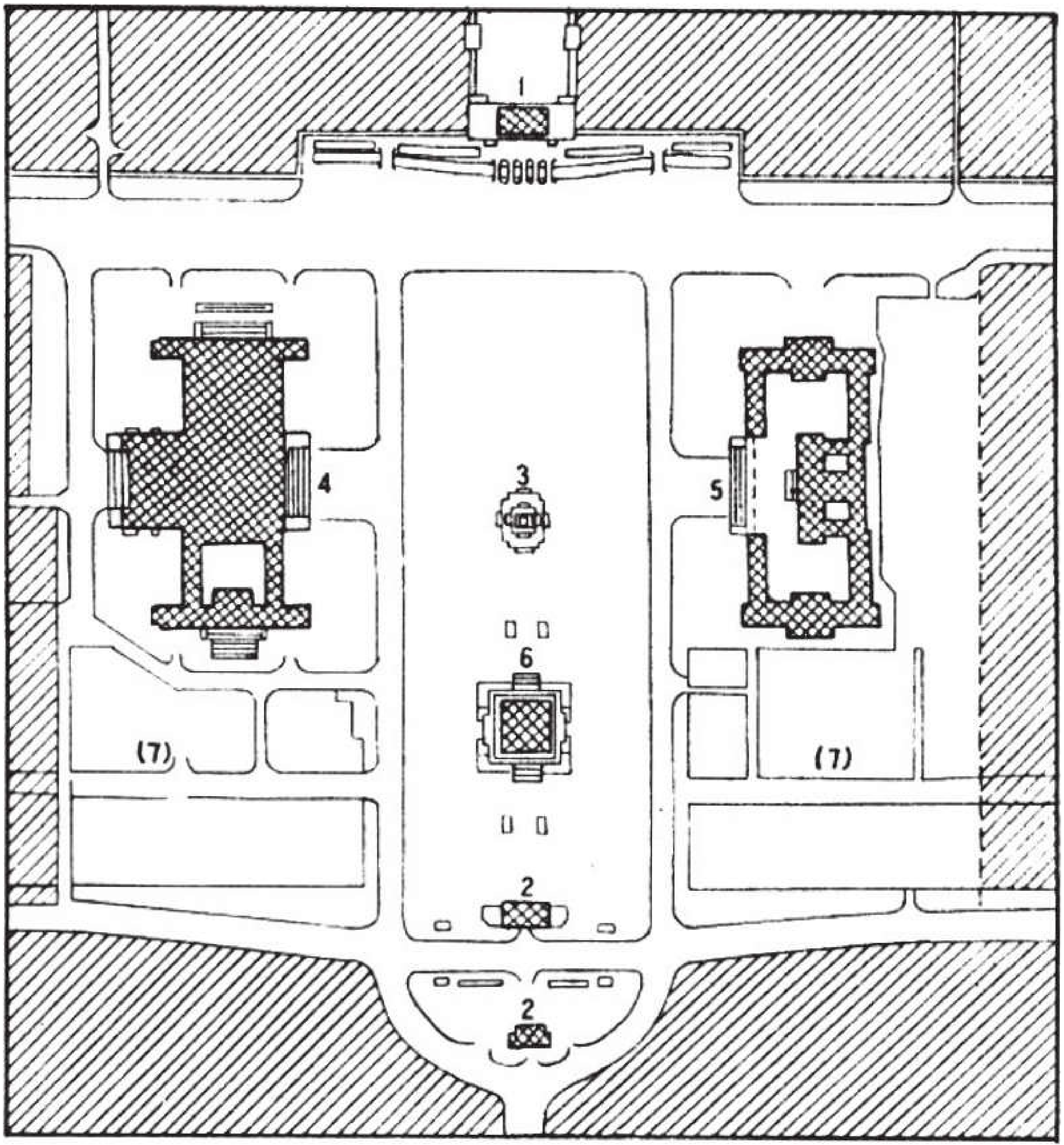
5．Da Qing Men of the Qing Dynasty　大清门

6．The Red Walls　红墙

7．A Thousand Steps Corridor　千步廊

In 1911, the revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen ousted the Manchurian imperial reign, thus ending more than two thousand years of feudalism and it was not until then that the imperial court in front of Tian An Men was open to all. It was in 1919 in Tian An Men Square that the famous May 4th Movement first started and began the overture of the neoDemocratic Revolution. This is one of the most important incidents which took place in the Square in the heart of Beijing. It was the spark that started the prairie fire of a national revolution of the people. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and after thirty years of struggle, the People's Republic of China was born. The inauguration of the People's Republic of China took place in Beijing in the year 1949, on the first of October in Tian An Men Square. This incident gave a new significance to the Square. This grand and gorgeous old building obtained a new significance which symbolized the rebirth of an ancient civilization. When creating the emblem of the People's Republic of China, Tian An Men was designed in the middle of the emblem. In spite of this, the old red walls were still there hindering the common people from going into the Square for their various social, recreational or political activities. Therefore, it was of practical necessity to transform the Square. In order to celebrate the tenth anniversary of New China, Tian An Men Square underwent massive transformation. The old red walls were completely demolished and the Square itself was thereby expanded. Two grand structures were built. They were, on the east the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, and on the west the Great

Hall of the People, which stands for the power of the Chinese people. In the middle of the Square, a monument in memory of the heroes of the people was erected. Thus on the same old location, Tian An Men Square showed its new face and new significance. Here the old concept of "the Almighty Sovereign" was totally eradicated, and in its place the new concept of "the Almighty People" was expressed. The basic layout of the Square was set, although there was much to be improved. All those who have visited Tian An Men Square could grasp the concept of a new era embodied in the Square that is situated on the original axis of the city. Hence, the transformation should be considered successful (Figs. 4-2, 4-3).



4-3 The enlarged Tian An Men Square after the founding of New China 新中国成立后扩建的天安门广场

1．Tian An Men 天安门

2．Qian Men (Zheng Yang Men) and Archery Tower 前门（正阳门）及其箭楼

3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

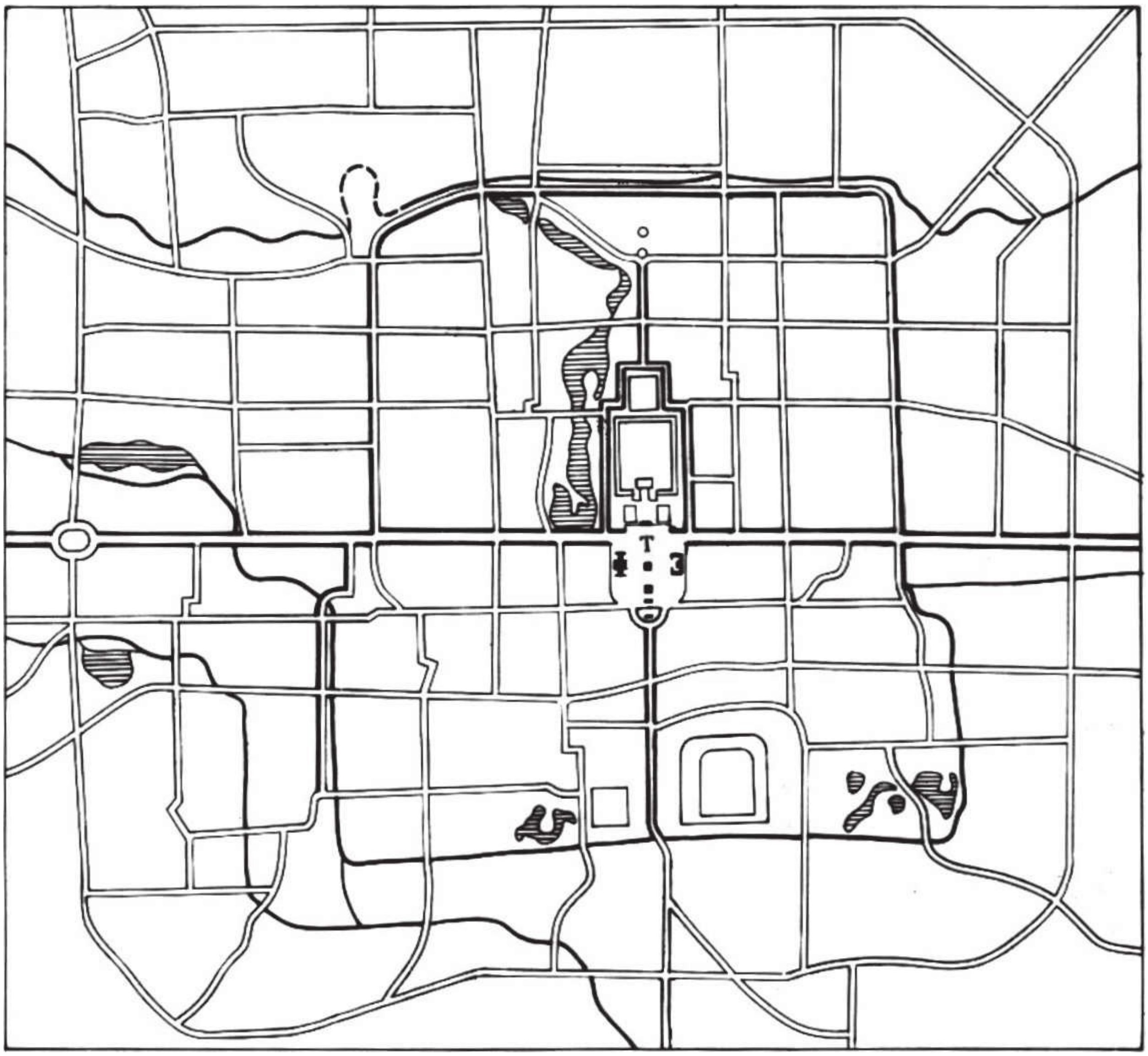
4．Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂

5．Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution　中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆

6．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂

7．Dong and Xi Jiao Min Xiang　东、西交民巷

In addition to this, the East and West Chang An Streets were broadened and prolonged and so became a major horizontal axis from west to east across the city. This horizontal axis, to a certain extent, neutralized the dominating effect of the original perpendicular axis from north to south. Meanwhile, it also broadened the field of perception. The Forbidden City, which had always been the focal point of the capital, has now become "the backyard" and support to Tian An Men Square. Its present function as the"Palace Museum" is more appropriately represented. The objective effects mentioned above can clearly be seen on the surface plan of Beijing. Its characteristics as the political centre of China are fully expressed by this transformation of Tian An Men Square (Fig. 4-4).



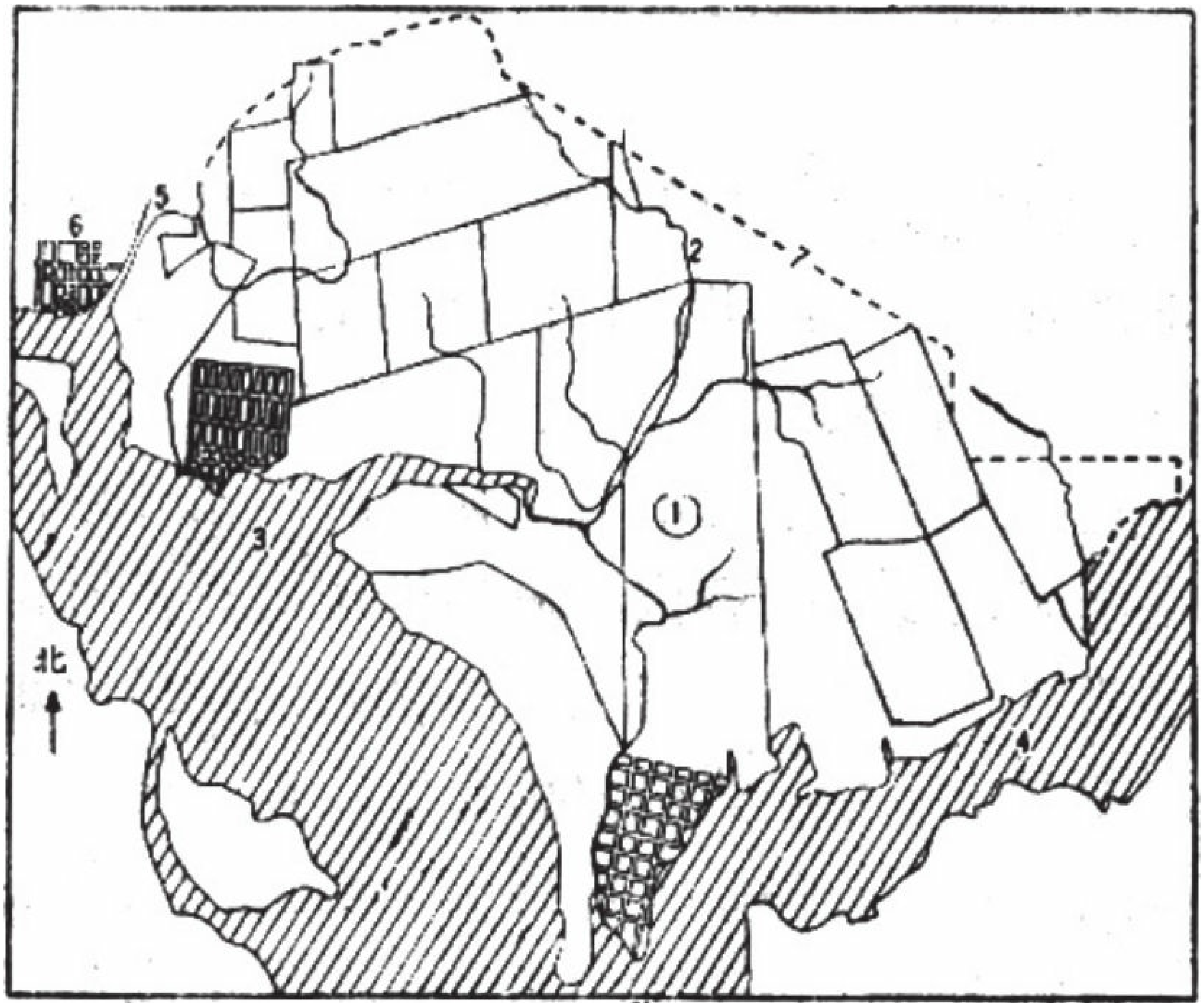
4-4 Boulevards extending eastward and westward from Tian An Men Square respectively— East and West Chang An Streets 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道——东、西长安街

So much for the discussion of the plan and design of Old Beijing and its future development and transformation. Let us now turn to an exploration of the design and plan of the city of Washington. Comparisons will be made between Beijing and Washington in the discussion.

III. The City of Washington

●Choice of the Site and the Original Design of the City

Early in 1791 (the 56th year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong), the site of Washington was decided and the planning began, and it was only eight years after the announcement of Declaration of Independence.[8] From the very beginning the issue of choosing a permanent seat of government had aroused much controversy and the decision was difficult to make, so it was long delayed. Finally, the Congress authorized President George Washington to decide on the site of the capital. The president surveyed and inspected in person the prospective location and finally decided on the present site of the capital. It is situated in the central part of the Atlantic seacoast, in a triangular area between the Potomac River and its eastern tributary called the Anacostia River or the Eastern Branch. The site is a plain with slightly inclining slopes. There is a hill in the middle of the plain. It looked prominent and was called, at that time, Jenkins Hill. Borderlines of private properties crisscrossed the whole area. Most of the land was covered by wild woods, with marshlands dotted on the plain. It was in fact an area not wholly cultivated. On the northern part of the triangular district, the land rose and several rivers and creeks flowed down the slope. The most well known was Goose Creek which flows along the foot of Jenkins Hill and then turns westward to join the Potomac. Two small settlements were respectively established on the tip of the triangle and at the northwestern corner. Only a few residents lived there, though grid-like streets were shown on the map drawn in the primary survey. Georgetown, located at the northwestern corner opposite to Rock Creek, was the largest settlement of the time (Fig. 4-5).



4-5　Site of Washington with the boundary lines of private properties　华盛顿城址初定时私人地产界线

1．Jenkins Hill　詹金斯山

2．Goose Creek　鹅溪

3．Potomac River　波河

4．Anacostia River　阿河

5．Rock Creek　石溪

6．Georgetown　乔治镇

7．Borderline of the highland in the north　北部高地边缘

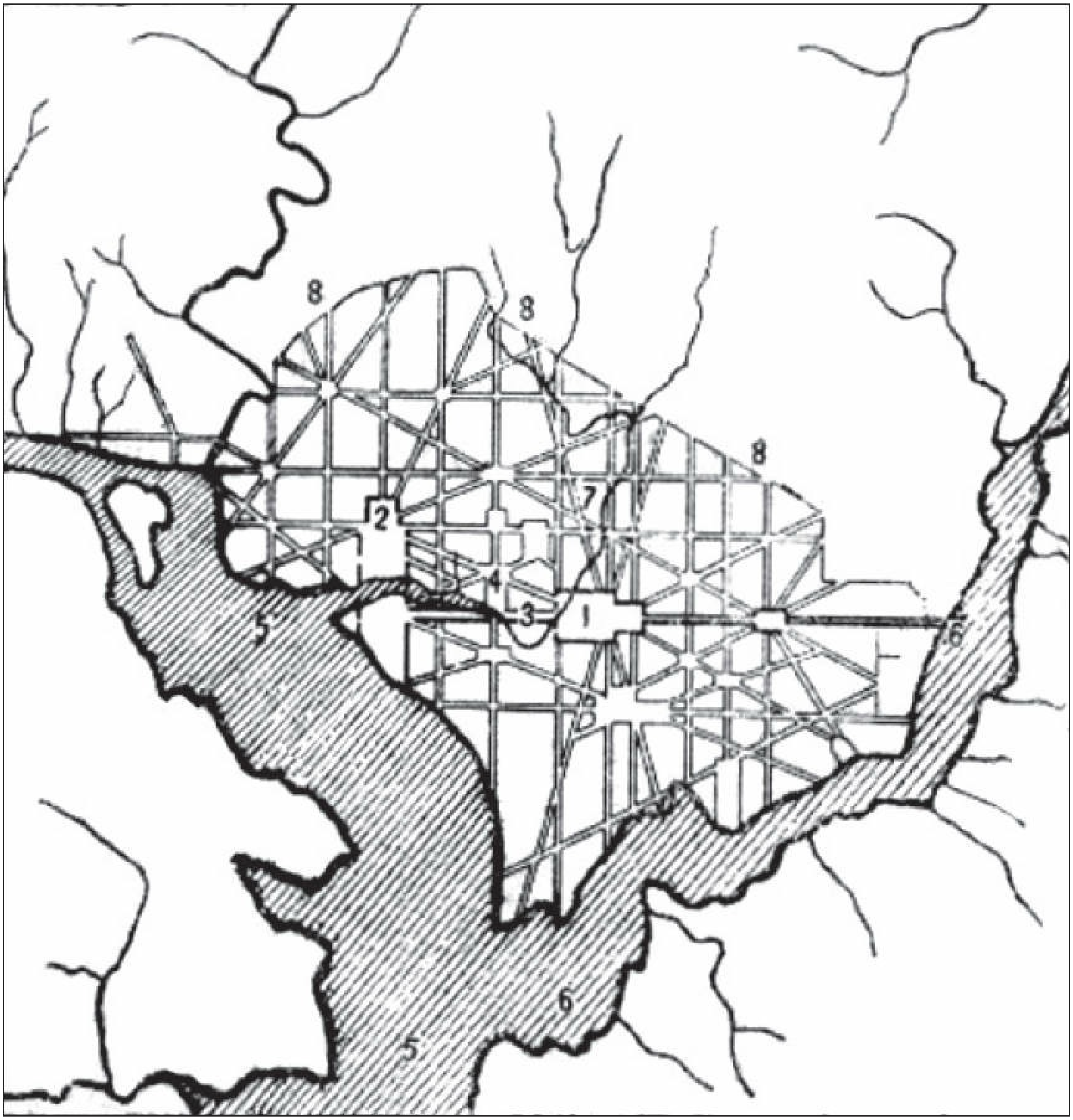
（This chart is a simplified copy of the original chart made in 1792 from a book kept in National Archives of the United States.　根据美国国家档案馆藏1792年旧图书复制品加以简化）

The primary survey of the chosen site had been undertaken by Andrew Ellicott, and Pierre Charles L'Enfant responsible for the design and plan of the capital. L'Enfant was a French-born American engineer and architect, possessing great brilliance and passion. He was thirtyseven years old at that time. L'Enfant's father had been the imperial artist at Versailles, and there he had lived when he was a boy. Later he obtained his education at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, where his father taught. In 1777 L'Enfant and other French volunteers crossed the Atlantic Ocean to go to America and offer help to the people of the British colonies in their struggle against the British rulers for their independence. His achievements in military engineering won him high esteem from the Commander-in-Chief George Washington so that he was promoted to the rank of Major in the army. In 1791 he was assigned the duty of designing the plan of the capital. With enormous energy and amazing efficiency he had completed the task by the end of August of the same year and submitted the plan to Washington immediately. It was at the very beginning that L'Enfant had spotted Jenkins Hill and realized that it was the perfect foundation for the main buildings of the Federal Government. He thought of the site as God-sent. These buildings together with the later additions and improvements comprised the strikingly magnificent and dignified architecture of the present Capitol. As to Jenkins Hill, it has long since been renamed "Capitol Hill."

With Capitol Hill as the centre, L'Enfant designed the central axis in the plan of the capital. The axis was 5.5 kilometers long, starting from the eastern

shore of the Potomac in the west to the western shore of the Anacostia in the east. Along the western section of the axis, that is, from the west of Capitol Hill to the east shore of the Potomac of that time, a space was to be reserved as a large green lawn for the recess and recreation of the people. This part, undergoing plans and development, was the famous "Mall" today. The presidential office and residence, that is, the present White House, was designed to be located to the north of the western part of the Mall rather than on the axis—it moved slightly westward to its present site, which commands a wonderful view of the wide expanse of the lower Potomac when one looks to the south. Linking the White House and Capitol Hill is a broad thoroughfare running in an oblique line, which is the present Pennsylvania Avenue. The west-east axis stands prominently in the surface plan, and the Mall for whom the space was previously saved, also looks outstanding. Besides, there is often a public square at the meeting point of roads intersecting with each other at right angles or diagonally. The lower section of Goose Creek, running through the centre of the city immediately along the northern side of the Mall before it pours itself into the Potomac, was planned to be canalized to connect with the canal at the foot of the Capitol Hill. It was named the Tiber River, after the Roman Tiber.

For the design and plan of the municipality, the two rivers were used as the boundary of the southern part and the borderline of the highland was to be the boundary of the northern part of the capital. And it was on this principle that the city of Washington was built, developed and expanded. We must acknowledge that without the plan and design by L'Enfant, there would not be the magnificent design of the central part of the world famous city of Washington. It is because of this that the central part of Washington proper is referred to by some people as "L'Enfant City" (Fig. 4-6).[9]



4-6　Washington, as it was chosen to be the capital, with the central axis and main thoroughfares as designed by L'Enfant　华盛顿城址初定时的地形示意图及朗方设计的全城中轴线及主要街道轮廓

1．Congress　国会

2．White House　白宫（总统府）

3．The green area of the Mall on the horizontal axis　全城中轴线上的绿茵带

4．Pennsylvania Avenue　宾夕法尼亚大道

5．Potomac River　波河

6．Anacostia River　阿河

7．Goose Greek (Tiber River)　鹅溪（台伯河）

8．The boundary region of the upland in the north　北部高地边缘

（The above diagram is a copy of the Ellicott's survey map from 1793.　根据1793埃利科特测量图绘）

Here let me try to make a comparison between the plans of Old Beijing and Washington, which might help the audience understand the further discussion better.

Two essential points are worth our notice:

One, both cities have a central axis line. For Old Beijing, the axis was from north to south, closely following the eastern shore of the natural lakes. The orientation of the axis, though constrained by natural factors, was greatly influenced by cultural elements deeply rooted in the history, as we have discussed above. For Washington, the central axis was from west to east between the two rivers and it was decided solely by natural conditions. There were no historical or cultural factors involved.

Two, in the plan of the Old City of Beijing, the surrounding walls were an integral part of the whole city, while in Washington, rivers and highlands were utilized as the boundaries of the city for there was neither necessity nor tradition of wall building for a city. Actually no cities in the U.S. are equipped with walls.

The above mentioned differences, though superficial, reflect the differences of the cultural traditions between China and the West. It is even

more important that such differences are embodied in the key concepts in the capital plan. As the topic pertinent to Beijing has been explored, we would confine the following part to the discussion of Washington's city plan.

●On the Concepts of Municipal Design and Planning

The concept of the design and plan of Beijing Old City originated in the Shang and Zhou dynasties when slavery still prevailed, and was written down in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City" in *Kaogongji* , *Zhouli*. As the centralized reign of the feudal dynasties took shape, the concept of building a capital based on the doctrine of "Almighty Sovereignty" had varied in forms of expression. Then came the time when Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty was built, which not only inherited the standards and system of building a city prescribed in the classic of *Kaogongji*, *Zhouli* , but also utilized the natural distribution of the water sources, thus laying the foundation of Beijing, the capital city of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Hence, we can claim that the design and plan of the Old City of Beijing is an overarching masterpiece in building capital cities during the more than two thousand years of feudalism in China.

The historical background of the building of the city of Washington is totally different from that of Old Beijing. To study the basic concept embodied in the design and planning of Washington, we must first understand characteristics of its historical background.

1． The characteristics of the period and their reflection on the design and plan of the capital

The construction of the city of Washington was one of the victorious achievements gained by the North American people who fought against the colonization of its suzerain state the Great Britain. The nature of this struggle

was fully expressed in the Declaration of Independence approved by the Second Continental Congress convened by delegates from the colonies in North America. The Declaration held "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."In the original draft there was a chapter concerning the abolition of slavery, but it was deleted for the opposition from the representatives of the State of South Carolina. Karl Marx highly esteemed the Declaration and he claimed that "[i]t is the first declaration of human rights"[10] . It was the time of the rise of capitalism in North America, and the people of all classes reacted enthusiastically to the Declaration, including the most oppressed blacks, who also joined in the struggle against the British oppressors and made significant contributions.

After the War of Independence, the ruling class of the new born country came to realize that their acquired social status and power must be further confirmed and consolidated. Hence they started the Constitution Movement, in an attempt to defend their acquired privilege by means of the establishment of the American Constitution. Two years before the founding of the United States of America, in Philadelphia, the old capital or temporary capital before the building of the city of Washington, the Constitutional Convention took place[11] and created the United States Constitution, which formulated the three divisions of power—the Legislature, the Judiciary, and the Executive, as the principle of governmental organization. Later, when L'Enfant set out to plan the construction of the new capital Washington, this principle was also adopted as the guiding line, which was shown in the layout of the three main structures of the Capitol, the White House and the Supreme Court. It is difficult to identify the exact location of the Supreme Court in today's city plan. The present Supreme Court is built to the northeast of the Capitol, not

far away from the latter. Nevertheless, such layout still indicates the idea of the division of power.

The most salient and influential feature of L'Enfant's plan is the determination of main axis line centered on the Capitol Hill, and along the axis he reserved the space for the Mall, which laid the basis for the development of the nuclear area of Washington in the future. This section of the axis resembled that part from the Scenic Hill (Jing Shan) to the Zheng Yang Men on the axis of the Old City of Beijing in its significance to the whole plan of the city. Nevertheless, the concepts represented by the two were totally different for the one in the Old City of Beijing emphasized the doctrine of "Almighty Sovereignty" while its counterpart in Washington tried to demonstrate the importance of human rights. Thus the approaches to municipal design and planning were also different. The former chose the strictly enclosed design, while the latter chose to be "completely open to all". Different concepts gave rise to different forms of expression.

2. Further development of the axis line and the objective effects of the main buildings

L'Enfant's blueprint for the design of Washington and his concept of building the city had not been appropriately noticed and appreciated for the entire century that followed. And the person who made such an outstanding contribution to the construction of Washington hadn't received appropriate acknowledgement in his lifetime either. He was very poor and destitute in the last years of his life. It was only with the financial aid and a piece of land offered by one of his friends that his body could be buried. Not until the beginning of this century were his talent and achievement acknowledged and his remains moved to the National Cemetery of Arlington and buried on top of the hill in 1909. On the headstone was carved the draft plan of the capital

as a memorial to his achievement. Looking to the east from the tomb of L'Enfant, one can see the Mall situated on the original axis line as designed by him across the Potomac between the Lincoln Memorial and the United States Capitol. In fact, one can see all the important buildings laid out in the plan. Indeed, there is no better place for L'Enfant to have his permanent rest.

It seems advisable for us to recall some of the incidents that occurred during the one hundred years of the nineteenth century on the Mall to the west of Capitol Hill.

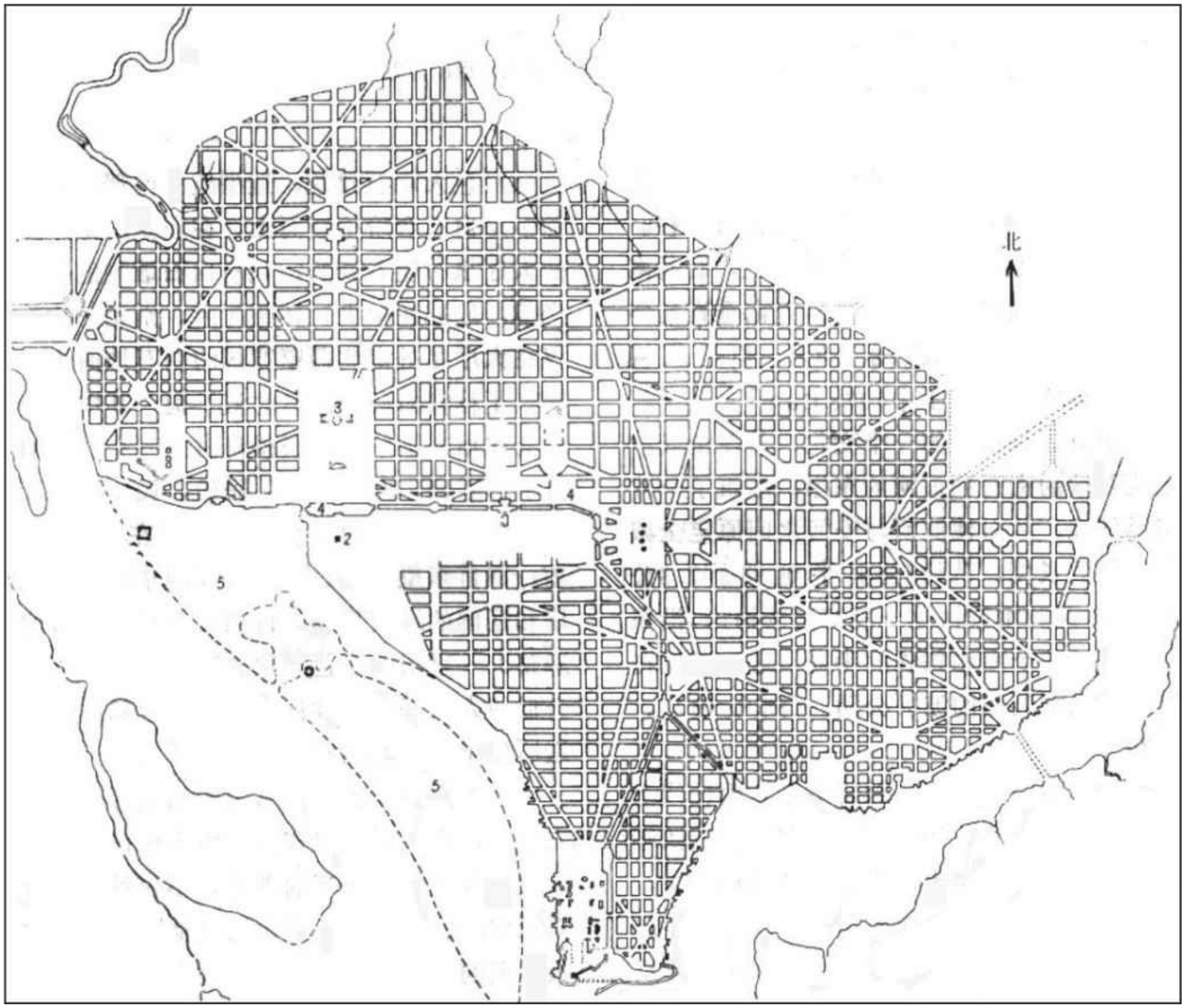
One, L'Enfant's plan to canalize the Tiber River to reach the foot of Capitol Hill had never been taken into serious consideration. As a result, the Tiber became a stinky sewer for litter and rubbish and was filled up and abandoned later. What remained to the date is a small sluice shed not far from the White House, marking the originally designated site of the canal.

Two, the Smithsonian Institution was built in 1847 without reference to L'Enfant's design of the boundary of the Mall, and the Institution went so far as to be situated inside the Mall. A proposal had once been made to tear down the building, but was turned down for the preservation of historical relics and architecture.

Three, the designated location of the White House was moved further westward to its present site.

Four, the present Washington Monument is not built on the originally planned spot due to the weak foundation there. It is now 40 meters south to the original site, and therefore not on the city's central axis line according to the original design. Nor does it fall on the perpendicular line leading southward from the White House, but is 120 meters east of that line. However, one would have such a visual impression that the Monument is still on the horizontal axis line.

Five, the most important change is that the marshy lowland to the south of the western extreme of the axis on the eastern shore of the Potomac has been reclaimed. Thus the original axis line between the two rivers of the Potomac and the Anacostia was prolonged from 5.5 kilometers to 7.3 kilometers. Meanwhile, the broad riverbed of the Potomac was utilized and a narrow stretch of land reclaimed along the eastern shore from south to north, which is the present Potomac River Park beautifully dotted with lakes (Figs. 4-7, 4-8).



4-7 Reclamation of the marshland on the east shore and the shallow water area of the Potomac 波河东岸沼泽及浅水区填筑的陆地

1．Site of the Capitol Building 国会大厦址

2．The original designated location of the Washington Monument 原定华盛顿纪念塔址

3．The original designated location of the White House 原定白宫址

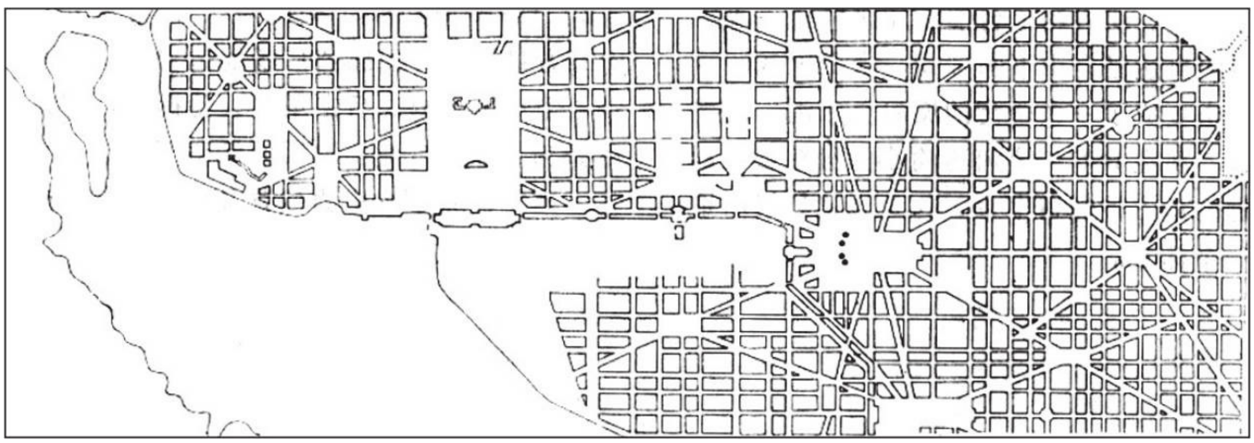
4．The Canal 运河

5．Potomac River Park 波河公园

--- The dotted lines show the riverside after reclamation. 虚线表示填筑后的河岸

□ New starting point on the east shore of the Potomac. It is the location of the Lincoln Memorial built later. 中轴线在波河东岸的新起点，即日后修建林肯纪念堂的地方

○ The site for the Jefferson Memorial built later. The site of the White House on the above diagram was later moved to a site further west on the perpendicular line north of the Jefferson Memorial. 日后修建杰斐逊纪念堂的地方，此图上的白宫位置后来也稍向西移，与杰斐逊纪念堂在一条南北垂直线上



4-8 The original eastern shoreline of the Potomac where the starting spot of the axis line was located 波河东岸中轴线起点的原始河岸线

The last change is most significant in its influence on the development of the capital's central axis line. It was on the reclaimed land on the western extreme of the central axis that the Lincoln Memorial was constructed in 1922. This signified graphically the starting point of the axis line from west to east of the capital. This horizontal axis of Washington from west to east is less than one kilometer shorter than the perpendicular axis of Old Beijing from north to south. In 1976 the Constitution Gardens on the northern side of the long narrow "Reflecting Pool" in front of the Memorial, were constructed

in order to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Independence Day.

It should be highlighted that the construction of the Lincoln Memorial has not only further developed the original central axis designed by L'Enfant, but also furnished the underlying theme embodied by the central axis line with a new implication. The Lincoln Memorial is a structure of white marble, simple and dignified. Mounting the many marble steps in front of the Memorial, one comes to see an immense white marble sculpture of President Lincoln sitting and meditating in the middle of the hall. There is no other thing or decoration around except that in the far end of the hall the two famous speeches by Lincoln were carved on the north and the south sides respectively. One contains the phrase he used to describe a government which has "a new birth of freedom," that is, "of the people, by the people, and for the people." When one comes to pay his/her respect to the Memorial, stands before the statue and looks back eastward beyond the tall Washington Monument and the great span of green lawn of the Mall to the big white dome of the Capitol, he/she would think of the great contribution President Lincoln made to the United States of America.

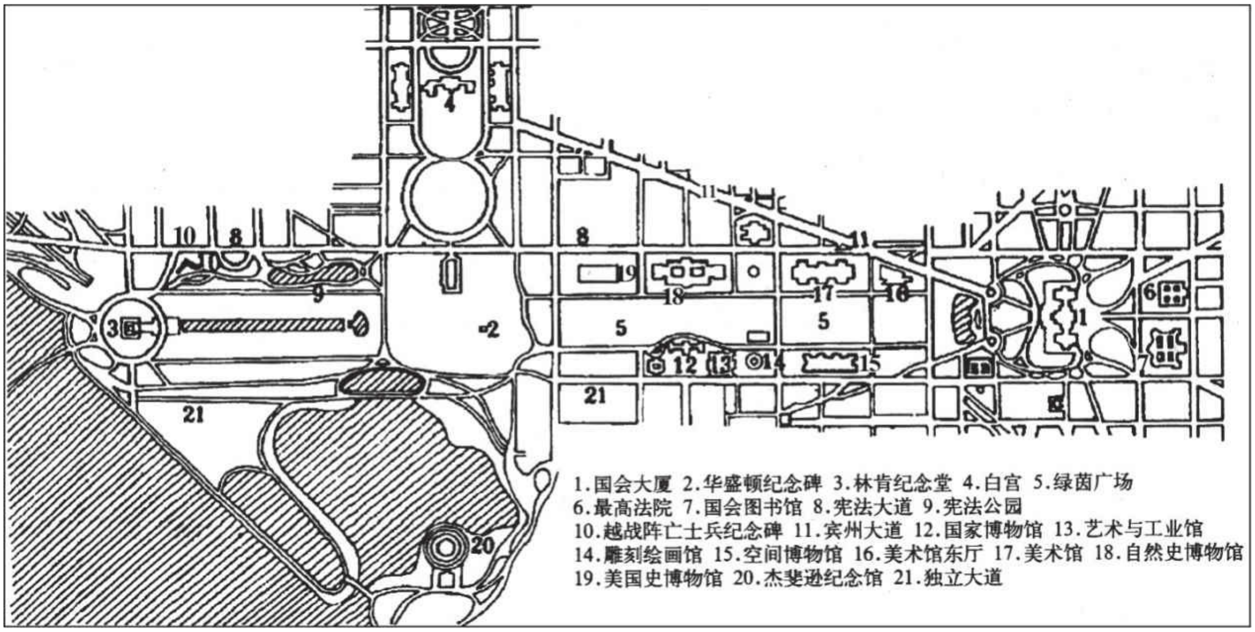
In spite of all these, we must also see that since the establishment of the Federal Government, the principles of human rights and the ideal that all men are born free and equal as expressed in the Declaration of Independence not only had not been truly realized, but the internal conflicts had become even more serious. Among them the major one was the rivalry between the North as represented by the employers of laborers, and the South as represented by the owners of slaves. When Lincoln was elected President of America in 1860, he declared his strong opposition to slavery, and issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. By that time the Civil War had broken out, and the issue of the Proclamation made the situation even more tense. Although

the North army won the final victory, Lincoln, after being elected President for the second time in November, 1864, was assassinated by a killer sent by Southern slave owners in April, 1865.

Although the struggle led by President Lincoln saved the United States from falling apart, the problem of racial discrimination still existed. In 1866, the year after Lincoln was assassinated, a group of Southern racists established a reactionary organization called the KKK(Ku-Klux-Klan), which brutally attacked and murdered black people. In August, 1963, the well-known anti-racism activist, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his famous speech "I Have a Dream" before over two hundred thousand people in front of the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Unfortunately, he got assassinated by racists in April, 1968 when he went to Memphis, Tennessee to support a strike for equal pay for equal work, his "dream" yet realized by a long way.

Symbolically the construction of the Lincoln Memorial at the starting point of the central axis of the capital is a further development of the underlying theme prescribed by L'Enfant in his plan, that is, the idea of human rights. However, this ideal has never been fulfilled. Karl Marx once commented on the revolution led by Lincoln that it was "an earnest of a new epoch to come" and that "it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world."[12] It is nevertheless an undeniable fact that the "new epoch to come" remains an age the American people have to strive for (Fig. 4-9).

3. A problem provoking further thinking



4-9　The Mall of Washington on the axis line　华盛顿城中轴线上的绿茵广场

1．The Congress

2．Washington Monument

3．Lincoln Memorial

4．The White House

5．National Mall

6．Supreme Court

7．Library of Congress

8．Constitution Avenue

9．Constitution Gardens

10．The Vietnam Veterans Memorial

11．Pennsylvania Avenue

12．Smithsonian Institution

13．Arts and Industries Building

14．Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

15．National Air and Space Museum

16. National Gallery of Art East Building
17. National Gallery of Art
18. National Museum of Natural History
19. National Museum of American History
20. Jefferson Memorial
21. Independence Avenue

In a warm and sunny morning in the spring of 1980, I visited the Lincoln Memorial for the first time. It impressed me so deeply both emotionally and mentally that the memories never faded away. Later, I visited the United States three times and every time I paid my respects to the Lincoln Memorial to recapture the feeling that I had got on my first visit, no matter how pressing my schedule was. In the summer of 1984 when I visited there again, I came across a statue of three soldiers on the lawn unexpectedly in front of the Memorial in the west of the Constitution Gardens. When I approached the statue, I realized that it was a monument that honors U.S. service members who fought and died in the Vietnam War after the Second World War. The design of the memorial is an open lawn in a wide V shape which gradually sinks towards the interior angle beneath the ground. Along the two sides are two walls made of black gabbro, that is, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, on which are etched the names of the more than fifty thousand Americans dead in the Vietnam War with their rankings. As one walked down along the wall and looked at the names, a mournful sense would well up in the heart, so it was also called "America's Wailing Wall." One wing of the V-shaped memorial pointed to the Washington Monument in the southeast, and the other to the Lincoln Memorial in the southwest. This ingenious design was the work of a ChineseAmerican architect Maya Lin.[13] The implication of this design is also thought-provoking, for the American

people had strongly protested sending troops to Vietnam and deemed the war as unjust. The site chosen for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is on the Mall along the central axis. Looking down the extension of the two walls, one can see the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial in the distance, which would remind one of the vast discrepancy in nature between the ideals embraced by the founding fathers of the United States of America and the unjust Vietnam War. When I, a foreign visitor, stood on the axis of the city of Washington and saw this memorial there, I could not help but think of the difficulties and hardships the common people of America must overcome in order to realize the ideals of their founding fathers.

IV. Other Mountain's Stone May Polish the Jade—Some Examples Which Can Be Referred to in the Construction of Washington

Right from the very beginning of urban construction, the sister cities of Beijing and Washington both tried their best to express their underlying concepts in the design of the central axis line. In spite of the differences in their historical background, they both aim to reflect the spirit of their ages. At the present time, the urban development of the two cities has far exceeded the original design and plan. Although the city walls of Old Beijing have been torn down and the city expanded rapidly to the areas which used to be outside the city, the Old City is still the nucleus of the overall plan for a new Beijing. The case is the same with Washington which has also exceeded the original limits of the two rivers and the northern highland, but the L'Enfant City still serves as the heart of the plan of the whole city. For Beijing, with the reformation of the social system in China, the problems that it was confronted with in its construction are much different from those for Washington. The

most urgent task which should be addressed in its planning and construction is how to preserve the best of tradition and at the same time to add new conceptual elements, in order to reflect the initiation of a new era of socialism. In this respect, the issue of the central axis line is most delicate and important. For example, the transformation of Tian An Men Square is successful in this sense. Furthermore, while considering inheriting the best tradition of China to utilize the old for the benefit of the present, we must also try our best to absorb the best of foreign experience for the benefit of China. We must concede that regarding the issue of urban construction, capitalist countries have a lot of experience worthy of learning, only it is necessary for us to know how to differentiate the truly advanced experience from the bad and to keep away from copying blindly. To learn indiscriminately would bring nothing but harms. Take the plan of Washington for example. Layout of all the buildings along the central axis line and their functions are properly regulated, on which lessons could be drawn. The Capitol stands on the central point of the axis and all other buildings in the city are not allowed to be built higher than it, which contributes to a special skyline of the city. The space stretching from the Capitol westward to the Mall in front of the Washington Monument is wide and level, commanding a broad view. To the south and north of the Mall, museums and galleries are arranged in order. On the southern side, there are the National Air and Space Museum, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, the Smithsonian Institution (which contains an exhibition on the history of the capital planning) and others. On the northern side are the National Gallery of Art, the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of American History and further north is the National Archives. To the southeast of the Capitol is the world famous Library of

Congress with its recently built annex building, standing side by side with the Supreme Court on a north-south line. The heart of the capital here is a concentration of the characteristics of Washington as the national centre of political and cultural activities. The design of the capital in its entirety is of dignity and diversity. All the museums and galleries on either side of the axis, though of the relatively same height, differ from one another in their architectural designs, varying from the classic redbrick-castle style of the Smithsonian Institution to the ultra-modern design of the National Air and Space Museum—they all express the characteristics of their age. And among them the most renowned is the East Wing extension to the National Gallery of Art built recently. This site used to be a piece of triangular land at the northeastern corner of the Mall not far from the Capitol Hill, making it not only the most important but also subtle to deal with in architectural design. Here the world famous Chinese-American architect Ieoh Ming Pei showed his talent and designed a unique building which adds charm to the Mall.

The above discussion reminds me of the construction of the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution during the transformation of Tian An Men Square on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of New China, as mentioned earlier, which highlighted the identity of Beijing as the national cultural center besides its position of the national political center. However, at that time the dual role of this capital had not been fully recognized or elaborated. Considering the great significance of construction of the spiritual civilization and the requirements of building Beijing as the national cultural center, the overall design and planning of the city should be drawn on the basis of the historical characteristics of the layout of Beijing. The design of the central part along the axis line of Washington discussed above can serve as one of the examples

for us.

Translated by Cheung Hon Cha

July 11th, 1988

肆　从北京到华盛顿——城市设计主题思想试探*

北京和华盛顿是社会制度完全不同的两个国家的首都，但在城市的规划设计上，却各有千秋。从历史的发展来看，北京和华盛顿尽管在开始营建的年代上相去很远，但是在规划设计上，却各有自己深厚的文化历史渊源。北京城原有的规划设计，可以说是封建社会时期我国都城建设的一个杰出典型。华盛顿城中心部分的规划设计，从建国之初开始，就继承了自16世纪“文艺复兴”盛行以来欧洲城市建设的优良传统，堪称资本主义上升时期西方国家都城规划的一个光辉范例。

我国在封建王朝衰落之后，又经历了灾难深重的半殖民地半封建社会，现在已经进入了建设有中国特色的社会主义的新时代。

美国作为一个高度发达的资本主义国家，还在沿着它原有的道路徘徊前进，甚至伸张其势力于域外。

因此，这两个首都作为两个国家历史文化集中表现的地方，在其规划设计上所面临的问题，也就各不相同了。

在过去的规划设计上，北京和华盛顿既有形式上的类似之处，又有本质上的区别和差异。在形式上的类似之处，最突出的一点，就是两者从建城之始就各自选定了一条中轴线作为全城设计的出发点。在本质上的区别和差异，则在于两个城市在其最初规划设计上，由于社会性质的根本不同，所力图表达的主题思想，也就大不一样了。

一、北京城

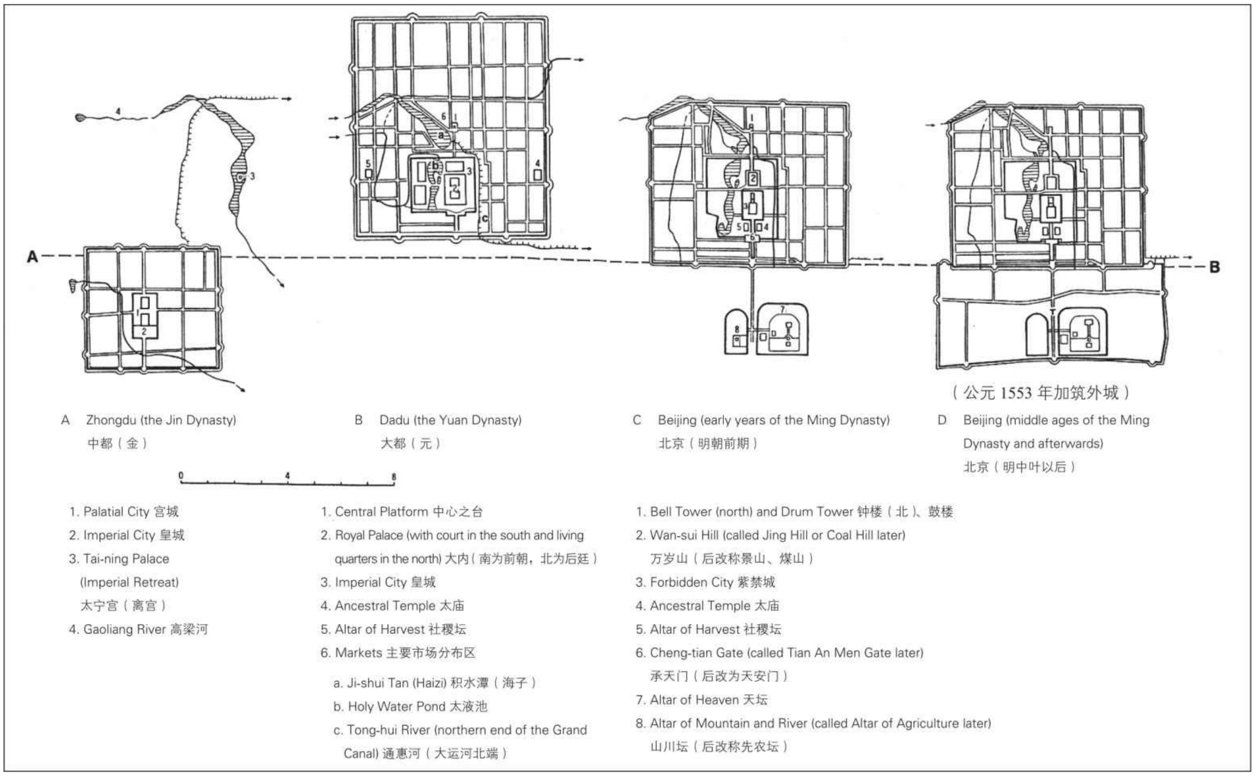
（一）今城的建址与城址的演变

北京城原始聚落的起源，距今已有三千多年。早期的城址原在今城

的西南部。今城的建设则是七百二十年前（即公元1267年）才开始的。当时选择了古代高梁河上的一带天然湖泊作为中心进行规划设计，建设新城，这就是元朝的大都城。明朝初年又历经改建，始称北京。到了明朝中叶，也就是公元1553年，又在北京城南加筑外罗城，于是又有北京内城和外城之分，各有城垣环绕，合成凸字形，面积约计62平方公里。全城的平面布局，至此定型，并且一直完整地保留到1949年新中国的诞生，这就是今天所说的北京旧城。

在北京旧城建设的过程中，城内湖泊的南半部，从一开始就圈入皇城之内，作为皇家园林的中心部分进行营建，并按照封建传统，命名为太液池。明初又在太液池南端新凿一湖，遂有南海、中海和北海之称，流传至今。至于被隔在皇城以外的原始湖泊的上游，原名积水潭。明朝初年，缩减北城，竟将积水潭的上游部分隔在城外，这就是在“十年动乱”期间才被填掉的太平湖。保留在城内的部分就是今天的什刹海，习惯上又分别叫做前海、后海和西海。前海的西南隅一部分也已被填为建筑用地。

总之，为北京旧城的建址提供了重要地理条件的原始湖泊，今天虽然已经不是本来的面貌，却仍然占有十分重要的地位，并且已经有贯通南北六海（即南部的南海、中海、北海和北部的前海、后海、西海）的设想，纳入北京城的总体规划之中。为了便于揭示北京旧城城市设计的主题思想，应将北京旧城河湖水系的变迁与城址的演变，作图说明（图4-1）。



4-1　City sites of old Beijing (from Zhongdu City in the Jin Dynasty to Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties)　北京旧城址变迁（金中都到明清北京）

（Broken line from A to B is a reference line to demonstrate the relative positions of city sites vertically　AB间虚线表示城址南北移动的相对位置）

（二）城市设计的主题思想

从插图中可以明显地看到北京旧城的轮廓虽然从长方形到凸字形经过了几次变化，但是自北而南隐然存在的纵贯全城的中轴线，只有延长，并无改变。实际上这条中轴线，也正是全城平面设计的依据。在内城是如此，在外城也不例外。因为外城城垣未建之前，就先已于1420年兴建了天坛和山川坛（后改称先农坛）这两组建筑。其东西并列的位置，显然是由内城中轴线的延长部分所决定的，后来加筑外城（1553年），终于出现了纵贯内外两城长达8公里的新轴线，并且给人一种整体感，好像内外两城是同时设计，一气呵成的。这也显示出凸字形的城

垣轮廓，比起任何一种矩形轮廓（如元大都和明初北京城的轮廓），更能给人以一种稳定感。正是这种全城平面布局上的特点，从美学观点上引起了西方建筑学家和城市规划学者的无限赞叹。丹麦的S. E. Rasmussen称道说："北京城乃是世界的奇观之一，它的布局匀称而明朗，是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。"[1] 美国的E. N. Bacon又推崇它"可能是地球表面上人类最伟大的单项工程……它的平面设计是如此之杰出，这就为今天的城市建设提供了丰富的可供参考的实例"。同时他还曾用黄蓝两色把这条中轴线连同和它并列的一带湖泊，突出地显示在全城淡灰色的平面图上，给人以十分突出的印象。[2] 然而更加值得注意的却是隐然支配着这整个平面设计的主题思想，从其建筑上来说有最重要的两点，须分别加以说明如下：

1．城垣建筑与城市设计的关系

根据我国的历史传统，最初的城市，都有城垣，因此"城"这个字有双重含义，既指城市，又指城垣，有时还可用作动词，如《诗·小雅·出车》："城彼朔方"，即指在朔方筑城，而城垣的修筑，又与整个城市的规划设计密切联系在一起。例如，成书于春秋时期（公元前770—前476）的《周礼·考工记》在"匠人营国"一节中，总结了周初以来营建国都的经验，又加以规范化，并做了如下的描述：

> 匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九纬，经涂九轨。左祖右社，面朝后市。

这段记载的大意是说：国都的营建，应是一座方城，每边长九里，各有三门。城内纵横大道各九条。左有太庙，右有社稷坛。面向外朝，后为市场。这里不言而喻的是帝王的朝廷位居全城的中央。关于这一点，贺业钜在《考工记营国制度研究》一书中有所说明，摘录如下：

> 为什么要把宫廷区布置在全城中心，这和周人所崇奉的"择中论"的规划思想是分不开的。"择中论"是我国奴隶社会选择国都位置的规划理论，

> 这种理论认为择天下之中建王“国”（即国都），既便于四方贡献，更有利于控制四方。[3]

这一说明指出了国都设计的理论根据，值得注意。按中国历代都城的建设，只有元大都城的规划设计和上述“匠人营国”的描述最为近似。这自然与大都城的主要设计人刘秉忠有直接关系。刘秉忠原名侃，是位熟通经史而又务实的学者，曾设坛讲学于太行山中，元代著名天文历算学家、水利学家郭守敬即出其门下。蒙古首领忽必烈入主中原，建立元朝之前，曾命刘侃在今滦河上游闪电河北岸设计兴建开平城（后改称上都，今遗址尚在），深得忽必烈赏识，因赐名秉忠。1260年忽必烈进驻当时金朝中都城，也就是在北京原始聚落上发展起来的最后一座大城，1267年决定在中都城外东北郊一座湖上离宫（太宁宫）的周围，另建大都新城，仍然任命刘秉忠为主要负责人。郭守敬也被推荐参与其事，特别是在河湖水系的利用与大运河的修建上，做出了卓越的贡献。

这里需要指出的是大都城垣，南北纵长，而非正方，与“匠人营国”的规划稍有区别，这显然是由于在全城的平面布局上要充分利用河湖水系的结果。其次是“大内”（相当于后日的紫禁城）的寝宫，并不在全城的正中央，也与“匠人营国”所暗示的不尽一致，而是稍向南移，但是仍然处于全城设计的中轴线上，也是合乎“择中论”的规划思想的。

元大都建成之后直到明中叶北京外城的兴建，其平面布局历经改造，与“匠人营国”所描写的原始形制，已经相去甚远，但是它所体现的基本内容，却依然未变。不仅如此，它所传达的主题思想却更加突出、更加明显。这一主题思想就集中表现在两度延长的全城中轴线上。因此这条全城中轴线的设计和它所集中表现的思想内容，正是本文所应该进一步探讨的核心问题。

2．全城中轴线设计的含义及其历史文化渊源

北京旧城的中轴线在全城平面布局上的艺术效果，虽然屡为中外规

划学家所称道，但是它的含义及其发生和演变的历史文化渊源，还有待进一步阐明。

拙作《论北京旧城的改造》[4]一文已经说明在元朝国号未建以前兴建大都城时，首先在积水潭的东北岸上确定了全城布局的几何中心，就地刻石立碑，命名为“中心之台”，然后以中心台为起点，紧傍积水潭东岸，定下了全城设计的中轴线，从而把宫城“大内”，恰好布置在太液池东岸，也就是中轴线的中间部位上，其结果是大内的前朝大明殿与后宫延春阁，也就占据了全城最重要的位置，这就十分突出地显示了这条中轴线在全城设计上的主题思想，如果用文字来说明，那就是封建帝王的“唯我独尊”。至于宗庙社稷这两组具有象征意义的建筑群，遵照“匠人营国”的原则，相应地布置在大内左右，也就是东西两面城垣的内侧。其后经过明朝的改建，内城的几何中心虽然由原来的中心台南移到景山中峰（也就是元朝延春阁的旧址），宗庙社稷两组建筑也分别移到紫禁城前的左右两侧，结果是全城中轴线在设计上的主题思想，不仅没有减弱，反而加强。特别是随着南郊天坛和山川坛的兴建，中轴线又继续向南延长，终于使得它在全城平面布局上的支配地位更加突出，它所代表的主题思想也就更加显明。

但是在这里必须进一步说明的一个问题，就是在北京旧城平面设计上不断得到发展的中轴线，它的自北而南的垂直走向是怎样确定下来的？这个问题看似简单，实际上却涉及我国都城在规划设计上的一个基本定向的问题，那就是城市布局的主导方向，一定要面向正南。由此而派生出来的一个封建统治者的正统观念，就是所谓“面南而王”。这个“面南而王”的思想，在城市的规划设计上最初体现出来始于何时，没有直接的文献记载可供参考，但至少《周礼·考工记》的“匠人营国”一节，已经间接说明了当时的城市建设计划，其主导方向必是面向正南。因此在文中讲到国都的平面布局时，只用“左祖”与“右社”以代表宗庙在东，社稷坛在西；只用“面朝”与“后市”以代表朝廷在南，市场在北。可

以设想，这一既定的主导方向，是早已相沿成习而后遗传下来的。关于这一点，考古发现提供了有力的佐证。迄今所见早商时代的宫殿基址，说明当时的宫殿建筑，都是正面朝南。[5] 又商代的宫殿基址中还显示出有两座殿址，不仅坐北朝南，而且前后并列，从规划上判断，应即后代“前朝后寝”的原型。[6] 其次，商代都城已发现有略呈方形的四面城垣，但宫殿建筑偏在城内东北部。[7] 有计划地把面向正南的宫殿修建在方形城垣的中央——也就是全城的中轴线上，应是到周代才成为定制的，这就是《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”所根据的传统原则。其后，到了战国末年，为秦国统一天下提供思想武器的《吕氏春秋·慎势》篇中所谓“古之王者，择天下之中而立国”的“择中论”，就是这一历史事实的反映。

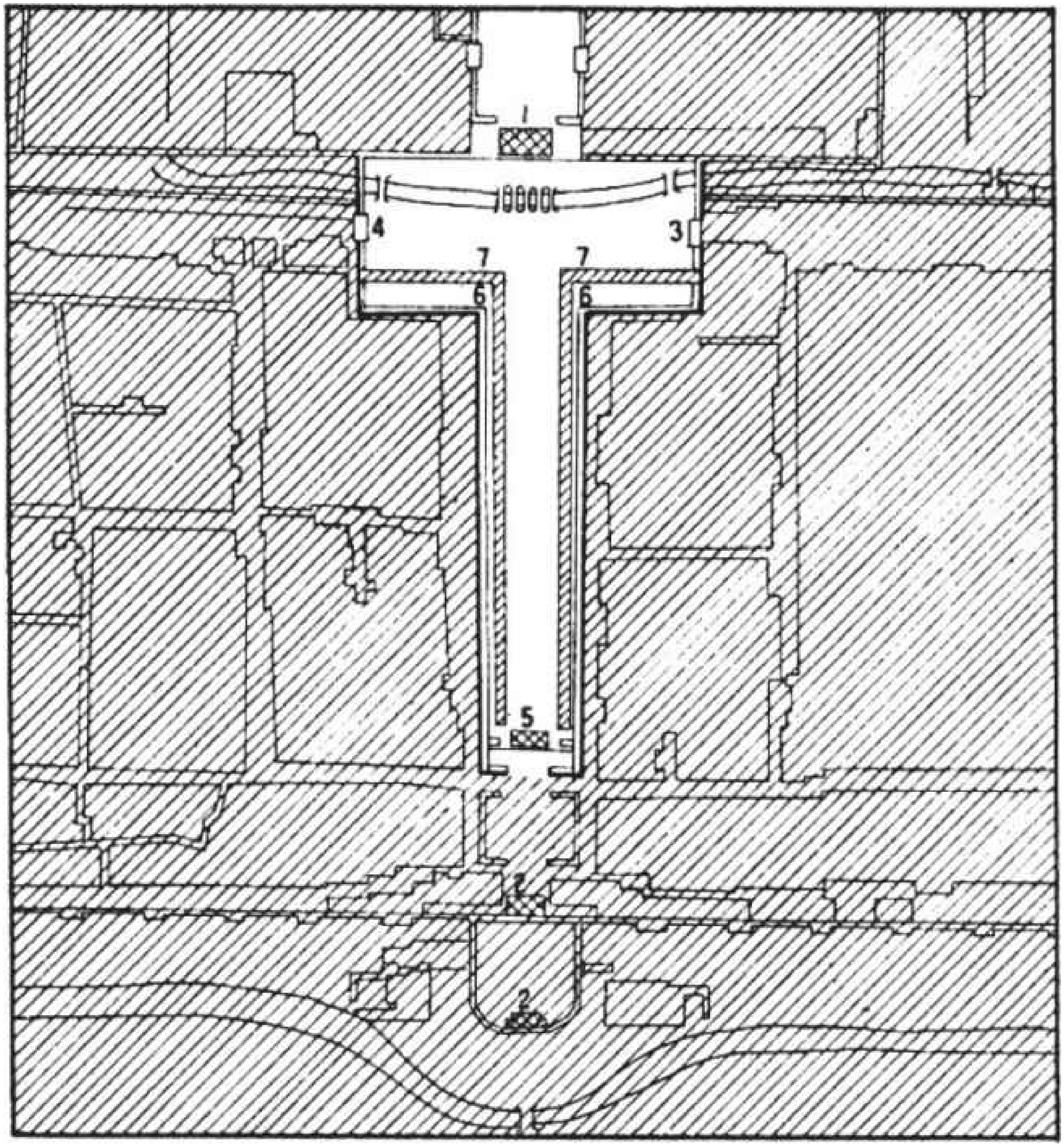
上述事实说明，在都城的规划设计上，以面向正南为主导方向，是有很深厚的历史文化渊源的。追求其原因，很显明的是和地处北温带的季风地区有关，这里冬季西北寒风强烈，气候严酷；夏季转以东南风为主，炎热多雨。为了避寒和采光，居室的设计，背北面南最为合理。因此由个体建筑扩大到城市布局，逐渐发展为面向正南作为整体设计上的主导方向，进而派生出“面南而王”的传统观念，其起源可以上溯至奴隶社会时期，到了封建社会时期，已成定型。从这一点来说，北京作为历史文化名城，它所保存下来的最大的特殊风貌，也正表现在这里。

（三）旧城改造的一项根本任务及其成就

随着新中国的诞生，又重新建都北京，它所面临的一项根本任务，应该是在力求保护这座历史文化名城的特殊风貌的同时，赋予它以新的主题思想，从而反映出新的时代精神。这是极为困难的一件事。在过去三十多年的实践中，虽然出现了一些难以挽救的损失，但是也取得了一定的成就，天安门广场的改造就是一例。

现在天安门广场的前身，原是封建王朝统治时期的一个宫廷广场，

三面筑有红墙，沿红墙内侧筑有联檐通脊的千步廊，中间广场呈“T”字形，过去只有炫耀封建帝王无上权威的重大典礼在这里举行，庶民百姓严禁涉足。因此在全城中轴线上所集中表现的封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想，首先在这里显示出来。进入天安门之后，还要穿过层层封闭的空间，才能来到紫禁城内的核心建筑，即雄踞全城之上的前朝三大殿——太和殿、中和殿、保和殿，以及后廷三大宫——乾清宫、交泰殿、坤宁宫。（图4-2）



4-2　Imperial square before Tian An Men in the Qing Dynasty　清代天安门前宫廷广场

1．Tian An Men　天安门

2．Zheng Yang Gate and Archery Tower　正阳门及其箭楼

3．Left Chang An Men　长安左门

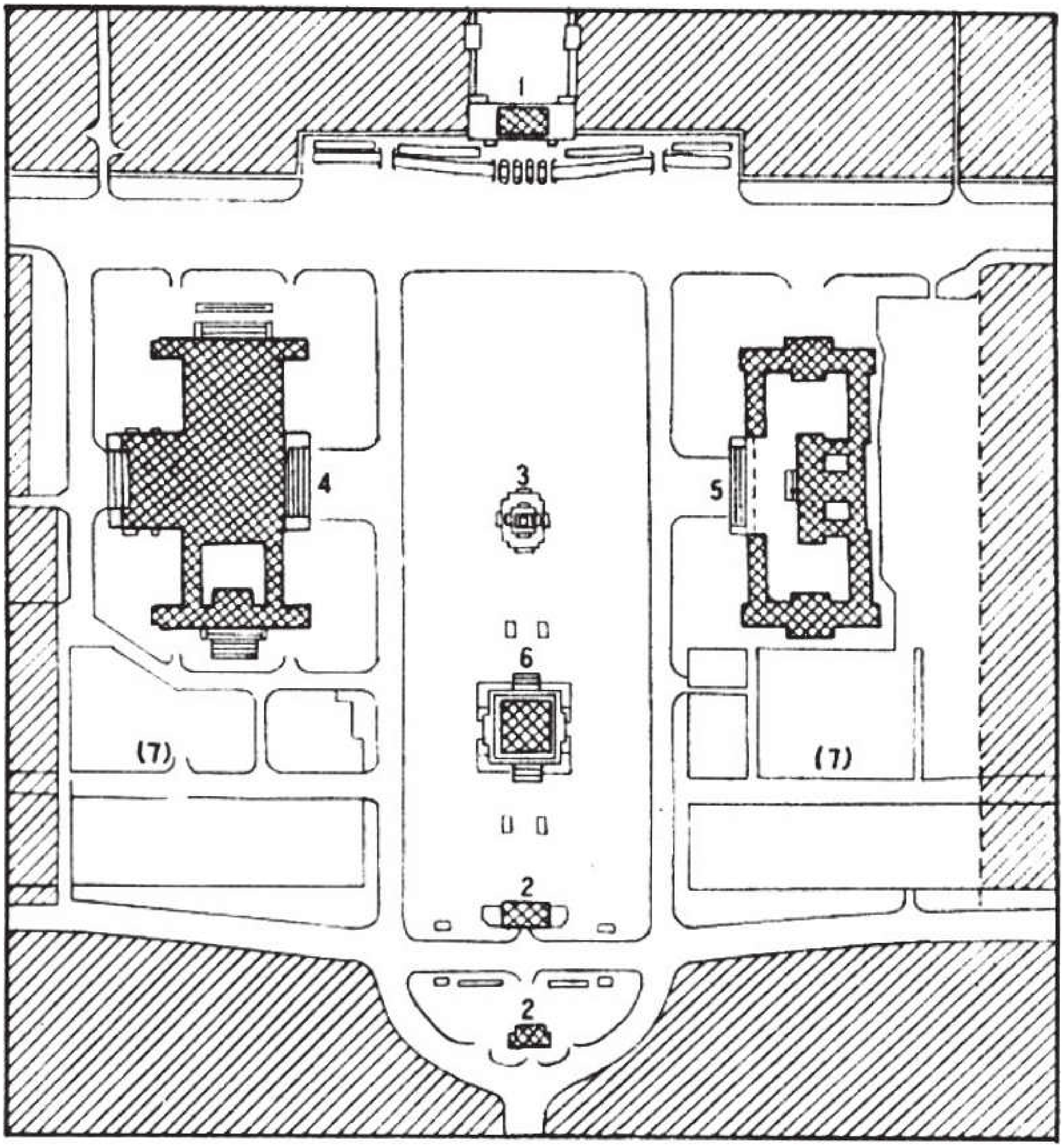
4．Right Chang An Men　长安右门

5．Da Qing Men of the Qing Dynasty　大清门

6．The Red Walls　红墙

7．A Thousand Steps Corridor　千步廊

1911年的辛亥革命推翻了历时两千多年的封建王朝的统治，天安门前的宫廷广场才得开放通行，其结果也正是在这里爆发了1919年伟大的五四运动，从而揭开了新民主主义革命的序幕。这是发生在北京城里的具有重大意义的历史事件。以此为起点，经历了整整三十年的革命斗争，在中国共产党的领导下，终于迎来了新中国的诞生。1949年10月1日万民欢庆的开国大典，选择在天安门前举行，这一事实本身就开始赋予天安门以崭新的意义，从此这座由历史上劳动人民在被迫服役下所兴建起来的庄严壮丽的古建筑，以全新的含义出现在中华人民共和国的国徽上，象征着一个古老文明的新生。但是旧日严防庶民百姓涉足广场的红墙依然存在，这就严重阻碍了日益增多的人民群众进入广场开展各项有意义的活动。广场的改造，势在必行。为了迎接建国十周年的纪念日，开始对天安门广场进行了大规模的改造。旧日的红墙被彻底清除，广场的面积因之大为扩展。又在东西两侧分别兴建起中国历史与中国革命博物馆和代表人民权力中心的人民大会堂。广场中央巍然矗立起人民英雄纪念碑，从此天安门广场开始以崭新的面貌出现在人们面前，其地点依旧而气象一新，它在旧日设计上所力求表达的“帝王至上”的主题思想，已经完全为一个崭新的主题思想所代替，这就是“人民至上”。尽管现在天安门广场尚有若干细节有待改进，但是它的基本格局已定。在旧城原有的中轴线上它所体现出来的新时代的主题思想，是身临广场的任何人都感受到的，因此应该承认它的改造是成功的（图4-2、4-3）。



4-3　The enlarged Tian An Men Square after the founding of New China　新中国成立后扩建的天安门广场

1．Tian An Men天安门

2．Qian Men (Zheng Yang Men) and Archery Tower　前门（正阳门）及其箭楼

3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑

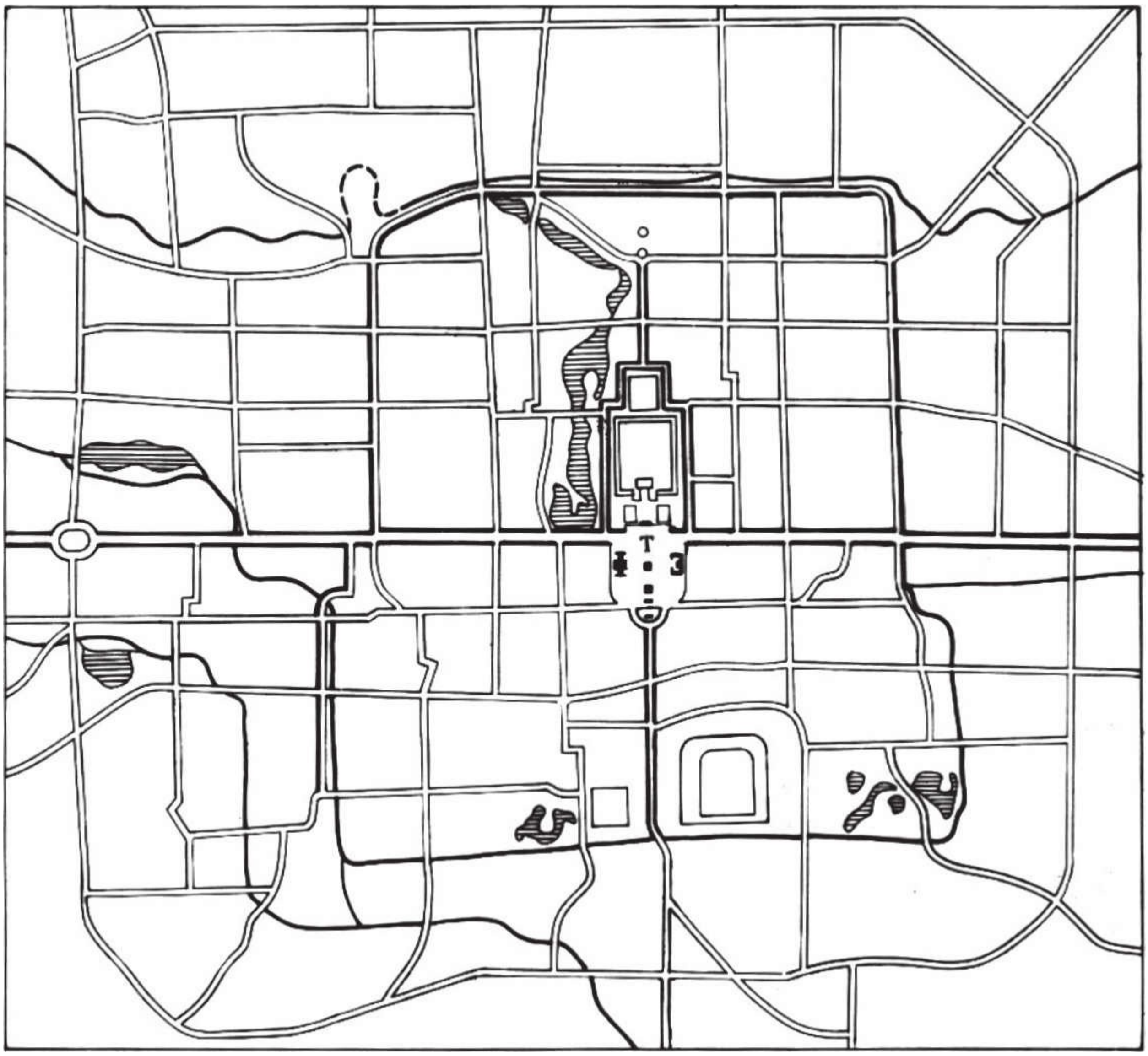
4．Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂

5．Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution　中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆

6．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂

7．Dong and Xi Jiao Min Xiang　东、西交民巷

不仅如此，随着天安门广场的左右两翼在东西长安街原有的基础上又扩建和延长，从而形成了一条横贯新北京全城的东西轴线，既抵消了那条自北而南的旧轴线在全城布局上独一无二的支配地位，同时也就产生了一种宏观效果，即把旧日全城中心的紫禁城，推移到了类似天安门广场“后院”的位置上，这就更加符合它作为“故宫博物院”的作用。上述的客观效果，从城市的平面布局上来看都是明显可见的。北京城作为全国政治中心的城市特点，已经在改造后的天安门广场上充分显示出来（图4-4）。



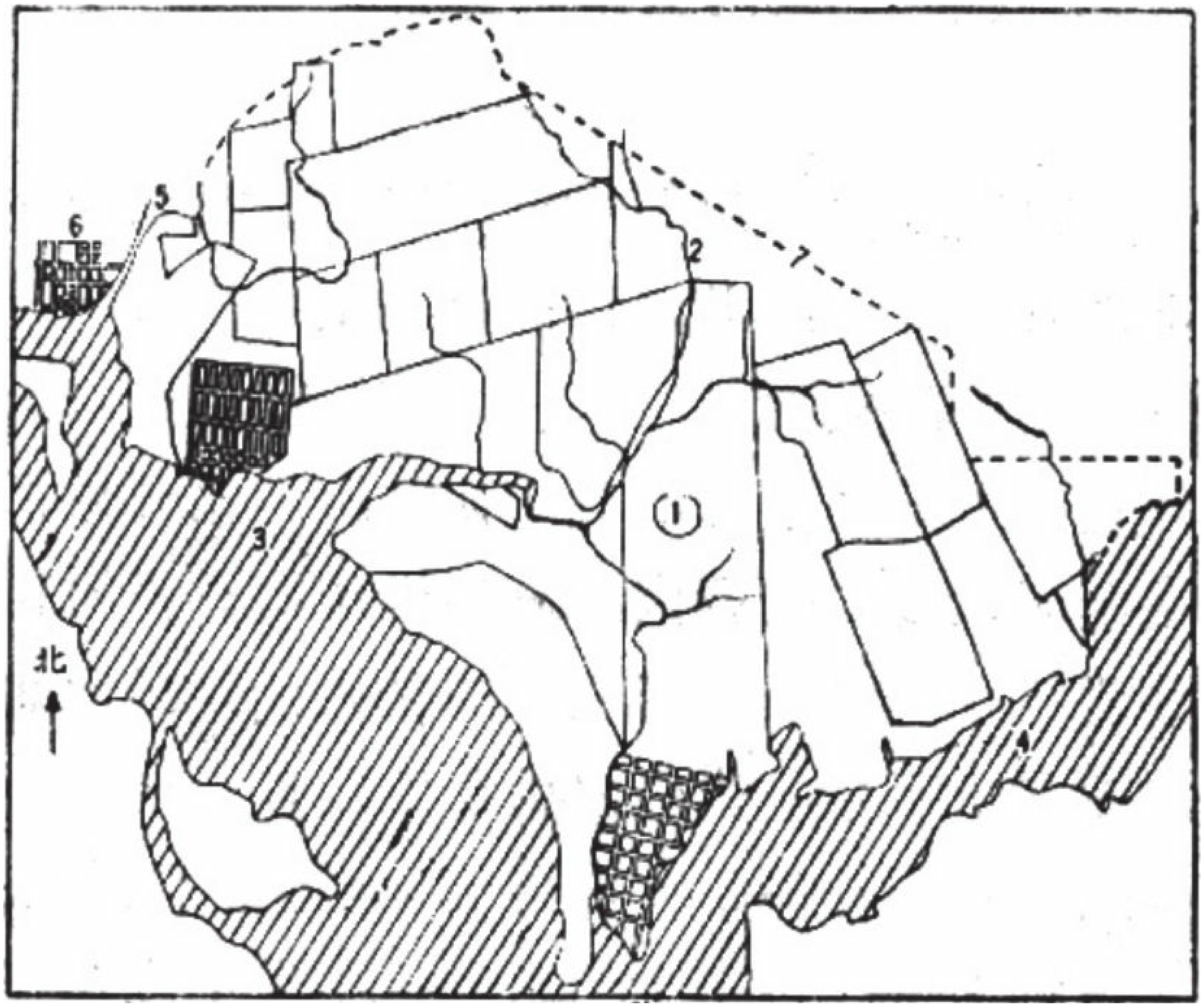
4-4 Boulevards extending eastward and westward from Tian An Men Square respectively—East and West Chang An Streets 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道——东、西长安街

关于北京旧城城市设计的主题思想以及它的改造和发展，就先写到这里。以下想就华盛顿城市设计的主题思想，从比较的观点上，再做些探讨。

二、华盛顿城

（一）城址的选择与城市的初步设计

华盛顿城城址的选择和着手规划是从1791年（清乾隆五十六年）初开始的。当时离美利坚合众国的建国（1783）也只有八年。 [8] 建国之初，定都问题颇有争议，迟迟难以决定。最后国会授权合众国第一任总统华盛顿选址建城。经过他本人的实地考察，终于选定了现在的城址。地当大西洋海岸中部，位于波托马克河（以下简称波河）与其东岸支流（以下简称阿河）之间的三角地带，地形平坦，微有起伏，中央最突出的一个小山丘，当时叫做詹金斯山，周围地界纵横，都属私产。大部分林莽丛生，间有沼泽，尚未完全开垦。两河间三角地带的北部，地形逐渐隆起，有几条小河，顺地形坡度下注，其中主要的一条原名鹅溪，流经詹金斯山下，西转注入波河。三角地的尖端和西北隅，各有一个小居民点，虽有方格状的街道见于最初测量的地图上，但住户寥寥无几。只有西北角上隔着一条石溪，遥遥相望的乔治镇算是这一地区一个真正的居民点了（图4-5）。



4-5　Site of Washington with the boundary lines of private properties　华盛顿城址初定时私人地产界线

1．Jenkins Hill　詹金斯山

2．Goose Creek　鹅溪

3．Potomac River　波河

4．Anacostia River　阿河

5．Rock Creek　石溪

6．Georgetown　乔治镇

7．Borderline of the highland in the north　北部高地边缘

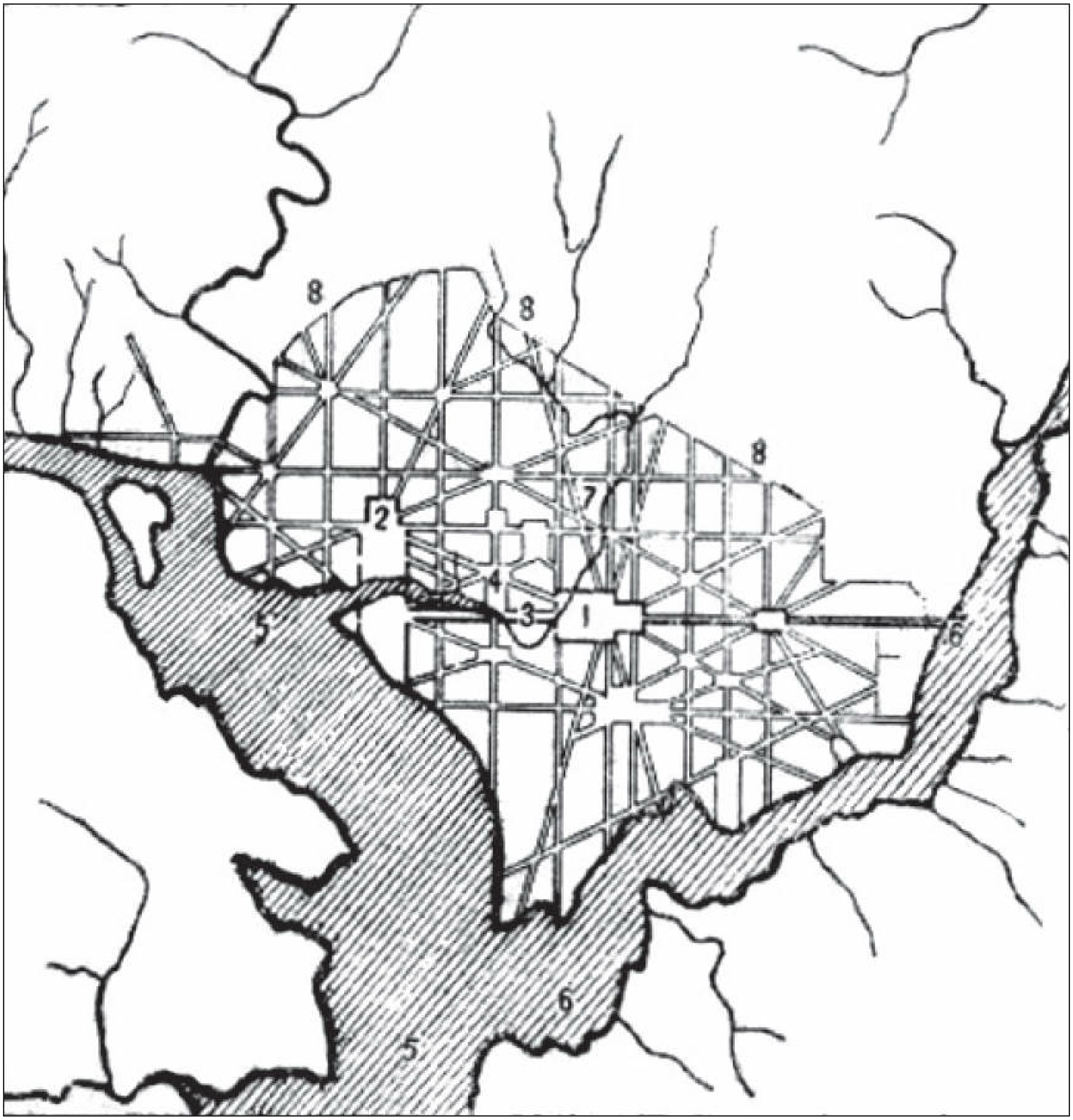
（This chart is a simplified copy of the original chart made in 1792 from a book kept in National Archives of the United States.　根据美国国家档案馆藏1792年旧图书复制品加以简化）

城址选定之后，经过安德鲁·埃利科特的初步测量，即由皮埃尔·夏尔·朗方负责进行规划设计。朗方是位热情奔放又富有才华的法籍工程师，年方37岁。父亲原是法国凡尔赛的宫廷艺术家，朗方儿时就在那里居住过。年长肄业于他父亲任教的巴黎皇家绘画雕刻学院。1777年朗方和其他的法国志愿人员，远涉重洋来到北美洲，支援英国殖民地人民正在进行的独立战争，在军事工程中，深得当时陆军统帅华盛顿的赏识，并获得少校军衔。1791年初他接受规划首都的任务，以充沛的精力、惊人的速度，在同年8月底完成了他的规划设计，上报华盛顿总统。他在开始工作之初，就一眼看中了詹金斯山，认为这正是联邦政府中心建筑的天然基座，可以称得上是天造地设了。这座中心建筑经过后日的不断营建，就是现在最引人注目的国会大厦，詹金斯山的名称也早已为“国会山”所代替。

以国会山为中心，朗方拟定了全城设计的中轴线，西起波河东岸，东至阿河西岸，全长约5.5公里，沿这条中轴线的西段，也就是从国会山以西至当时波河东岸，保留为一条开阔的绿地，供人民群众游息其间，几经规划发展，这就是现在有名的绿茵广场。至于总统府也就是现在“白宫”的选址，并不在中轴线上，而是在绿茵广场西头的北侧（后来又稍向西移到现在的位置），由此南望，视野开阔，可以遥见波河下游的浩瀚水面。至于国会山与总统府之间，则由一条斜向的大道直接连接起来，这就是现在的宾夕法尼亚大道。自西而东横贯全城的中轴线在全城的平面布局上，显然占有支配地位，预定的绿茵广场，位置尤为突出。至于全城街道系统，纵横交错，或正交，或斜交，交接点上又多布置有大小广场。流经市中心区的鹅溪，其下游注入波河的一段，紧傍预

定的绿茵广场的北侧，计划加以渠化，改为直通国会山下的运河，因仿罗马古城中的小河，改名为台伯河。

全城的规划，南半部以两河为界，北半部以高地边缘为界，现在的华盛顿城，就是在这一规划的基础上不断扩展而逐渐兴建起来的。如果当初没有朗方的设计，也就不会有今天以其中心地区宏伟壮观的空间布局而闻名于世的华盛顿城。因此，现在华盛顿城中心部分，还有人称之为“朗方城”（图4-6）。[9]



4-6　Washington, as it was chosen to be the capital, with the central axis and main thoroughfares as designed by L'Enfant　华盛顿城址初定时的地形示意图及朗方设计的全城中轴线及主要街道轮廓

1．Congress　国会

2．White House　白宫（总统府）

3．The green area of the Mall on the horizontal axis　全城中轴线上的绿茵带

4．Pennsylvania Avenue　宾夕法尼亚大道

5．Potomac River　波河

6．Anacostia River　阿河

7．Goose Greek (Tiber River)　鹅溪（台伯河）

8．The boundary region of the upland in the north　北部高地边缘

（The above diagram is a copy of the Ellicott's survey map from 1793.　根据1793埃利科特测量图绘）

在这里，不妨先将北京旧城与华盛顿城在规划设计的轮廓上做一对比，这或许有助于读者更好地了解以下的讨论。

首先值得注意的有两点：

第一，两者各有一条中轴线。北京旧城的中轴线自北而南，紧傍一带天然湖泊的东岸。其主导方向如前所述，虽有自然因素的制约，更有深厚的历史文化渊源。华盛顿城的中轴线，自西而东，正好介于两河之间，纯粹是自然条件所决定，不受任何历史文化传统的制约。

第二，北京旧城的规划设计，四面城垣是其有机的组成部分。华盛顿城的规划设计，则完全以河流与高地边缘为界限，没有必要修筑城垣，也没有修筑城垣的传统。实际上在美国就没有一个城市是建有城垣的。

上述区别，虽然只是表面现象，却也反映了我国和西方文化传统上的一些差异。当然更重要的是这一差异在设计的主题思想上也同样地反映出来。北京城在设计上的主题思想，已如上述，在这里仅就华盛顿城在城市设计上的主题思想，试做一些探讨。

（二）城市设计主题思想试探

北京旧城城市设计的主题思想，胚胎于我国奴隶社会的商周时期，

到了东周，就以《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”的文字描述表达出来。中央集权的封建王朝形成之后，在都城的建设上“帝王至上”的主题思想，曾有过不同形式的表现。及至元朝大都城的兴建，在继承《周礼·考工记》所描述的形制的同时，又结合了地方上河湖水系分布的特点，遂为明清北京城奠定了基础。应该说北京旧城的规划设计乃是我国长达两千多年封建王朝都城建设的最高典型。

华盛顿城市建设的时代背景，和北京旧城完全不同，在探讨其城市设计的主题思想时，应该首先从它建都时期的时代特征讲起。

1．时代特征及其在城市设计上的初步反映

华盛顿城的建设，是北美洲人民团结起来反抗宗主国英国的殖民统治从而取得了胜利的结果之一，这一斗争由北美殖民地代表召开的大陆会议所通过的《独立宣言》充分表达出来。《独立宣言》宣称：人人生而平等，人民享有生存、自由和谋求幸福的天赋权力不可侵犯等等。在宣言的初稿中，原来还有反对奴隶制的一条，只因南卡罗来纳州的代表反对而被删去。马克思曾高度评价这一宣言，认为这是“第一个人权宣言”[10]。这时北美正处于资本主义上升时期，《独立宣言》在各阶层的人民群众中得到了强烈的反应，包括最受压迫的黑人在内，都卷入了革命斗争的行列，并做出了重要的贡献。

独立战争结束以后，美国统治阶级逐渐感觉到必须进一步巩固本阶级的阶级地位和权力，从而又发起了制宪运动，企图利用宪法作为手段以维护其既得利益。在美利坚合众国正式建国前两年，在费城（全名费拉德尔菲亚，为华盛顿兴建之前的临时都城，因称故都）召开制宪会议[11]，制定联邦共和国宪法，以立法、司法、行政三权分立作为国家机构的组织原则。其后，朗方着手于进行新建首都华盛顿的规划，显然也是本着国家机构三权分立的原则设计的，这在国会大厦、总统府和最高法院三大主要建筑的布局上，明显地反映出来。只是最初设计的最高法院的位置，在今图上已难确指。现在的最高法院，正好建筑在国会大厦的

东北方，相去甚近，仍然显示出三权分立的布局思想。

但是朗方设计最突出——也是影响最为深远的一点，就是他确定了以国会山为中心的主轴线，并把主轴线上计划作为绿茵广场的位置固定下来，从而为日后华盛顿城核心地区的发展奠定了基础。华盛顿城主轴线上的这一段和北京旧城中轴线上从景山到正阳门的一段，在全城布局上的重要性极为相似。但是彼此所反映的在设计上的主题思想，却截然不同。在北京旧城力求突出的是“帝王至上”，在华盛顿城则企图反映的是“人权为主”。因此，两者在空间处理上也就截然不同。前者是严格的封闭型，后者则是完全的开放型。思想内容不同，表达的形式也就因之而异了。

2．中轴线设计的进一步发展及其主要建筑的客观效果

朗方为华盛顿城的规划所拟定的蓝图以及他所企图表达的主题思想，在相继而来的整整一个世纪中，并没有得到应有的重视，甚至这样一位为华盛顿城的建设做出了如此卓越贡献的人，在生前也没有得到应有的公正待遇。在他临终之前，生活穷困潦倒，死后靠友人的一片土地和资助才得下葬。直到本世纪初，他的贡献才得到承认，他的遗骸终于在1909年被隆重地迁葬于阿灵顿国家公墓的小山顶上，他所设计的城市蓝图的示意图也被镌刻在他的墓碑上，这是很有意义的一件事。从朗方墓东望，可以隔着波河遥望他所初步规划的中轴线亦即现在的绿茵广场，从林肯纪念堂一直延伸到国会大厦，整个布局上的主要建筑，历历在目，实在没有比这里更好的地方，可以使朗方永远安息了。

在这里，追述一下19世纪的一百年间，发生在国会山以西现在的绿茵广场上的以下几件事，是必要的。

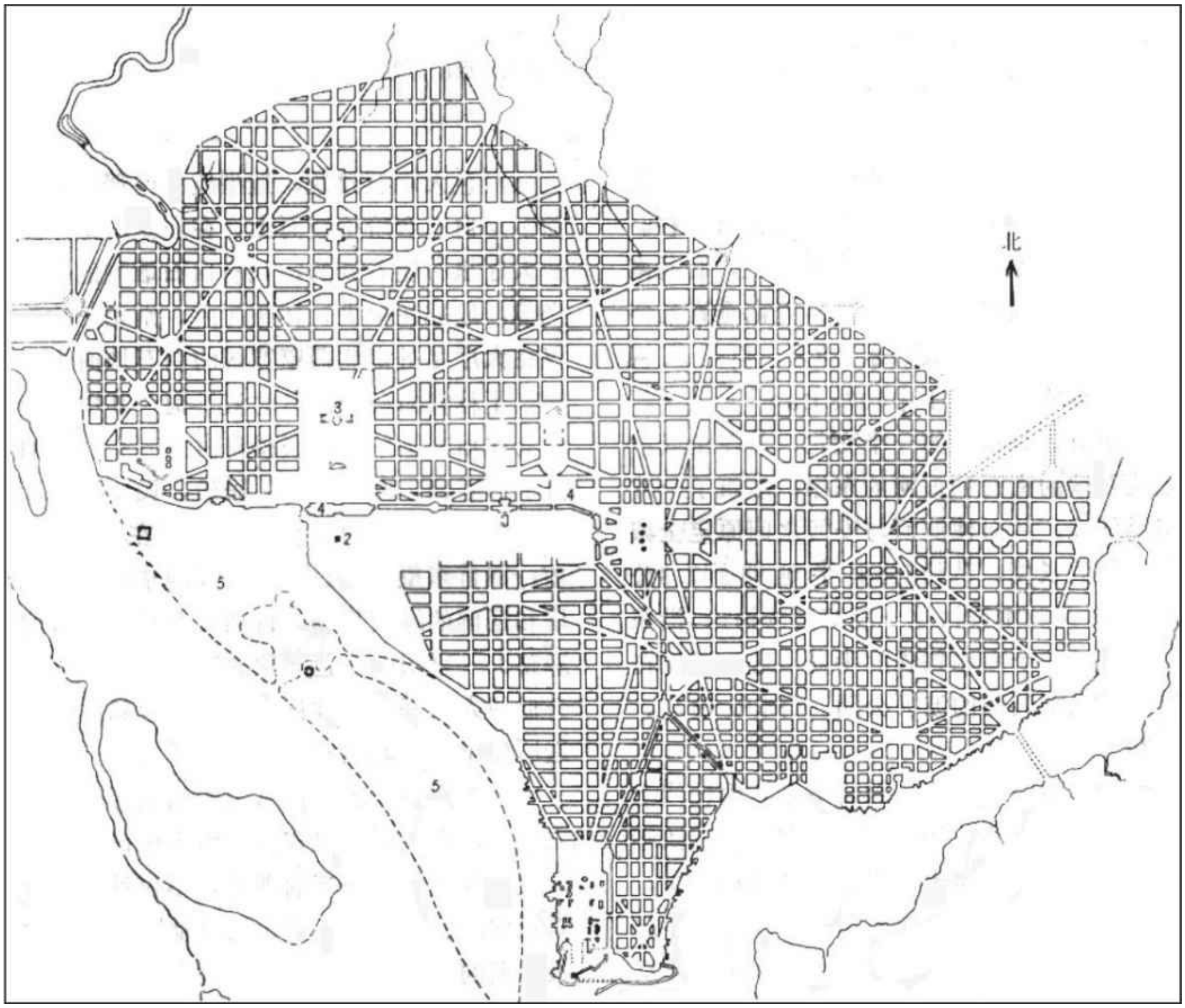
第一，朗方利用台伯河加以渠化，改建为运河直达国会山下的计划，未受重视，结果河道变成了一条藏污纳垢的臭水沟，遂被填废，现在只有一座河边的小闸房在去白宫不远的地方被保留下来，作为当初运河旧址的一个标志。

第二，1847年开始兴建国家博物馆，没有充分考虑朗方最初设计的绿茵广场的边界线，竟然侵入了广场界内。后来虽曾议论拆除，结果还是为了保护古建的原因而保留下来。

第三，原定白宫的位置又稍向西移，进行修建，这就是现在白宫所在的地方。

第四，建成了华盛顿纪念塔，只是原定的塔址，基础不够坚实，不得不稍有迁移。新址已不在原设计的全城中轴线上，而是南移了40米，同时也已不在白宫向南垂直延伸的轴线上，而是在其以东120米，但是从视觉上好像它仍然位于中轴线上。

第五，最重要的一个变化，是在全城中轴线西端的南面和波河的东岸，填筑了一片沼泽低地，从而使波河与阿河之间原定全城中轴线的长度，从约5.5公里延伸到7.3公里，同时又利用波河这一段宽阔的河床，沿东岸筑起了一个南北狭长的半岛，这就是现在有湖泊点缀其间的波河公园（图4-7、4-8）。



4-7 Reclamation of the marshland on the east shore and the shallow water area of the Potomac 波河东岸沼泽及浅水区填筑的陆地

1．Site of the Capitol Building 国会大厦址

2．The original designated location of the Washington Monument 原定华盛顿纪念塔址

3．The original designated location of the White House 原定白宫址

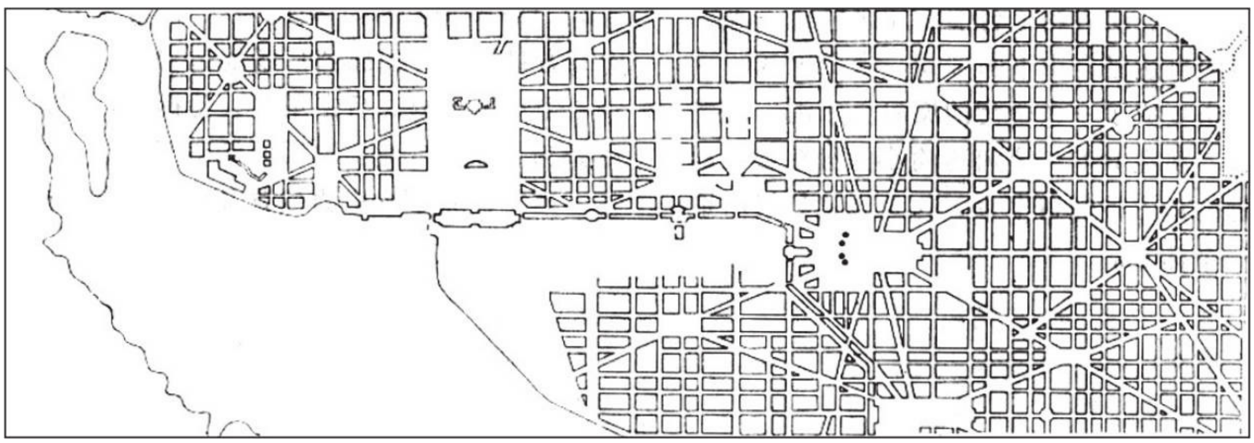
4．The Canal 运河

5．Potomac River Park 波河公园

--- The dotted lines show the riverside after reclamation. 虚线表示填筑后的河岸

□ New starting point on the east shore of the Potomac. It is the location of the Lincoln Memorial built later. 中轴线在波河东岸的新起点，即日后修建林肯纪念堂的地方

○ The site for the Jefferson Memorial built later. The site of the White House on the above diagram was later moved to a site further west on the perpendicular line north of the Jefferson Memorial. 日后修建杰斐逊纪念堂的地方，此图上的白宫位置后来也稍向西移，与杰斐逊纪念堂在一条南北垂直线上



4-8 The original eastern shoreline of the Potomac where the starting spot of the axis line was located 波河东岸中轴线起点的原始河岸线

这最后一个变化，对后来全城中轴线上的发展至为重要。1922年正是在中轴线西端所填筑的河边低地上，兴建了林肯纪念堂，明显地标志了全城自西向东的中轴线的起点。华盛顿这条自西而东的中轴线较之北京旧城自北而南的中轴线短了不到1公里。1976年又在纪念堂前狭长的“映像池”北侧，开辟了“宪法公园”作为建国两百周年的纪念。

这里应该着重说明的是林肯纪念堂的兴建，不只是进一步发展了朗方最初确定的全城中轴线，而且还赋予这条中轴线在设计上所代表的主题思想以新的含义。林肯纪念堂这座白色大理石建筑，造型质朴庄严。

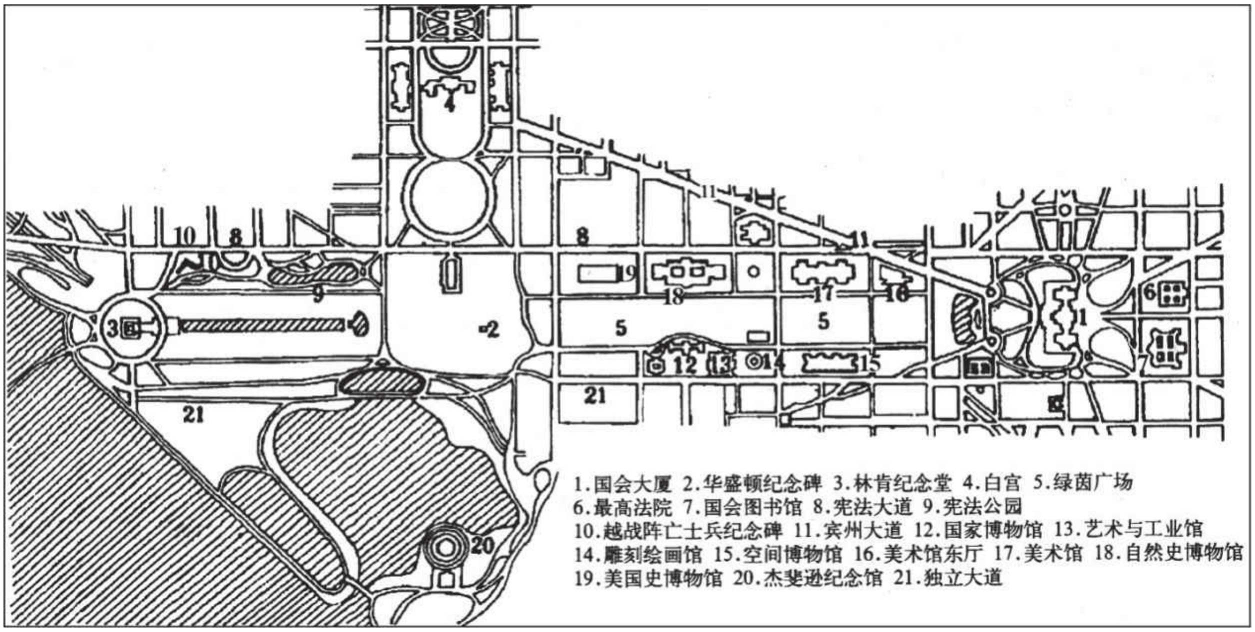
从堂前多层白石台阶拾级而上，在殿堂内部广阔的大厅里所能看到的，只有白石雕刻的林肯座像，屹立在中央，环顾厅内，别无一物，仅在大厅尽处南北两壁宽阔的白石墙面上，镌刻了林肯的两个著名的演讲词，其中之一就有他用来描写重新获得自由的一个政府的六字形容词，即“民有、民治、民享”。因此来到这座殿堂的巡礼者，立足在林肯像前，回首东望，越过中央耸立的华盛顿纪念塔和辽阔的绿茵广场，自然就会把一个人的思路，一直引向白色穹顶的国会大厦，这也会促使人们联想到林肯为美利坚合众国的缔造所做出的重大贡献。

然而应该看到，自从美国的联邦政府成立以来，它在《独立宣言》中所标榜的天赋人权、人人自由平等的理想，不仅没有得到真正实现，内部的矛盾反而日益突出。其中最重要的是北方以雇佣劳动为主的资本主义制度和南方以奴役黑人为主的奴隶制，两者之间的冲突，越来越尖锐。林肯于1860年被选为总统以后，坚决反对奴役黑人，并颁布了《解放黑奴宣言》，当时已经爆发的南北战争，因此而更加激烈。结果北部军队虽然取得了这次战争的最后胜利，可是林肯却在第二次当选为总统（1864年11月）之后，竟于1865年4月遭到了南方奴隶主刽子手的暗杀。

林肯领导的斗争虽然挽救了国家免于分裂，但是种族的歧视继续存在。1866年，也就是林肯被暗杀的第二年，南方的种族主义者还成立了反动的组织“三K党”（Ku-Klux-Klan的简称），对黑人进行残酷的袭击和杀戮。在本世纪内继续为反对种族歧视而奔走的黑人牧师小马丁·路德·金，也曾于1963年8月在林肯纪念堂前有二十万人参加的群众大会上，为纪念《解放黑奴宣言》的签署而发表了他的著名讲演《我有一个梦想》。可是他的“梦想”还远没有实现，而他本人却于1968年4月在田纳西州的孟斐斯城指导黑人工人争取同工同酬的示威中，也同样遭到种族主义者的暗杀！

从象征意义上说，林肯纪念堂兴建在华盛顿全城中轴线的起点上，

应该看作是朗方最初所赋予它的天赋人权这一主题思想的一个发展，可是这始终还是一个远未实现的理想。马克思也曾预言说：“林肯来领导自己国家进行解放被奴役种族和改造社会制度的史无前例的战斗，是即将到来的时代的先声。”[12] 可是这个“即将到来的时代”，至今还有待美国人民自己去努力争取。这也是无可讳言的事实（图4-9）。



4-9 The Mall of Washington on the axis line 华盛顿城中轴线上的绿茵广场

1．The Congress
2．Washington Monument
3．Lincoln Memorial
4．The White House
5．National Mall
6．Supreme Court
7．Library of Congress
8．Constitution Avenue
9．Constitution Gardens
10．The Vietnam Veterans Memorial

11．Pennsylvania Avenue

12．Smithsonian Institution

13．Arts and Industries Building

14．Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

15．National Air and Space Museum

16．National Gallery of Art East Building

17．National Gallery of Art

18．National Museum of Natural History

19．National Museum of American History

20．Jefferson Memorial

21．Independence Avenue

3．一个引人进一步思考的问题

1980年春天一个风光明媚的清晨，作者初访华盛顿的林肯纪念堂，印象之深刻以及思想上的感受，至今难忘。其后又曾三次访美，每次途经华盛顿，总要挤出时间前往林肯纪念堂巡礼，重温初访的感受。可是1984年夏再到华盛顿又访林肯纪念堂时，就在纪念堂前宪法公园的西侧，出乎意料地看到有三个军人一组的雕像出现在草地上，走向前去，才知道这里乃是为第二次世界大战以后美国出兵越南阵亡士兵新建成的纪念碑。纪念碑现场的平面设计，是一个开敞式的“V”字形三角绿地。“V”字形两边以内的绿地，由地面开始向下倾斜，呈坦坡式，逐渐没入地面以下，直到尖端的最深处。沿着两边砌成黑色的石壁也就是纪念碑，碑上成排镌刻着侵越战争中五万多名阵亡士兵的姓名和军衔。沿着石碑走下去，阵亡者的名字历历在目，自然引起人们的悼亡之感，因而有“哭墙”之称。这“V”字形的两壁，一个向东南直指华盛顿纪念塔，一个向西南直指林肯纪念堂。从工程设计上来说，堪称独出心裁，是一位华裔女青年林樱的杰作。[13] 至于其含义，则更加耐人寻味，因为当年美国出兵越南，曾引起国内广大人民群众的反对，被认为是一场非正义

的战争。这一阵亡士兵的纪念地，选址在全城中轴线的绿茵广场上，沿着其两壁向外的指向看去，华盛顿纪念塔和林肯纪念堂即遥遥在望。这又不能不使人联想到美利坚合众国的缔造者所怀抱的理想与信念，和出兵越南的非正义战争，这两者在性质上的差异，相去何啻天渊。作为一个异国的观光者，在华盛顿城市设计的中轴线上看到这一纪念地时，不能不想到：美国的人民群众为了最终实现其国家缔造者的伟大理想，正不知道还有多少崎岖不平的道路正等待着去跋涉呢。

三、他山之石，可以攻玉——华盛顿城市建设可供借鉴的几例

北京和华盛顿这两个姊妹城市，从建城之初就力求通过全城中轴线的设计来显示其主题思想，尽管两者的历史背景各不相同，但在力图反映其时代精神这一点上，却是一致的。现在北京和华盛顿的城市建设都已远远超出了最初设计的范围，北京旧城的城垣已被拆除，新市区在旧城郊外迅速扩建起来。但是北京旧城在新的城市建设总体规划中，仍然居于核心地位。华盛顿城的发展也早已超越了东西两河与北部高地边缘的界限向外迅速扩展，但是“朗方城”仍然是全城布局的中心。不过从北京城的建设来说，随着整个社会制度的改革，它所面临的主要问题就和华盛顿大不一样了。当前在北京城的城市规划和建设中，亟须注意的一件事就是如何在继承其优良传统的同时，又能赋予它以新的思想内容，从而反映出一个社会主义新时代的来临。这个问题在全城中轴线的处理上表现得最为敏感，也最为突出。例如天安门广场的改造，在这个意义上来说是成功的；其次，也要考虑到在继承自己优良传统以达到古为今用的目的的同时，还必须积极吸收外国的先进经验，以达到“洋为中用”的目的。应该承认在资本主义国家的城市建设上，确有不少先进的经验，值得我们学习。问题在于区别哪些是真正的先进经验，切忌盲目抄袭，否则有害无益。以华盛顿的城市建设为例，在它的全城中轴线上

对所有建筑物的布局及其功能要求，就有可供借鉴的地方。它的国会大厦屹立于中轴线的正中央，城中所有的楼房建筑的高度都不得超过它，它就给整个城市的天际线带来一大特色。从国会大厦向西直到华盛顿纪念塔前的绿茵广场，地势平展，视野辽阔。广场的南北两侧，有博物馆、展览馆等，依次排列，在南侧的有航天空间博物馆、雕刻绘画馆、国家博物馆（内有首都城市规划设计史展览厅）等。在北侧的有美术陈列馆、自然史博物馆、美国历史博物馆等。北侧中间退后一方场地，还有一座国家档案馆。在国会大厦的东南侧与高等法院大楼南北并列的，则是举世闻名的国会图书馆及其最近扩建的新馆。在这个全城的心脏部位上，集中表现出华盛顿作为全国政治中心和文化中心的特点，整个布局严正而富有变化，两侧的各大博物馆、展览馆，虽然高度大体一致，而建筑形式各不相同，从国家博物馆红砖碉堡式的古典建筑，到航天空间博物馆的现代设计，各有其时代特征，其中最负盛名的是建成不久的美术陈列馆的东厅。这里原是绿茵广场东北角上的一块三角地带而又近在国会山下，地点至为重要，在建筑设计上也最难处理。正是在这里，著名华裔建筑学家贝聿铭显示了他卓越的才能，设计了这座独具一格的建筑物，为广场增辉。

写到这里，又不禁想到上文已经讲过，建国十周年时扩建天安门广场，同时兴建了人民大会堂和中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆，使得天安门广场在体现全国政治中心的同时，也兼有文化中心的象征。但是在设计的当时，北京作为全国的政治中心之外也是全国的文化中心这一特点，还没有得到充分的认识和说明，现在考虑到今后精神文明建设的重大意义和建设北京作为全国文化中心的要求，在全城的规划设计上，应该进一步结合城市平面布局的历史特点来加以考虑。上述华盛顿城中轴线上核心地区的建设，只是仅供参考的一例而已。

⑤ OVERSEA COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND EAST AFRICA BEFORE THE SO-CALLED DISCOVERY OF THE NEW SEA-ROUTE*

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, a series of long-distance sea voyages started out from Western Europe. The earliest and most widely publicized among them were (1) the trans-Atlantic voyage which in 1492 brought Christopher Columbus to districts now known as Cuba and Haiti; and (2) the voyage undertaken by Vasco da Gama, in the course of which he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean and eventually reached the modern Kozhikode (formerly known as Calicut, mentioned in ancient Chinese records as *Kuli*) in South India in 1498. With this tremendous expansion of geographical vista, the Europeans landed in a continent where they had never set foot before and found a passageway hitherto unknown to the East. These events they commemorate under the imposing titles of discovery of the new continent and discovery of the new sea-route respectively. With these began the era of "great geographical discoveries", which looms large in the history of European geographical discovery and standard textbooks on European history.

The subsequent expansion of European colonialism has disseminated these ideas to practically every corner of the world. In reality, however, the achievements of Columbus and da Gama may be considered in a certain sense "discoveries" only if one postulates a limited view point—that of the Europeans. Any attempt to enlarge the viewpoint to take in other areas or to

endow it with a world-wide significance would be seriously mistaken.

This essay purports to deal exclusively with what the Europeans call the discovery of the new sea-route.

To begin with, a brief retrospect of the historical facts is perhaps called for. The search for the new sea-route is commonly thought of as entering its last crucial phase with the effort of Bartholomew Diaz, who by continuing to cruise southward along the western coast of Africa in 1487 (many parts of which had repeatedly been touched by former navigators), finally reached the southernmost point of the African continent, later known as the Cape of Good Hope. It was not until ten years later that da Gama pushed the voyage yet further by sailing northward along the eastern coast of Africa, reaching in April, 1498 Malindi in Kenya (mentioned in Chinese records as *Malin* or *Malinti*). Then, starting out from Malindi, da Gama began the last and most important section of his voyage by crossing the Indian Ocean, ending up in Kozhikode in May of the same year. [1]

In this manner was "discovered" the much-vaunted new sea-route to the East. To the Asian and African peoples, however, the route was by no means new, so that any claim to have "discovered" it is out of the question. It can be confidently established that every section of the route had been traversed by Asian and African navigators and explicitly recorded in historical texts.

Let us first take up the route along the African coast. We know from the distinguished Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) that the first cruise around the African continent dates back to about 600 B.C. In trying to show that the African continent (then called Libya), except being joined to Asia by a narrow isthmus, was completely surrounded by the ocean, he cited as evidence the following facts. In 600 B.C. or thereabouts, a fleet manned by Phoenicians, who were experienced sailors, left the Red Sea under the orders

of the Egyptian Pharaoh Necos, and made its way southward into the open ocean. It took them two years to return safely to Egypt, having finished the voyage in accordance with Necos' plan which necessitated their entering the Mediterranean Sea via the Strait of Gibraltar. [2] That was an astonishing feat in the history of navigation. [3] We may suppose that in rounding the southernmost point of the African continent and sailing up northward, da Gama was not aware that he was following a route which had already been discovered by Phoenician sailors more than two thousand years ago, the only difference being that he was sailing in a direction opposite to that of his predecessors.

Indeed, besides that remarkable voyage made by the Phoenicians, history knows of other instances that men had sailed southward along the eastern coast of Africa, rounded the cape and entered the Atlantic Ocean. In the 1420s, or about seventy years before da Gamma's eastern voyage, an Arabian navigator had taken exactly that route. [4] The Arabs had then established extensive oversea trade along the eastern coast of Africa, which penetrated as far southward as Mozambique, and it was from none other than those Arabian traders that da Gama obtained the necessary information which enabled him to continue his voyage in a northward direction. [5]

Another point to be stressed is that while the voyage from the eastern coast of Africa across the Indian Ocean to South India is justly regarded by the Europeans as the last and most important section of their so-called new route, since their final objective of reaching the East virtually hinged upon its successful completion, that very route had not only been opened up by the Asian and African peoples long before but had remained in constant use for a considerable period of time. Special mention should be made of Ibn Madjid, a great Arabian navigator, who came from a family of sailors and whose

knowledge and experience about the sea was unrivaled in his day. [6] It was with his expert guidance that da Gama finally accomplished the last and most important section of his voyage.

Here it is necessary to recall the magnificent contribution made by the Asian and African peoples toward opening up the trade route across the Indian Ocean.

Trading relations connecting the South China Sea with the Indian Ocean had long existed prior to the end of the fifteenth century. The scale and financial prosperity of these ventures were such that hardly any other areas in the world could offer a contemporary parallel. On this topic, which forms an extremely important chapter in the history of ancient navigation and transportation, many dissertations and books have been written by Chinese and foreign scholars. The scope of this essay permits us merely to cite a few examples from Chinese documents by way of illustration.

The earliest mention in Chinese records of voyages over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean goes back to the first and second centuries B.C. [7] Since then a long line of messengers, monks and merchants had used the same sea route, voyages back and forth between China and Ceylon[8] or India being especially frequent. A well-known example is that of the Chinese monk Fa Hsien, who in 409 sailed from *Tomoliti* (whose ancient site was located on the western bank of the Hooghly River, near the Ganges Delta in modern India) to *Shihtzukuo* (now Ceylon); and in 412 boarded a large merchant vessel which brought him from *Shihtzukuo* back to China. [9] His contribution to the cultural exchange between China on the one hand and India and Ceylon on the other has become almost proverbial down to the present day.

The earlier seventh century saw the founding of the T'ang Dynasty(A.D.

618-906) in China and the rise of the Arab Empire (A.D. 632-1258) in Southwest Asia. [10] Contacts between the two were numerous, and a new stage began in East-West trade over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. The volume of trade in the two-way traffic over the Indian Ocean continued to swell after the eighth century. In China, throughout the long period of the T'ang, Sung (Northern Sung 960-1127, Southern Sung 1127-1279 A.D.), and Yüan (1279-1368 A.D.) dynasties, there were chartered ports along the southeastern seacoast which made oversea trade their special business, and government officials were specially appointed to take charge of trading affairs. Among these ports, Canton had at first the largest amount of foreign trade. [11] Beginning from the middle of the thirteenth century, however, it was eclipsed by Chüan-chow (Zayton). In the latter, we possess lively sketches by a couple of contemporary witnesses, who arrived in China toward the end of the thirteenth century and in the middle of the fourteenth century respectively, namely the renowned Venetian traveller Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta of Tangier, Africa. This is what Marco Polo wrote:

> At this city you must know is the Haven of Zayton, frequented by all the ships of India, which bring thither spicery and all other kinds of costly wares… I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria and elsewhere, destined for Christendom, there come a hundred such, aye and more too, to this Haven of Zayton; for it is one of the two greatest havens in the world for commerce. [12]

Ibn Battuta was even more emphatic:

> I must tell you that the first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the sea was Zayton (now is called Chüan-chou-fu)…. The harbour of Zayton is one of the greatest in the world; I am wrong: it is the greatest! I have seen there about one

hundred of first-class junks together; as for small ones, they were past counting. [13]

Ships that voyaged over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean during the T'ang and Sung dynasties included, besides Chinese ships, those of the following nationalities, all mentioned in Chinese records: Persian ships, *Shihtzukuo* ships, ships from the Western Regions, or simply, "foreign" ships. These seagoing vessels had from a very early time made use of the monsoon in their voyages, which accounted for the fact that most vessels sailing from China started out between autumn and winter when the dry monsoon blew from the northeast whereas most ships coming to China chose the summer season when the wet monsoon blew from the southwest.

In periods when China's foreign trade was exceedingly active, for instance, in the Sung Dynasty, the number of foreign traders in China was so large that special residential quarters were set apart for them in all chartered ports. Some of these traders elected to stay in China, or even assumed important posts in the Chinese government. A case in point is P'u Shou-keng, responsible official for trading affairs in Chüanchow at the end of the Sung Dynasty, whom research showed to be the descendant of an immigrant Arab who settled in China. [14]

In the first three decades of the fifteenth century, the government of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in China expended great efforts in developing oversea communications between China and the Indian Ocean. These efforts were crowned by the seven long-distance voyages led by Cheng Ho. As Cheng Ho's expeditions were by all odds the most impressive achievement in the history of navigation prior to the Europeans' sailing for the Orient, which did not begin till the end of the fifteenth century, a short description of those remarkable events may not be out of place here.

The seven voyages of Cheng Ho spanned a period of 29 years (1405-1433). [15] His fleet was composed of more than sixty galleys and a large number of smaller auxiliary vessels, making a total of well over two hundred. On his seventh voyage (1431), he was accompanied by various kinds of nautical technicians, soldiers, interpreters, scribes and medical and service personnel to the number of 27,550. [16] When we recall that sixty-one years later (1492) Columbus had only three ships and eightyseven sailors with him in making his first trans-Atlantic voyage, and that sixty-six years later (1497) da Gama brought only four ships and one hundred and forty-eight (or, according to some authorities, one hundred and seventy) men to the Orient, we may arrive at a truer estimate of the size of Cheng Ho's expeditions.

The farthest points reached by Cheng Ho's fleet in the seven voyages, which headed in somewhat different directions, are: Hormuz (mentioned in Chinese records as *Hulumussu*) on what is now the Iranian Bay, Jeddah (mentioned in Chinese records as *Chihta*) on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and Mombasa (mentioned in Chinese records as *Manpasa*) on the eastern coast of Africa. The last of these voyages has bequeathed some very valuable legacies to us of the present day, including a tolerably complete sailing record and a copy of the original sailing chart. [17]

Cheng Ho's routes over the Indian Ocean require some attention. Variations were slight among those for east of Ceylon and South India, which may be passed over, but as we follow him further westward, we notice certain interesting features.

It should first be pointed out that the two sea routes leading from the western coast of South India to the Iranian Bay and to the Red Sea had both a long history behind them. However, in early times, oversea communications between those regions were presumably achieved by sailing along the coast.

It was only when later navigators learned to make use of the monsoon, which was a familiar phenomenon in that area, that a direct route over the Arabian Sea was opened up.

Who was the first to notice and turn to account the monsoon that blew over the Arabian Sea and thus opened up the above-mentioned route? Some authorities ascribe the discovery of the monsoon to Hippalus, an Alexandrian in the employ of the Roman Empire c. A.D. 40-50. Hence, as one historian puts it, "Hippalus deserves as much honour in Roman annals as does Columbus in modern history." Others contend that before Hippalus the Arabs had already made use of monsoon in sailing over the Arabian Sea. Still others would credit Nearchos, one of the generals who accompanied the Macedonian king Alexander in his Asian expedition in the fourth century B.C. with the so-called "discovery."[18] Be that as it may, the fact remains that navigators over the Arabian Sea had, from a very early time, learned to make use of the monsoon to strike out an oversea route, thus enabling themselves to abandon the tortuous coastal sailing. When Cheng Ho's fleet arrived in the Iranian Bay or entered the Red Sea, these routes were already scenes of busy trafficking.

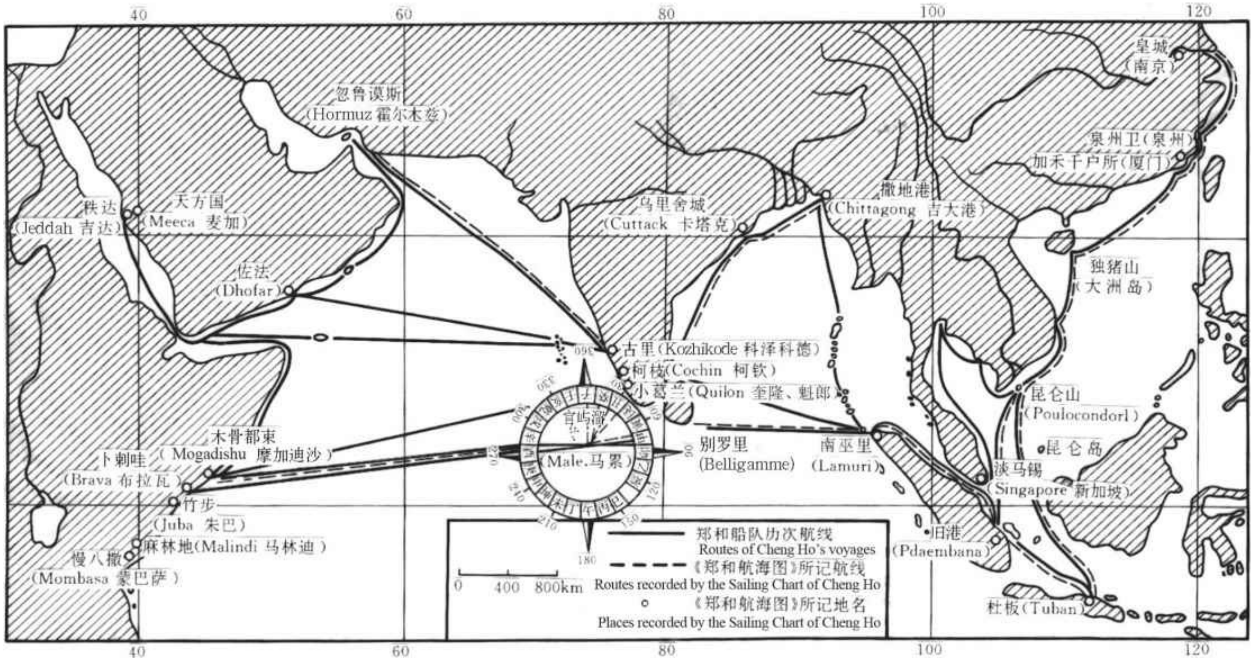
There is another problem that deserves a far more thorough probing. Among the routes shown in Cheng Ho's chart (Fig. 6-1) is one that leads from the present Belligamme in the south of Ceylon or from Kozhikode on the western coast of South India to Brava or to Mogadishu on the eastern coast of Africa. When was this direct route first opened up? We know that oversea communications between the equatorial regions on the eastern coast of Africa and India or China also go a long way back. Indeed, descriptions of the sea coast in what is now Somalia and Kenya may be found in Chinese records as early as the eighth and ninth centuries.[19] In 1071 (or the fourth year of

Hsining in the Sung Dynasty), ambassadors from *Tsengtan* , a country on the eastern coast of Africa, after 160 days of sailing along the coast, landed in the city of Canton in China. A second embassy came in 1083. The Sung rulers obviously thought very highly of this diplomatic relationship and loaded the ambassadors with rich gifts. [20] Now *Tsengtan* is actually a scribal error for *Tsengpa* , which represents a clipped pronunciation of Zanzibar. [21] The two are, however, not strictly identical, as *Tsengtan* in those days embraced the eastern coast of Africa together with the islands off the coast. From the twelfth century on reference to various countries on the eastern coast of Africa occurred with greater frequency in Chinese geographical works. [22] Particularly worthy of notice are the results of recent archaeological excavations on the eastern coast of Africa. These include T'ang and Sung copper coins as well as large quantities of chinawares (fragmentary or otherwise) dating back to the Sung Dynasty, the Yüan Dynasty or a later date. All this is incontrovertible proof that trade relations had long existed between China and the eastern coast of Africa. [23] But the contact (direct or indirect) was exclusively dependent on the route over the Arabian Sea, and remained so up to the middle of the thirteenth century.

It should be recognized that there was a profound difference between the direct route that led from Ceylon or South India across the Indian Ocean to the eastern coast of Africa and the other route over the Arabian Sea. One needed only the monsoon to sail safely along the latter route. In case of the former, however, even with the help of the monsoon, successful voyaging would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, unless one enlisted the additional aid of the compass. Chinese navigators began using the compass in making their voyages in the eleventh or twelfth century. [24] The compass is one of the most significant contributions made by the Chinese labouring

people to world civilization. For, with the invention of that instrument, man finally gave up his old way of sailing closely to, or a short distance from, a winding and tortuous seacoast, and launched out boldly for the open ocean. Thus the seemingly unlimited kingdom of billowing waves became another sphere where man could display his power and adventurist spirit.

It has been conjectured that the knowledge and use of the mariner's compass passed from China to Europe via the Arabs.[25] At any rate, European seagoing ships only began using the compass at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. It is conceivable that the direct route across the Indian Ocean joining Ceylon or South India with the eastern coast of Africa could have been discovered before the beginning of the fifteenth century when Cheng Ho made his voyage. But as far as Chinese maps and documents are concerned, the first unmistakable reference to the route occurred at the time of Cheng Ho's expeditions. The appended sailing chart of Cheng Ho shows clearly that there were two direct routes leading from Ceylon and South India, respectively, to the eastern coast of Africa. The routes might pass through *Kuanyuliu* (the Island of Male), but it was not necessary. We know for certain that in the seventh voyage, *Kuanyuliu* was used as a midway station. Cheng Ho's original chart contains the following note:



5-1 Routes of Cheng Ho's voyages 郑和航海路线略图

> From K*uanyuliu* …one arrives at *Mukutushu* (i.e. Mogadishu), following the *Keng-yu* needle. [26]

We shall find, by checking the route against a modern map, that the sailing direction is wonderfully accurate, as what he called the *Keng-yu* needle represents roughly 262° on the compass.

The geographical work of Fei Hsin [27] , who accompanied Cheng Ho on four of his voyages, tells us:

> Sailing southward from *Peiloli* (Belligamme) in Ceylon…one may arrive at Brava after twenty-one days and nights.

> With a favourable wind, it is possible to sail from *Hsiaokelan* (Quilon) to *Mukutushu* in twenty days and nights.

Here are clearly set forth the two direct routes across the Indian Ocean, one leading from Belligamme in Ceylon to Brava on the eastern coast of

Africa, and the other from Quilon to Mogadishu, also on the eastern coast of Africa. However, the direction given is incorrect, and Cheng Ho's chart should be regarded as the final authority. The opening up of the sea route was the joint work of the Asian and African peoples who inhabited those districts. As has been pointed out before, it was by following this route, and by enlisting the guidance of the expert Arabian sailor, Ibn Madjid, that da Gama successfully accomplished his voyage at the end of the fifteenth century.

Cheng Ho's voyages must not be looked on as a fortuitous incident. They were an important extension of the oversea communications and friendly trade relations that had long existed between the Asian and African peoples. Official organization enabled these voyages to be carried out on an unprecedented scale, but it did nothing to change their nature, since there is ample evidence to show that these voyages aimed primarily at enlarging oversea trade. That the Ming court was also eager to hunt down foreign treasures and fancy products need not be denied, but the means adopted remained as always one of peaceful exchange and free bartering. Trade relations built on such a basis naturally fostered diplomatic relations. What is more important, following these voyages, private trade also had considerable development. The immense amount of gold, silver, coins, silken fabrics, chinaware and copper ware with which Cheng Ho's fleet was loaded, was a means to promote private trade, in return for such exotic goods as spiceries, dyes, pearls, precious stones and rare birds and animals (lions, zebras, ostriches, leopards, giraffes, etc.).[28] The fleet also carried foreign messengers and merchants back and forth. All in all, China's private oversea trade greatly expanded during this period.

To sum up, Cheng Ho's voyages were a powerful stimulant to the oversea trade and cultural interflow between China on the one hand and

South Asia and East Africa on the other. The direct route connecting China with East Africa marks, in particular, a new stage in oversea communications.

But ever since da Gama "discovered" this route to the Orient, more and more Westerners followed in his wake. Not satisfied with merely reaching India, they kept pushing farther eastward, and it did not take them long to sail through the Strait of Malacca and enter the South China Sea, arriving eventually in 1516 at Canton, which formed the southern entrance to China on the seaboard. In the van were the Portuguese, while many other nations of Western Europe, such as Spain, Holland, Great Britain and France, showed an equally ardent desire not to be left behind.

Since then a totally different chapter in the history of oversea communications between the East and the West has to be written and here is the proper place for the present study to stop.

伍　在所谓新航路的发现以前中国与东非之间的海上交通*

在15世纪末叶和16世纪初期，从西欧开始了一系列的远洋航行，为众所周知的最初两件大事，就是：一、1492年哥伦布横渡大西洋，到达了现在古巴和海地等处；二、1498年达·伽马在绕过好望角之后，越过印度洋，到达了现在印度南部的卡利卡特（中国古籍作古里）。欧洲人的地理视野从此大为扩大，他们登上了还从来没有登上过的大西洋彼岸的土地，找到了从来还不知道的到东方来的航路。前者他们称为新大陆的发现，后者他们称为新航路的发现。这就是欧洲地理发现史以及一般欧洲历史上所大书而特书的"地理大发现"的开始。

随着欧洲殖民势力的扩张，这种观点几乎被传布到世界各地。其实，无论是哥伦布的成就或是达·伽马的成就，只有从欧洲中心论的观点来看时，才能在某种意义上被认做是一种"发现"。如果把这一观点应用于其他地方，或扩大到世界的范围，那显然是错误的。

本文专就所谓新航路的发现这一问题加以讨论。

这里首先需要回顾一下所谓新航路的发现的简单经过。新航路的探寻被认为是从迪亚士才开始进入了最后的关键性的阶段，他在1487年沿着前人已经屡次到达的非洲西部的大部分海岸继续南航，终于来到了非洲大陆的南端（后称好望角）。十年之后，达·伽马又继续迪亚士的航程前进，沿非洲东海岸北上，于1498年4月到达现在肯尼亚的马林迪（中国古籍作麻林、麻林地）。从马林迪出发，达·伽马开始了在他全部航程中最后的也是最重要的一段，那就是横越印度洋的一段，并在1498年5月到达了他全程的终点——卡利卡特。[1]

欧洲一些人所盛加称道的到东方来的新航路就是这样被"发现"的。

但是从亚洲和非洲人民看来，这既不能被认为是新航路，自然也就很难说是“发现”了。因为这一航路的每一段，都已经为亚非航海家所航行过，而且已经明确载入史册。

首先，我们来看非洲沿岸的航路。古代希腊大史学家希罗多德（公元前484—前425）告诉我们早在公元前7至前6世纪之间，就已经有环航非洲大陆的壮举了。当他在说明非洲大陆（当时称Libya）除去和亚洲相连的一处外，其余各方面都为大海所环绕时，曾举出了如下的事实：公元前600年左右，埃及法老尼可派遣了一个由有名的航海者腓尼基人所驾驶的船队，从红海出航，向南驶入大洋。过了两年，他们终于按照尼可的命令，经由直布罗陀海峡进入地中海，安然返航到埃及，[2] 这是古代航海史上令人惊异的事件。[3] 当达·伽马绕过非洲大陆南端转而向北沿岸航行的时候，他大约还不知道这已经是腓尼基航海家在两千多年前所发现过的航路了，所不同的只是他在逆着他的先行者的航行方向而前进罢了。

其实，沿着非洲东岸南航，并且绕过大陆南端而驶入大西洋的，在历史上还不仅仅是腓尼基人那一次。例如15世纪的20年代，也就是达·伽马东来以前的七十多年，一个阿拉伯的航海家也已经那样航行过了。[4] 那时阿拉伯人已经沿非洲东岸自北而南，远到莫桑比克沿岸一带（至南回归线以南之伊尼扬巴内），建立了海上贸易，而达·伽马则正是从这些阿拉伯商人那里获得了有关向北继续航行的情报的。[5] 其次是从非洲东岸横越印度洋到达印度南部的航路，这在欧洲一些人所谓新航路中应当是最后一段，也是最为重要的一段，因为只有完成这一段航路之后，他们到东方来的最后目的才算实现。然而正是这一段航路，不但久已为亚非人民所开辟，而且已经连续航行了一个很长的时期了。特别值得注意的是，达·伽马在完成这最后一段，也是最重要的一段航路时，正是借助于一位阿拉伯航海家的导航才顺利成功的，这就是出身于世传的海员家庭而又饱有航海经验和学识的伊本·马吉德。[6]

在这里，回顾一下亚非人民在开辟印度洋的航路上所作出来的卓越贡献，是必要的。

15世纪末叶以前，从中国南海一直到印度洋上的来往贸易已经有了长时期的发展，其巨大规模和繁荣程度，在当时说来，也是世界任何地区所难以比拟的。这是古代世界航运史上非常重要的一部分，关于这一部分，中外学者已经写了不少的论文和专著。在这篇短文里，只拟根据中国的文献，举出几个例子，作为说明。

早在公元前2至前1世纪间，中国南海以及印度洋上的通航来往，已经见于中国记载。[7] 此后，中国南海与印度洋——特别是从中国到锡兰[8] 与印度之间，使者、僧侣和商人泛海来往，络绎不绝。例如著名的中国僧人法显在公元409年从多摩梨帝（故址在今印度恒河三角洲呼格利河西岸）航行到狮子国（今锡兰），又于公元412年从狮子国乘商人大船经海道返回中国。他在中国与印度以及锡兰之间的文化交流上所作出的贡献，至今传为美谈。[9]

到了7世纪前半叶，在中国有唐朝（618—906）的建立，在亚洲西南部有阿拉伯人大食帝国（632—1258）的兴起[10]，两者之间接触频繁，从而开始了中国南海与印度洋上东西通航的新阶段。8世纪初叶以后，印度洋上东西往来的贸易，日趋繁盛。在中国，自唐历宋（960—1279，1127年以前为北宋，以后为南宋）至元（1279—1368）在东南沿海一带，都有指定的港埠经营海外贸易，并设专官管理通商事宜。在这些港埠中，先以广州的外国贸易最为繁盛。[11] 到了13世纪中叶以后，泉州又凌驾广州之上。在13世纪后期和14世纪中叶先后来中国的大旅行家威尼斯人马可·波罗和非洲丹吉尔人伊本·拔都他，都曾亲到泉州，并作了简明生动的描述。马可·波罗记道：

> 你必须知道，印度所有商船前来泉州港十分频繁，运来的香料和其他贵重物品……我可以肯定地告诉你，如果有满载胡椒的一艘船只驶入亚历

山大里亚或其他商港以供应耶稣教诸国，那么就会有一百艘或更多的满载胡椒的船只驶入泉州港，因为泉州乃是世界两个最大贸易港口中的一个。[12]

伊本·拔都他所写更为具体：

我必须告诉你，在我渡过海洋之后所到达的第一个中国城市刺桐（现在叫做泉州府）……泉州的港口乃是世界最大港口之一；我错了，它乃是所有港口中最大的。我看到港口里约有大海船百艘，至于小船那真是不可胜数了。[13]

唐、宋时期来往中国南海和印度洋上的船舶，除中国船外，其以国别或地域名称见于中国记载者有波斯舶、狮子国舶、西域舶或简单称为外国舶等，这些海舶从很早起利用了季风航行，因此从中国出航的海舶，多在秋冬东北季风风发之时，而前来中国的海舶，则多在夏季西南季风盛行之时。

中外贸易最繁盛时如在宋代，前来中国的外商，人数众多，中国各通商港埠，都为外商划有一定的居住区。有的外商常住不归，甚至在中国担任了重要的官职。例如宋末元初在泉州负责管理通商事宜的长官蒲寿庚，就是在中国定居的阿拉伯人的后裔。[14]

到了15世纪最初的三十年间，中国的明朝（1368—1644）政府用了很大力量来发展中国与印度洋上的海上交通，其代表事件就是由郑和所领导的七次远航。由于这是15世纪末叶欧洲人东来以前最大规模的航海史上的壮举，因此有稍加介绍的必要。

郑和的七次远航，始于1405年，止于1433年，前后共历二十九年。[15] 他所领导的船队有大海舶60多艘，连中小船只计算在内，多至200余艘。第七次出航时（1431），随行各种航海技术人员、士兵以及翻译、书记、医生和服务人员，共计27550人。[16] 如果我们想到六十一年后（1492）哥伦布第一次横渡大西洋时只有船3只、船员87人，或者想到

六十六年后（1497）达·伽马前来东方时也只有船4只、船员148人（或作170人），我们就可以体会到郑和的远航是在一种什么样的规模上进行的了。

在七次远航中，郑和的船队在不同方向上所到达的最远之地，是现在的波斯湾上的霍尔木兹（中国古籍作忽鲁谟斯），红海东岸的吉达（中国古籍作秩达），还有非洲东岸的蒙巴萨（中国古籍作慢八撒）。在这七次航行中，最后一次不仅保留了一个比较完整的航海记录到今天，而且还有一幅航海图经过翻刻之后也被保留下来，这是极可珍贵的。[17]

现在有必要把郑和在印度洋上的航路，再作些进一步的分析。这些航路自斯里兰卡和南印度以东的变化不大，可以从略，以西的却是值得特别注意的。

首先应该指出，从印度南部的西海岸，无论是通向波斯湾，还是通向红海口的航路，也都是具有悠久历史的两条航路，不过最早期的印度南部海岸与波斯湾及红海之间的海上来往，应该都是沿着海岸进行的。后来航海家由于认识和利用了这一地区盛行的季风，才终于开辟了上述穿越阿拉伯海的直达航路。

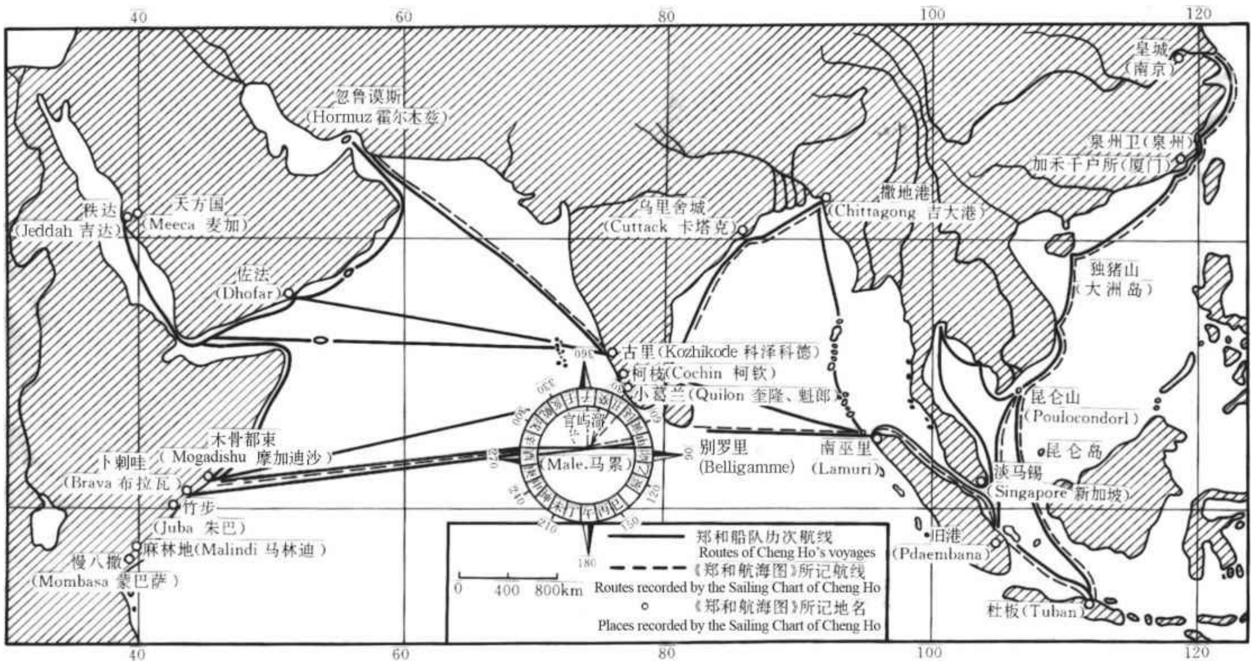
究竟是谁最先认识和利用了阿拉伯海上的季风，从而开辟了穿越海上的直达航路的呢？有人说最初发现阿拉伯海上的季风的是约在公元40—50年之间为罗马帝国服役的一个亚历山大里亚人，名字叫做希帕卢，因此认为“希帕卢在罗马编年史上应该享有像哥伦布在近代史上所享有的那么多的荣誉”。随后又有人指出，在希帕卢以前，阿拉伯人早已在阿拉伯海的航行中利用季风了。更有人把这一“发现”归功于公元前4世纪随马其顿的亚历山大远征归来的一位将军尼耳楚。[18] 总之，无论其最初发现者为谁，阿拉伯海上的航海家利用季风离开沿岸曲折的航程而开辟了穿越海上的航路一事，是为时很早的。到了郑和的船队远航到波斯湾口和进入红海的时候，这些海上航路的来往贸易，已经是非常发达的

了。

这里需要提出的是，另外一个远为值得注意的问题，即在表示郑和航路的地图上（图6-1），从锡兰南端的别罗里（今贝里格姆）或从南印度西岸之古里到非洲东岸卜剌哇（今布拉瓦）或木骨都束（今摩加迪沙）之间的直达航路，究竟是什么时候开辟起来的？我们知道，非洲东岸赤道附近地区和印度以及中国之间的海上交通，也是开始得很早的。例如公元8—9世纪时，中国已经有了关于现在索马里和肯尼亚沿岸的记载。[19] 到1071年（宋熙宁四年）非洲东岸的层檀国还曾派使臣沿海岸航行，经过160天才来到中国的广州登陆，1083年（元丰六年）再使中国。宋王朝很重视这一外交关系，曾向使臣赠送了优厚的礼品。[20] 按“层檀”是“层拔”二字传写之误，即今桑给巴尔之对音[21]，不过当时叫做层檀的地方，主要指今非洲东部沿岸大陆和沿海岛屿，而不是专指今天的桑给巴尔。12世纪以后，中国地理书上有了更多的关于非洲东部国家的记载。[22] 尤其值得注意的是，近世纪来，非洲东岸一带还曾掘得中国唐代宋代的铜钱以及宋代元代及其以后的大量瓷器、瓷片，更足以作为中国和非洲东岸很早就有通商贸易的证明。[23] 不过上述中国与东非之间的来往，还都是沿阿拉伯海的航路直接或间接进行的，晚至13世纪前半期，仍然如此。

应该认识到从锡兰或南印度到非洲东岸之间的横越印度洋的直达航路，较之穿行阿拉伯海的航路，是有很大差别的。因为后者凭借季风便可安全航行，而前者虽然仍有季风可以利用，但是如果没有航海罗盘的帮助就非常困难，甚至是不可能的了。中国航海家早在11—12世纪之间，就已经利用罗盘于海上航行了。[24] 这是中国劳动人民对于世界文明所作出的重要贡献之一。人们一旦掌握了这一工具，就终于离开自古以来沿着海岸或离开海岸不远而行驶的迂回曲折的航路，顺利地驶入了大洋，从而有可能使波涛汹涌、茫无涯际的大洋，开始成为被探险和被征服的人类活动的新领域。有人推测中国关于航海罗盘的使用，首先传给

阿拉伯人，然后又经过阿拉伯人传往欧洲。[25] 至于欧洲人开始使用罗盘则已是12世纪末到13世纪初叶的事了。可以设想，横越印度洋直接联系锡兰或南印度与非洲东岸的航路，在15世纪初郑和远航之前，是有可能被发现的。但是在中国图籍里关于这条航路的明确记载，则是从郑和远航时开始的。在所附郑和航海路线的地图上，可以看得很清楚：在锡兰与非洲东岸以及南印度与非洲东岸之间，都是直达航线，可以经过官屿溜（今马累岛，Male），也可以不经过它。至于第七次的航行中，官屿溜则被用作中继站，郑和原图上并有下列文字记注说：



5-1　Routes of Cheng Ho's voyages　郑和航海路线略图

官屿溜用庚酉针……收木骨都［束］。[26]

所谓“庚酉针”就是罗盘上的262°左右的方位。按之今图，这一行驶方向是完全正确的。

其次，随从郑和四次出航的费信在所著地理书[27] 中也有如下记载：

卜剌哇国……自锡兰山别罗［里］南去二十一昼夜可至。

木骨都束国……自小葛兰顺风二十昼夜可至。

这里所记，也就是从今天锡兰的贝里格姆和印度南部的奎隆分别到达非洲东岸布拉瓦和摩加迪沙的横越印度洋的直达航路。只是所记方向不确，应以郑和航海图为准。在开辟这一航路上，亚非有关地方的人民都作出了自己的贡献。如前所述，15世纪的末年，达·伽马正是沿着这一航路，再加上伊本·马吉德这位卓越的阿拉伯航海家的领航，这才得以顺利地完成了他的航行。

郑和的远航，不是一个偶然事件，而是长时期以来亚非人民泛海来往和进行友好贸易的重要发展。由于这次远航是官方组织的，因此规模巨大，远远超越前代。但是这并没有改变这次航行的性质，因为事实证明，航行的主要目的就是要开拓海上贸易。无可讳言的是明朝宫廷很想借此猎取海外珍奇，但所采取的手段仍然是和平交易、互通有无。通过这样的贸易关系，也促进了外交关系的发展。值得重视的是随着这种关系所进行的民间贸易。郑和的船队携带大量金银、钱币、丝绸、瓷器、铜器等作为民间交易的媒介，换取回国的则是各地特产如香料、染料、珍珠宝石以及珍禽异兽（如狮子、斑马、鸵鸟、金钱豹、长颈鹿）等等。[28] 随着郑和的船队还有外国使者和商人来往，也就在这时期，中国民间的海外贸易也有了很大发展。

总之，郑和的航行大大促进了中国和亚洲南部以及非洲东部诸国之间的海上贸易和文化交流，而中国和东非的直接通航，更是海上交通的新发展。

但是，自从达·伽马找到了这条到东方来的航路之后，后继者跟踪而至。他们并不以到达印度为满足，而是向东方继续前进，很快地就通过了马六甲海峡，进入中国南海，1516年终于来到了中国南方的海上门户——广州。走在最前面的是葡萄牙人，其他西欧国家如西班牙、荷兰、英国、法国等也不甘落后，这是一股汹涌而至的殖民主义的逆流，

它冲击着非洲大陆，侵袭着印度洋上以及太平洋西部的众多国家，世代相传友好互惠的亚非人民之间的海上往来，从此被打断，代之而起的却是殖民主义者对财富的掠夺、对土地的征服以及对无辜人民的奴役、贩卖和屠杀。

今天，民族解放运动空前高涨，民族解放革命的胜利不可阻挡。在殖民制度的扩张中被广为传布的所谓新航路的发现这一名词，必须予以纠正。因为这个名词不但歪曲了历史的事实，也抹杀了亚非人民在航海事业中的贡献。

⑥ A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ANCIENT CHINESE GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE*

Example I: A *Commentary on the Book of Rivers*

China is now facing a great historical transformation. In order to get rid of the backwardness of her science and technology and to speed up the effort of the realization of her socialist modernization, it is necessary for us, on the one hand, to learn the advanced knowledge and experience of others countries. And, on the other hand, we must also re-estimate the real value of all the things we have inherited from our forefathers: Chinese culture, old traditions and history. We must absorb and utilize all the things that are beneficial to us. It is through such endeavours that we hope to produce a new culture which is typically Chinese and modern. In other words, we need a new culture for the age of socialism. This great historical transformation is in reality a new Renaissance of China.

Since liberation, this Chinese Renaissance has developed rapidly in the different fields of human knowledge. Indeed, there were serious interruptions and damages during the ten years of political turmoil. Nevertheless, all the things that obey the law of historical development will prosper in spite of the will of the reactionary gangs. And this is true to the Chinese Renaissance.

To give a full account of the Renaissance in this short talk is impossible. It is also out of my personal ability to do so. However, it is possible for me to try to use my personal judgment to re-estimate the real value of ancient Chinese culture and traditions from the field of studies with which I am

familiar. Let me illustrate my view point by showing two concrete examples. I sincerely wish that by so doing I may offer some help to my friends who want to know something about New China.

I would like to introduce to you two important books of ancient Chinese geography in order to illustrate how we, the modern Chinese students, make use of ancient Chinese literature and bring to light from them new value and inspiration.

The first book was compiled in the 6th century A.D. It is a voluminous manuscript called A *Commentary on the Book of Rivers* .

The other book was written 340 years ago by an outstanding Chinese traveller. It was written in the form of a diary with detailed descriptions of his observation and fieldwork. The title of the book is *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels* , which is named after the author.

Both of these books were written in very beautiful and fluent prose. Indeed they had been preserved because of their literary style and beauty. It is only in modern times that their importance in scientific terms was recognized.

We shall discuss *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* first. I would like to introduce to you the life of the author and a brief summary of the contents of the book.

Li Tao-Yuan, the author of *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* was a native of Tsor-Hsien of the present Hopei Province which is about a hundred kilometers southwest of Beijing. He was born between 465 and 472 A.D. and died in 527 A.D., which is about 1453 years ago.

During the time of Li Tao-Yuan, China was divided into the South and the North. In the South, there were several kingdoms of Han nationality which governed the district one after the other chronologically. In the North, there were different minority nationalities fighting against one another for the

sovereignty of the district. And throughout the whole era of the South and the North Dynasties, political hostility existed between the two parts of China. However, in spite of the existence of such political hostility, Li Tao-Yuan kept up his studies and research on the geography of China as a united whole. This idea of unity is most important to us modern students of Chinese Geography. We learn from Li Tao-Yuan that political fragmentation does not mean fragmentation of culture. It is this unity within a developing culture that acts as a motivating force which bound the different nationalities in China steadily. Under such controlling force, they influenced and assimilated one another and a new type of culture with Han nationality as the main stem gradually formed and finally yielded a new culture of special Chinese characteristics. But, at the same time, there still existed in the minority nationalities, their own traditions and culture with their special characteristics. Another point to be noted is that in the process of the development of the Chinese culture, there were the continual absorption and assimilation of foreign civilization and influence. It is an undeniable fact that Chinese culture was enriched by foreign influence.

Li Tao-Yuan's father was a civil officer of a local district. He had to travel on duty to different places in different districts and the young boy Tao-Yuan went with his father on such occasions visiting places. This gave Li Tao-Yuan many chances to travel and thus nurtured his interest in studying geography. When Li Tao-Yuan grew up to be an official himself, he had even more chances to travel and so he visited many more places, which broadened his knowledge and experience. And his interest in studying the geography of his motherland increased by leaps and bounds. In addition to his fieldwork observation and practical experience, Li added to his knowledge by reading a lot of books, ancient materials and manuscripts. It must be mentioned that

China of that time was a kingdom which had enjoyed a cultural unity for several hundred years through the prosperous dynasties of Qin and Han, and the Chinese culture had developed rapidly. There were many writings concerning national and regional geography, history, folklore and tradition, and some of them were of good quality. According to a study and calculation of the writings of Li Tao-Yuan, we find that the books and writings he used for reference in his work amount to 437. It is a pity that most of these books have been lost. In addition to these references, he also collected a lot of writings from stone tablets and folklore and folk literature for his own reference. During the time of Li Tao-Yuan, there were some geographical literature and writings circulating among the elite circles. To Li, these were far from being satisfactory, some being too simple, some being too dry and insipid, and others being too confusing with no definite system for reference and research. It must be noted that most of these materials of geographical descriptions were little more than the compilation and gathering of raw materials and rough sketches of all sorts of natural phenomena. And there was no standard system of classification for these geographical records.

Li Tao-Yuan decided to set up a standard and unified system of recording the geographical materials of China. He used the *Book of Rivers* , a book written by some scholar before him, as an outline for his studies. The original *Book of Rivers* was completed in the third century A.D. It had the descriptions and records of 137 rivers in China, with reference to their sources, estuaries, tributaries, etc. It had a definite system of recording of its own. The only defect of the book is that there was little or practically no reference to the geographical condition of the land irrigated by each river. Li Tao-Yuan used this book as an outline for his research; he filled up many vacancies and supplemented a lot of materials. The number of rivers he

studied and recorded increased to 1252. More important is the fact that he compiled detailed descriptions of each river including the geographical condition of it, the natural phenomena of the district concerned and their changes, with reference to the historical development and influences. Many of the descriptions were facts collected and recorded by Li himself. The completed works of Li Tao-Yuan amounted to three hundred thousand words which is about twenty times more than that of the original *Book of Rivers* . As to the system of compiling his book, Li decided that all the rivers originally recorded in the old book (*Book of Rivers*) should be printed in bold type while all the materials supplemented by Li himself should be printed in small type, as references and footnotes. The name of the new book still preserved the name of the old, i.e. *Book of Rivers* , but the only change was by adding the word "Commentary" and thus the full name of the book became *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* .

In his life time, Li Tao-Yuan had written many books and essays, but only this book got left. This book was preserved to us because of its beauty in writing style, especially its excellence in describing natural scenery. For example, in his records of the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River, the readers would be deeply attracted by his interesting description of lively actions and meditating quietude, its changing colours and poetic sounds of the magnificent pictures of Mother Nature. It is this passage of the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River that students of later times used to recite and memorize as a model of standard prosaic style and literary form.

Recently the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River was opened to all foreign friends and tourists as one of the sight-seeing spots in Central China. Special launch trips are arranged at scheduled time. Our foreign friends are welcome to come to China to enjoy the trip to the Gorges. I regret that I do

not have the ability to translate and bring to life the beautiful prose style and literary achievement of Li Tao-Yuan in his descriptions of the magnificent scenery of the Three Gorges. I must confess that his special literary style and accomplishment are very difficult to interpret and translate. Without understanding, it would be difficult for our foreign friends to appreciate the beauty and essence of Chinese literature and prose form.

To consider Li's book from the point of view of a modern scholar, its beautiful literary style is not the only point of attraction and influence. I would like to point out that the scientific value of his observation and research is even more important. This emphasis is also based on my own personal experience. Let me show my point by telling a short story.

In the summer of 1949, after I concluded my studies in the University of Liverpool, England, I returned to Peking which had just been liberated. The next spring, under the direction of the Municipality of Peking (Beijing), a Committee for City Planning was established. Its duty was to make plans for the reform of old Beijing and the construction of a new Beijing city. I was responsible for the research of the historical geography of Beijing. Actually, I had done some research on this subject during my studies at the University of Liverpool under the guidance and tutorship of Prof. H. C. Darby. But this time the aim of the research was much more concrete: I was to make clear the process of the development of the old city of Peking, especially to make clear why the geographical site of the city had experienced many changes. This was not an easy job, because the long history of Beijing is very complicated. Well, from where should I begin? I was inspired by Prof. Darby's theory when I considered this problem. Prof. Darby emphasized that in the long process of the development of geographical environment, we must try to choose from the different periods in the development some historical cross-

sections and endeavour to restore them to their original conditions. Then we line up these historical cross-sections chronologically, and study them by means of comparison and discover the process of development of each restored cross-section. Thus we can obtain a deeper understanding of the geographical outlook of the district concerned.

Under the guidance and inspiration of this theory, I looked through Li Tao-Yuan's *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* , and extracted from its contents the passages concerning the geographical condition of Beijing and its surrounding areas. I succeeded in restoring a map of Beijing and its surrounding districts of more than 1450 years ago. This is the earliest one which is possible to be reconstructed. With the help of this map, we were able to trace out the origin of the city of Beijing. The same map also offered a reliable guide to the study of the changes and development of Beijing and its surrounding areas in later times. The above story shows that because of the needs of the modernization of China, we revived ancient Chinese classics through the use of modern scientific theory and methods. Considering the above incident from such an angle, we may say that this can be considered as an example of Chinese Renaissance.

Concerning the modern estimation of the value of the book *HsüHsia-Ke's Travels* , I would like to discuss it in the next lecture.

Example II: *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels*

In my last lecture, I tried to use a specific example to illustrate how we discover the scientific value of Li Tao-Yuan's book: *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* , which was famous and well-remembered for its beautiful prose form. Today I would like to introduce to you another famous Chinese book which is also well-remembered by the Chinese people for its excellent

literary style and prose form. Through the records of the author's geographical observations and investigations in his book, we discovered its scientific value and also the author's achievements and influence in his time. To us modern students of geography, the latter point is more important. The name of the book is *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels* which I mentioned in my last lecture.

As in Western history, there are also famous travellers in the Chinese history. They also made long and difficult journeys and travels. The records and literature of what they had done broadened our knowledge of geography and also helped to promote the development of human civilization. For instance, in the first half of the second century B.C. (138-126 B.C.) the famous traveller Zhang Qian who by the command of the Central Government of his time, started from Chang-An, the political capital city, travelled westward and crossed the Pamir Plateau and finally reached Central Asia. He made diplomatic contacts with the political sovereignty there. He spent more than ten years in his travels and return journey, conquering numerous difficulties and untold hardship. He became the pathfinder of the famous "Silk Route". Again, for instance, in the last year of the fourth century (399 A.D.), Fa-Xien, a much respected monk, also travelled from Chang-An. After crossing the Pamir Plateau, he turned down south to India. From India, he travelled by boat to Ceylon, then sailed in a big sea-going boat back to China in 412 A.D. Again, in the first half of the seventh century (627 A.D.-645), another famous monk called Shuen-Zhaung, followed a similar route taken by Fa-Xien some two hundred years before. He started from Chang-An, went westward and arrived in India where he stayed for more than ten years. Then he travelled by land back to Chang-An. Without doubt, the achievements of these travellers are never to be neglected. Their

achievements helped to broaden the knowledge of the Chinese people. Also, they brought back the influence of other people from abroad. However, to investigate into the aims of their endeavour, we may obtain the conclusion that their achievements were by-products only. To Zhang Qian, his aim was to carry out a political mission; whereas to Fa-Xien or Shuen-Zhaung, it was religious fervour that motivated them to take the travels and stand all the trials of hardship.

Now, the traveller Hsü Xia-Ke born in the late sixteenth century (1587-1641) is also well known for his daring journeys. Nevertheless, his travels were completely different from that of the people we mentioned above. More than half of his lifetime was spent in travelling. He travelled with neither political assignment nor any religious motives. He travelled because he wanted to seek knowledge and to explore the secrets of Mother Nature. Hsü Xia-Ke was a native of Jiang-Yin Xien in Jiang-Su Province on the southern bank of the Yangtze River. It was at the age of twenty-two, that is, 1607 A.D., that he left his home at the Yangtze Delta and started his planned trips. His aim was to visit the most famous mountains in China. Usually, he completed one trip within a year. The mountains he travelled to visit in the North included the Tai-Shan in the Province of Shantung, and the Pan-Shan which is near the northeast of Peking. He also journeyed to the northern part of the Province of Shansi where he visited the WuTai Mountain. Then he went to the Northwest where he explored the magnificent sceneries of Hua-Shan of Shensi Province and the WuDong Shan of Hupei Province. In Central China, he visited the famous mountains of Huang-Shan in the Province of Anhui and the Lu-Shan of the Province of Kiangsi. Then he made a trip down South to the Lo-Fu Shan of Kuangtung Province, and also to the Southeastern coastline where he explored the Yen-Dang Shan of

Chekiang Province. In early 1636, he made a long-distance travel to the provinces of Southwest China, reaching the western border of Yunnan Province. It took him nearly four years to complete the trip back and forth. It was the longest journey he had ever made, a distance of about seven thousand kilometers. In all his travels, he made very detailed records and descriptions of his observation, especially that of the provinces of Kuangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan. He wrote down all the geographical phenomena of these places in a detailed way. I would like to point out that if we find in his earlier travels he only enjoyed the beautiful and magnificent sceneries of Nature, then in his latter journeys we find his interest was that of all the natural phenomena. He persisted to walk in all his tours and very seldom he rode or took a boat. Thus, he was able to walk to the farthest corners of the countryside and wilderness and climb to the deepest canyons and the loftiest mountains. He nurtured the habit of writing down immediately everything he had a chance to explore and observe. He made detailed records in the form of a diary of all his trips and activities, with also his own personal opinions and deductions from what he had seen, especially his opinions on natural and geographical phenomena. He had very keen observation power and he was not afraid of the dangers in his journey. Very often, he climbed a high cliff or a deep canyon alone or crept into a deep cave without the company of anybody to explore and investigate. Some writers after him described his activities saying "he climbed high like a monkey and explored caves like a snake. In addition to these, he wrote in an excellent prose style, interesting and attractive, with vivid descriptions of natural sceneries. The way he recorded geographical phenomena was accurate and concise in effect. It was actually because of these special accurate records of his observation and fieldwork that he was much respected and esteemed by the scholars of his time. His writings were

copied and read and were considered as the finest literary accomplishment. After his death, his writings were collected and compiled into a volume with the title *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels* . It was a collection of more than four hundred thousand words. It is a pity that some of the contents have been lost during the past years. The present volume is not the original edition.

The book was titled "Travels", but actually it is a classic on geographical research with very important scientific contents. It is important because it opened up a new way in the study of geography in China, using a thoroughly empirical method. Its influence and achievement in the development of Chinese sciences are unique. I must confess that it is out of my ability to convey to you the literary value of Hsü's book. However, it is necessary for me to explain briefly what the author had done in opening up a new way of geographical research.

Even before the time of Hsü Xia-Ke, the study of geography had a long development in China. There were many books which may be classified into the field of Chinese Geography. However, most of these earlier writings and books were nothing more than confusing collections of geographical phenomena. Practically none or very few of them referred to the reasons or factors yielding or influencing such phenomena. Furthermore, most of the writers of this kind of books were "indoor scholars" who did not have any fieldwork experience. All they did was to write books which were based on some legends from some miscellaneous documents. Very few of them were books of serious research and systematic compilation. The rare exception probably is the work of Li Tao-Yuan's *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* published in the sixth century A.D. The fact is that the oppression of feudalism lasted for so long a time that the level of production was very low, and as a result of this, geographical research and records were also limited.

When it came to Hsü's time, he broke away from the old tradition and walked out of the small study of his house and made long outdoor trips with definite purposes and preparations. He made outdoor observations at first hand. With his keen observation he discovered and accumulated the numerous, colourful geographical phenomena and the knowledge of the internal causes of these phenomena. For instance, he looked into the nature and characteristics of rocks, the power of water in erosion, the use and influence of underground water, the shaping and structure of land forms, the changes of temperature and wind on different levels and latitudes and their influences on vegetations, and many other things which he tried to give scientific explanations of their making. More significant was the travels he made in the latter years of his life when he visited the southwestern part of China where he systematically observed the special nature of topography of the great expanse of karstland there, and made classified descriptions of them. His intense interest in the investigation of the caves in the karstland led him to go into more than one hundred deep caves of which he made very minute observations and detailed records. For example, he went twice to the eastern part of Kweilin in the present Autonomous Region of Kuangxi Zhuang, to explore the famous "Seven Stars Cave". He investigated and recorded the outside and inside details of this great cave in a minute way. The "Seven Star Cave"is one of the most mysterious and complicated caves in the karstland of Southwest China. In 1953, some Chinese geographers surveyed and measured the system of the "Seven Stars Cave" by modern methods and equipment. They drafted the ground plan inside and a rough sketch of the outside environment of the cave. When comparing their survey with the descriptions and records of Hsü Xia-Ke, they were very much amazed by its similarity and accuracy. The conclusion is that we can consider and use Hsü's book and his records as

reliable references in the research of these caves and the karstland of China. I would like to emphasize that the distribution of limestone in the provinces of Southwest China is most widespread in areas of limestone topography in the world. And the time Hsü Xia-Ke spent in exploring and investigating this area was also the longest of all his travels. The records of the distribution of limestone topography, the difference of geographical zones, the different types of topography and the causes of their forming were written down by HsüXia-Ke in details with also his own explanation. Undoubtedly these records of Hsü's are the earliest documents of its kind concerning such a big area of limestone topography. [1]

The facts mentioned above show clearly that by his life-work in the research and investigation outdoor, Hsü Xia-Ke had paved a new way for the studies of geography in China. As a pioneer in the scientific research in geography Hsü is probably comparable to Alexander von Humboldt who laid the foundation of the studies of geography in Germany. Von Humboldt lived about one hundred and fifty years after Hsü Xia-Ke. Von Humboldt also devoted his life in making long-distance travels and investigations. However, von Humboldt lived in a time when the modern industrialization in Europe had already begun and when the studies of natural sciences in the West had also developed rapidly with inventions and making of new scientific equipment and instruments which were of much help to geographical research and fieldwork. These conditions offered necessary facilities to Western geographers for their research which former geographers had been unable to obtain. Alexander von Humboldt was able to use the new equipment and, furthermore, he had also the opportunity to go by sea to the developing South America for his geographical research. Thus, he was able to offer his achievements to the civilization of the whole world. As to Hsü

Xia-Ke, although he had the desire and ambition to expand the area of his observation and investigation, and even expressed the wish to go to the countries outside China, owing to the condition of China of his time, he was unable to fulfill his wish. It must be noted also that Chinese society of Hsü XiaKe's time had only just began to witness the spirit of capitalism. But due to the oppression of the feudalistic sovereignty, its development was retarded, and consequently the development of natural sciences was very slow, and thus, having any scientific instruments for fieldwork for Hsü was definitely out of the question. All Hsü Xia-Ke could do was to walk with his two feet in his travels and to work with his empty hands in his research and investigation. Indeed, he collected some rocks or plants as specimens for his studies even they were rare, as he had to carry everything for himself with his two hands and on his bare shoulders. Under such an environment, how could Hsü Xia-Ke's work compare with Alexander von Humboldt who could make use of sea transportation and use big boats to carry his great amount of specimens and manuscripts?

The story of Alexander von Humboldt is very different. He spent five years in South America. When he returned to Europe in 1804, he brought with him in the boat thirty large cases of specimens and records for his studies and references. He was able to live in Paris for twenty years to study and analyse his records and to write his thirty volumes of research on the New World. After that, he went back to Berlin. Then, again, he travelled to Central Asia. He spent the latter part of his life in studying and writing. He died at the old age of 90 in 1859.

Hsü Xia-Ke spent more than three years in the southwest of China exploring (1636-1640). When he returned to his native land, he brought back only a few rocks as reference plus an exhausted body. And within a year after

his being back home, he died of poverty and illness, with the research and exploration of Chinese geography unfinished. According to an account of his life, even when he was seriously ill in bed, he still had his few rocks by his bedside and continued to study them and fondle them until the last moment of his life. He was only 56 when he died. Except the few hundred thousand words of fieldwork diary and records of observation and a few essays on his studies, he left no other writings.

The main reasons that I try to compare Hsü Xia-Ke of China of 340 years ago to Alexander von Humboldt of Germany of 130 years ago are not only to show the difference of their fate, but also to convey to you by means of emphasizing their important influences to the development of the sciences in the East and in the West, how the studies of sciences had developed into two different ways from times of these two prominent geographers on.

The scientific activities of von Humboldt had a far-reaching influence in Europe. For instance, it was under his influence that the British government sent a boat "The Beagle" in 1831 to the seacoast around South America for a scientific survey and research. On board the ship, a young man brought along with him von Humboldt's books. He read the books enthusiastically and sent letters home asking for more of von Humboldt's new books. The name of this young man is Charles Darwin. With this expedition as his starting point for his scientific research, he finally established the theory of"The Origin of Species". And with Darwin, sciences in the West had a big leap from the starting point of von Humboldt.

To return to our consideration of Hsü Xia-Ke's contributions to sciences in China, we find that in spite of his hard work, he had very little influence in the intellectual circle of his time. Indeed, there were some people who acknowledged his talent as a literary man; there were also some but fewer

people who appreciated Hsü's life as an explorer who faced dangers bravely. However, there was practically none who noticed his achievements in geographical research and, after his death, there was no one to follow his footsteps or continue his studies. Even his book of such a mine of geographical wealth was ignored and it was not until recently that its value in geography was discovered. Isn't it most absurd and unreasonable?

I would like to point out that even before the time of Hsü Xia-Ke, science and technology had developed steadily in China. There had been important inventions by the ancient Chinese, such as the compass for sea travelling, the method of printing in block types, etc. These inventions were first used by the Chinese and then they were taken up by the world at large. Their influence on world culture and civilization is great and important. And even in Hsü Xia-Ke's time, there were important scientific writings and literature, such as *Ben Cao Gang Mu* (*The Principles and Index of Herbs and Minerals for Medicine*) by Li ShiZhen (1518-1593). Its influence on botany, mineralogy and pharmacology is undeniably great. There was also the book written by Sung Ying-Sing(born ca. 1600) *Tien Gong Kai Wu* (*Exploitation of the Works of Nature*). We know that its first edition dated to 1637 and it was a very important work on agriculture, textile weaving, pottery, foundry and casting and other contents concerning the making of tools and instruments. [2] These two books and the one written by Hsü Xia-Ke were the forerunners in the scientific research in old China. They opened up new paths for the people after them. Their achievements were undoubtedly among the most advanced in their age and also in the world. Nevertheless, the development of Chinese scientific research after the time of Hsü XiaKe lagged far behind that of the West. Thus, even until recent times, to learn from the advanced science and technology of the West is still our problem

which we must acknowledge. How did it happen?

As a student of historical geography I do not have the ability to answer this question in full. However, from the angle of the development of natural sciences, there are some few points which we ought to notice when we look into this problem.

Since we know that as production of social development, natural science and technology also develop accordingly. And as early as the third century B.C. ancient China had already been in the state of feudalism, a feudalistic kingdom of centralisation of states and sovereignty. In China, the authority of the Emperor is supreme and unquestionable. Since then and for a long time of feudalism of more than two thousand years, the society of China had been built on the economy of small-scale farming; then out of this grew the handicraft workshops. In the early part of feudalism in ancient China, such mode of production developed and with it, the field of science and technology yielded new inventions and discoveries. When it came to the latter part of feudalism, productivity in China continued to develop, but management of individual craftsman workshops gradually changed into that of small workshops with hired labourers. This became the soil for the growth of capitalism.

In Hsü Xia-Ke's time, the districts along the middle reaches and the estuary of the Yangtze River, especially the region of its delta, developed greatly in the capacity of production and with this also grew capitalism. With such social background, the progressive intellectuals of that time naturally paid much attention to the research of natural sciences and technology. Their interest was on the investigation and exploration of Nature and also the summarization and propagation of the techniques of production. Such prominent personalities like Li Shi-Zhen, Sung Ying-Sing and Hsü Xia-Ke

were leading representatives of the time. But the reactionary forces and backward influences which supported the feudalistic sovereignty went all out to suppress and shatter this new progress in search of truth. Their tactics were to control the governmental examinations. At that time the means of the Emperor and the bureaucrats to select government officials were to give examinations, the contents and subjects of which emphasised loyalty and fidelity of the persons who took the examinations. Natural sciences were not included in the examinations. All those that worked on scientific studies were considered by society as "Laolies" or manual workers and all manual workers or labourers were looked down upon by "Laohsins" or brainworkers. "Brainworkers are the controllers and manual workers are the controlled." This was the social attitude and public opinion of Hsü's time. Thus, the Chinese society was clearly divided into two categories: those who controlled and those who were controlled. And the Chinese term brainworkers means the social group who knows nothing about the ways of production—all they know is using their ink-brushes to play with words. Thus the few people who devoted their time to the research of sciences were also considered as manual workers. And in the eyes of the brainworkers, they were lower in social status, or the outcasts of society, and among this lowly group were the medical men. And for them to take and pass the exams was undoubtedly out of the question. For instance, Li Shi-Zhen was among those of this group who had taken the exams several times but failed each time. As to Hsü Xia-Ke, he despised this corrupt and unfair system of examinations. Even when he was a young man, he showed his hatred of the corruption of the bureaucracy. He decided to devote his life to outdoor fieldwork and explorations, making torturous journeys against all hardships in order to find out the secret of Nature. Here, we see a man against the society of his time, a rebel who broke

away from the bound of old traditions and society and did become a pioneer of the new era.

Yet, in the age of the supremacy of imperialistic feudalism, Hsü XiaKe was not to live to do what he had wished. Only three years after his death, there began the worst of the feudalistic dynasties in the history of China, that is, the Ching Dynasty, the difficult time under the oppression of the Manchu minority. The intellectuals of the Han society were under strict control of the government. No words or feeling against the Manchus were allowed. Punishment of death was the penalty for all those who wrote anything against the imperial Manchu sovereignty and his relatives. This was called in the Chinese history as the "Criminal Case of the Words", that is, people were put in jail and put to death because of the words they had written. The condition was so bad that many of the intellectuals were driven to hide themselves or to leave their positions. All they could do was to write abstract essays, of no practical use. The beginning or germination of capitalistic thinking and its influence on ideology, that is, the ideas of reacting against the restrictions of feudalism, the efforts to seek freedom and democracy, the new idea of individuality and self-expression, were suppressed and punished. It was the time of the decline of the world of thought in China. There were no more people like Li Shi-Zhen or Sung Ying-Sing or Hsü Xia-Ke in the field of scientific research for over a century. Nevertheless, in the world of literature, there appeared the book by Cao Xue-Chin called *The Dreams of the Red Chamber* , which reflected and echoed the voice of the time. The writer Cao two hundred years ago used his book as a weapon to attack and expose the corruption of the declining feudalism. From this standpoint we may consider Cao's book as a masterpiece of his time.

In China, the age after feudalism is semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Unlike

the West, it was not followed by the age of capitalism. We call it "semicolonialism" because it was the developed capitalist nations that sent troops to China to break down her "closed door policy" and thus put her under the control of the foreign powers. We call it "semi-feudalism"because China still had feudalistic emperors; the only difference was that these feudalistic big heads could no more give orders and be obeyed by the people like former times. Instead, they must rely on the foreign powers to suppress the rebellious people.

In 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen led a revolution successfully against the Manchus and thus ended the imperial dynasties of feudalism which lasted for more than two thousand years. However, it did not end or smash completely the feudalistic forces and their traditional influences. It was in 1919 that the famous "May 4th Movement" broke out; its slogan was: "Anti-imperialism and Anti-feudalism." To us Chinese historians, it means the beginning of the Revolution of Neo-democracy. It was led by the Chinese Communist Party until its final victory in 1949, the liberation of the Chinese People.

In short, from the Opium War in 1840 when the foreign military forces invaded China to the establishment of the People's Republic of China, for a lengthened time of more than one hundred years, the people of China had lived under the yokes of both imperialism and feudalism. They were in most miserable condition, unable to earn their barest living. In such condition, scientist research and technical development were out of the question. The result was the backwardness of China in science and technology.

The birth of New China means the beginning of the age of her socialist reconstruction, which lasts until now for already thirty years. There have been tremendous changes since then through the efforts of her people in the spirit of self-reliance. Nevertheless, because of the backwardness of our

science and technology and the weakness of our social foundation, China is still a poor and developing country, especially after the so-called Cultural Revolution during which we experienced the worst possible damage and interruption, not only in production, but also in practically every field. And it is through the ten years of political turmoil that we begin to realize how the left-over poisonous effects of feudalism and their social influences interfere with our socialist construction, for instance,"The Homologized Court" (that is, everything must be decided by the only one top officer as final); "Tenure System" (that is, once you become the head of a government office, you will always and for the rest time of your life stay as the head of that office); "Personality Cult"; "Isolationist Policy and Self-praising"; "Bureaucracy"; "the social influences and tradition of individual production"; etc. Indeed, these bad points can also be found in capitalist society. However, in China, the destructive effects of such rubbish are much more serious.

Now in New China one of our most important tasks is to restore the spirit of these scientists and scholars, and in geography to rekindle the spirit and method of Hsü Xia-Ke. We have gotten over the bitter experience of the Cultural Revolution. We have brought about greater stability. With the desire to build China into a modern socialist country, we begin the New Long March. But when we raise our heads and look around at the world and the neighbouring countries, we find that their achievements in science and technology have progressed far front before us. We must break away from the former condition of isolation, and learn from our foreign friends their advanced science and technology, so that we can expedite our modernization. Of course, we will still maintain our principle of self-reliance. And by self-reliance we mean that we must also try our very best to discover new value from our ancient civilization. That is to say, we should not simply take

everything for granted from the West without any investigations or analyses. Undoubtedly, we shall absorb and utilize everything that is beneficial to our country. But more important is the effort of us to discover the rich hereditary endowments in our history and culture, and to transform them for the use of the modernization of China.

Three hundred and forty years ago, Hsü Xia-Ke had opened up a new way in the seeking of secrets of Nature. Owing to the feudalistic reactionary forces and influences, he had no successor or follower. And now, we the modern Chinese students are determined to sweep away all the rubbish of feudalism, in order to build our New Culture and Civilization. It is because of this determination that I am sure a new age of Renaissance in China will be at hand. We look forward anxiously to its coming, and I am sure that our Western friends will also welcome its appearance.

I thank you.

陆　古代中国地理文献的现代解释*

例一：《水经注》

中国正在经历着一场伟大的变革，企图摆脱长期落后的局面努力在实现社会主义现代化的宏伟目标下迅速前进。为此我们有必要向外国学习一切先进的东西，这是一个方面，另一方面，我们还必须重新估价自己的历史文化遗产，从中吸取一切有益的东西。只有这样，我们才能创造出真正的、富有自己民族特色和富有生命力的新文化，也就是适应社会主义时代要求的新文化。实际上这也可以称之为一次中国式的“文艺复兴”。

解放以来，这个中国式的“文艺复兴”，在知识领域的各个部门里已在蓬勃发展，这中间虽然遭遇到反动势力历时十年的严重摧残和破坏，可是符合历史发展规律的新生事物，不是任何人的意志所能消灭的。

现在要想把这个正在发展中的中国式的“文艺复兴”作个全面的介绍是不可能的，更不是我所能胜任的。我所能做的，只是从自己比较熟悉的领域里，根据个人感觉到的从旧的文化遗产中去发现新价值这件事，举出两个具体的例子，略作论明。这样做，或许对愿意了解新中国的朋友们，不无一点帮助。如果能做到这一点，也就是我最大的愿望了。

我想以中国古代地理学的两部重要著作为例，来说明：我们在今天是如何从旧的文化遗产中，去发现它们的新价值的。

第—部是写成于公元6世纪的一部巨著：《水经注》。

第二部是三百四十年前—位卓越的旅行家所留下的一部以日记为体裁的野外考察记录，后人就以这位旅行家的名字，命名这部记录，叫做《徐霞客游记》。

这两部书都是用极其优美的散文所写成的，首先是以其文学价值流传后世的，只是到了现代，我们才真正认识到它们所包含的极其重要的

科学内容。

现在请让我先把《水经注》这部巨著的作者及其主要内容，作个简要的介绍。

《水经注》的作者郦道元，其故乡在今河北省涿县。涿县在北京城西南不到一百公里。他出生的年代在公元465与472年之间，死在527年。去今已有1453年。

郦道元的时代，正处在中国的政局南北分裂的时代。当时南方是几个汉族小王朝先后统治的地区，北方则是不同少数民族的统治者互相角逐的场所。同时南北两方又长期处于相互敌对的地位。但是这种分裂的局面，并没有妨碍郦道元对于全国地理作为一个统一的整体来进行研究，这一点是很重要的，足以说明政治上的分裂，并不能破坏文化上的统一。正是这种统一的，而且是在不断发展中的文化，作为一种无形的力量，才把中国的各族人民逐渐维系在一起，互相影响，又互相融合，终于形成了以汉族影响为主的独具特色的中国文化，同时在一些少数民族里也还保存着某种固有的民族文化的特征。其次，在中国文化发展的过程中，也曾不断从外部的文化吸取营养，丰富了自己的内容，这也是无可否认的事实。

郦道元从少年时代起，随着他的父亲离开家乡。他父亲作为一个地方官吏，在任职过程中，到过不少地方，道元随行，从而得到了一个旅游的好机会，并且培养了研究地理的兴趣。他自己年长做官，到过的地方更多了，见闻更广了，研究祖国地理的兴趣也就与日俱增。在实地考察之外，他还涉猎了大量的图书资料。因为当时的中国，已经经历了自秦、汉以来几百年之久的统一时期，文化有了迅速的发展，关于全国以及各地区的地理、历史、风土、传说等各种写作，已经积累有很大的数量，种类也很繁多。据统计，道元在他的著作中直接引过的这类图书，就有437种之多，可惜现在大部分已经失传了。此外，他还搜集了一些碑刻文字，采取了不少的民间传说、故事，以备参考。当时也已经有几

种描述全国地理的著作在流传中，可是他看了都不满意，有的太简单，有的太枯燥，有的内容零乱，缺乏系统。应该看到，当时的地理描述，还停在资料堆砌和现象罗列的初步阶段。怎样才能把十分复杂的各种地理现象记录下来，还缺乏很好的办法。

郦道元有志把全国的地理进行统一的描述，他的办法，就是利用前人所写的《水经》一书，作为自己写作的纲领。《水经》一书，大约写成在公元221到279年之间，书中记述了中国的河流共计137条。每条河流都是从上源写到下游，从主流写到支流，脉络相寻，自成体系。可是河流所经各地的地理情况，书中很少叙述。郦道元以这部书为纲领，又大大加以补充，把河流的数目增加到1252条，更重要的是，还把每条河流所经过的地方都作了详细的描述，从一些自然地理现象，一直到地方变化的情况，历史演替的事实，无不包括在内。（许多描述都源于郦道元搜集和记载的资料。）只就补充的字数来说，就多于原书20倍，约近30万字。在书的写作格式上：凡是原书所记每条河流都用大形字体来写，补充的部分，则用小形字体作注。全书仍用《水经》原名，只是加了一个“注”字，就叫做《水经注》，意译就是*A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* 。

郦道元生前的著作不只是一部《水经注》，但是流传到现在的，只有这一种。主要原因是这部书的文笔非常优美，描写的自然景物尤为出色。例如，他描写长江三峡壮丽的风景，有动有静，有声有色，不知不觉就把读者吸引到大自然的怀抱中去。因此，这段描写常被选为描写风景的范文，为人所传诵。

现在长江三峡已被开放为外国友人的游览区，有特备的江轮，定期航行，为来自世界各地的游人服务。可惜的是，郦道元描写三峡的优美文字和它特有的风格，很不容易用译文传达出来，供来这里观光的外国朋友，共赏中国散文的精华。

但是现在看来，《水经注》可贵之处还不仅仅在于它的优美的文

字，更重要的还在于它所包含的具有科学价值的内容。这一点对我个人来说，也是深有感触的。这里我只能举一个很小的例子来作个说明。

1949年夏，我结束了在英国利物浦大学的学习，回到了解放后的北京。转年春天，在北京市人民政府的直接领导下，成立了一个城市规划委员会，着手进行改造北京旧城和建设新城的规划工作。在这个委员会里，我分担了北京城市历史地理的研究工作。实际上我在利物浦大学时，在H.C.Darby教授的指导下，已经进行过这方面的初步研究。现在在实际任务的要求下，目的更加明确，就是要弄清楚北京这个古老城市的发展过程，特别是要确切了解它的城址在历史上多次变迁的原因，为现在的规划工作提供必要的参考。这并不是一件轻而易举的事，因为历史久远，变迁复杂，从何入手呢？在这个问题上，Darby教授的一个理论，给我以很大的启发，就是要在地理环境长期演变的过程中，尽可能地选择不同时期的历史剖面进行“复原”，然后按着时代的顺序，把这些“复原”了的“剖面”，进行比较研究，找出其前后演变的过程，这样就可以对现在这一地区的地理面貌，获得更为深刻的理解。

正是在这一理论的指导下，我借助于郦道元的《水经注》一书中有关当时北京城及附近地区地理情况的描述，“复原”了一千四百五十多年以前北京及其近郊的一幅地图。根据这幅地图，可以上溯北京城的起源，同时也为研究后来北京城及其郊区的变化，提供了一个可靠的起点。这是一个很小的事例，但是也足以说明：新时代建设事业的要求，借助于现代的科学理论，使古代的经典著作，发射出新的光芒。从这个意义上来说，不是也可以算作中国式的“文艺复兴”的一例吗？

关于《徐霞客游记》的现代评价，下次再进行讨论。

例二：《徐霞客游记》

在上一讲里，我试图用一个具体的例子来说明我们如何从郦道元的《水经注》这部过去以优美散文为人所重视的巨著里，去发现它的科学

价值。今天我想用另外一部同样以优美散文而得流传于世的著作来说明：我们如何从这部著作的地理描述中不但去发现它的科学价值，而且从它的作者从事地理考察的事实中，去发现他之所以从事这项科学活动的时代意义。在今天看来，这一点是更为重要的。这就是我在上一讲中已经提到过的那部《徐霞客游记》。

在中国历史上和在西方历史上一样，曾经出现过一些长途跋涉从而大大开拓了人们的视野的大旅行家。他们的活动增加了人类的地理知识，促进了人类文化的发展。例如，公元前第2世纪前半（公元前138—前126），张骞从当时中国的政治中心长安出发，奉中央政府之命西行，越过帕米尔高原，直到中亚细亚，与那里的统治者进行外交上的联络，往返途中克服了种种困难，经历了十多年的时间，成为开辟有名的“丝绸之路”的先驱。又如，公元4世纪末，中国僧人法显，也是从长安出发，越过帕米尔高原后，转往印度。最后又从印度渡海到达现在的锡兰，再从锡兰乘大船返回中国，也用了十多年时间（399—412）。到了7世纪前半（627—645），又有一位中国僧人玄奘，大体沿着二百多年前法显西行的道路，从长安出发到达印度，在印度各地逗留了十多年，然后仍从陆路返回长安。这些著名的旅行家，虽然对扩大中国人民的地理知识、吸收外来的影响，作出了很大的贡献，但是这只能称是一种副产，而不是他们长途跋涉的目的。他们的旅行，有的是负有政治使命，如张骞，有的是为了求取佛经，是出于宗教上的要求，如法显、玄奘。

出生于16世纪晚期的徐霞客（1587—1641），虽然也是以旅行家见称，但是他的旅行和上述诸人却完全不同。他几乎有半生的岁月都在旅途中度过，既没有任何政治使命，也没有宗教上的动机，完全是为了寻求知识，探索自然的奥秘。他的家乡在扬子江三角洲上的江阴县，靠近扬子江南岸。他从22岁那一年，也就是公元1607年起，开始离开家乡作有计划的旅行，主要目的是访问名山胜景。一般都是当年外出，当年回

来。向北，经过山东的泰山，到达北京附近的盘山和山西北部的五台山。向西北到过陕西华山和湖北武当山，中间还访问过安徽的黄山和江西的庐山。向南，直到广东的罗浮山。在东南沿海地区又访问过浙江的雁荡山和福建的武夷山。最重要的是，从1636年起，他更远游西南各省，直到云南西部边境。往返之间，将近四年，路途跋涉约七千公里，这是他一生中旅行路线最长的一次。沿途作了详细的观察和记录，特别是对广西、贵州和云南三省的一些地理现象，描述得最为详尽。如果说他早期的旅行，还是以欣赏大自然的壮丽风景为主，可是到了后来，他的全部注意力，几乎都为自然地理的各种现象所吸引。他在野外一直坚持徒步跋涉，很少骑马和乘船。这样就便于他深入人迹罕至的穷乡僻壤和深山大野，而且他还养成了随时随地进行观察和随手记录描写的好习惯。他的记录都是以日记的体裁写下来的，十分详细地记载了他每日的行程和观察所得，有时也包括了关于一个地区特点的概括性的论述，或是关于某一地理现象的总结式的评论。他有十分锐敏的观察力，更有不怕一切艰险、只身攀登悬崖峭壁或者潜入洞穴深处进行考察的精神。有人描写说他攀援登高时像一只猴子，探索洞穴时像一条蛇。特别是他还写得一手极好的散文，描写自然景物，逼真生动，富有感染力；记述各种地理现象，又有精确、简明、刻画入微的特点。正是因为这个原因，他的这部野外考察的记录，才受到当时一些人的重视，作为文学读物，争相传抄。他去世之后，又有人把这些记录加以搜集整理，编订成册，定名为《徐霞客游记》，共有四十余万字。可惜已有部分散失，后来刻印成书的，已经不是全稿了。

这部书虽以《游记》为名，实际上却是一部地理考察文献，具有十分重要的科学内容，在中国的科学发展史上，为研究地理学开创了一条新道路。在这里来介绍这部书的文学价值，不是我所能胜任的，但是简要说明一下它的作者所开创的地理学研究的新道路，却是必要的。

在徐霞客的时代以前，中国的地理学已有长期发展的历史，可以列

为地理这一门类的书籍，为数也很多。但是，这些书籍，几乎都是表面的地理现象的罗列，极少涉及这些地理现象产生的原因和彼此之间的内在联系。而且这些地理书籍的作者，又多半是一些“书斋里的学者”，很少有野外考察的经验。他们只是根据别人的传说，或是把别人一些零散的记录，编写成书。即使这一类的编辑工作，能做到像郦道元写《水经注》那样广收博采，严加考订的，实在也极少。实际上，在长期的封建社会里，由于生产水平的限制，对地理记载的要求，也就是这样。可是到了徐霞客，他却打破了旧传统，走出了小书房，有目的、有计划地到野外作长途旅行，进行实地考察。他热爱大自然，有锐敏的观察力，从丰富多彩的地理现象中，他逐渐认识到造成这些现象的一些内在原因。例如，他对岩石的性质、流水侵蚀的能力、地下水的作用、地形塑造的过程、高山上下温度风力的变化对于植物的影响、不同气候区域之间植物群落的显著差异，如此等等，他都有合乎科学的解释。尤其重要的是，他在晚年的西南之行，使他对广大石灰岩地区的地形特征，有了系统的观察和分门别类的描述。特别是对石灰岩地区特有的溶洞的研究，更引起了他极大的兴趣。他深入考察过的洞穴就有一百多处，并作了十分详细的观察和记录。例如，他曾两次考察过桂林东部有名的七星岩洞穴，并且对洞内和洞外都作了十分详细的观察和记录。这是一处十分复杂的洞穴体系。1953年地理学家用科学手段对这个洞穴体系进行了测量，绘制了内部的平面图和外部的素描图。令人惊异的是，用三百四十年前徐霞客对这个洞穴体系所作的描述，与这些图相对比，竟是如此之相似，以至他的这些描述至今仍可作为对照研究这处洞穴的参考。中国的西南诸省，石灰岩分布面积很广，是世界上最广大的石灰岩地貌区域之一，而徐霞客在这一地区考察的时间又最长，对石灰岩地貌的分布、地区的差异、各种类型及其成因，都有详细的论断和记述。这应该是世界上最早的有关大面积内石灰岩地貌的宝贵文献了。[1]

上述事实足以说明：徐霞客半生的野外考察，确实是为中国地理学

的研究，开创了一条新道路。从这个意义上来说，他和一百五十年以后在欧洲历史上通过野外的长途旅行和考察，从而为现代自然地理学奠定了基础的德国地理学家洪堡德是颇有相似之处的。不过洪堡德的时代，西方的自然科学随着近代工业的开始兴起，已经有了很大的发展，特别是各种有助于野外考察的科学仪器，为地理学家提供了前所未有的技术装备。而且，洪堡德还有机会远渡重洋，到正在开发中的南美洲进行考察，因此使他有可能在科学发展史上为全人类的文明作出重大的贡献。徐霞客虽然也曾有扩大他的考察范围远到中国以外的遥远地区的强烈愿望，只是由于客观条件的限制，未能如愿。尤其是当时的中国，还停留在封建制度的束缚之下，生产的发展受到很大的限制，各种有关的自然科学还没有相应的发展，更谈不到近代科学仪器在野外考察中的应用。徐霞客只是赤手空拳，徒步跋涉，偶尔也采集岩石和植物标本，但是一切采集品都要靠自己背负携带，哪里能和洪堡德那样利用漂洋过海的轮船作为运载的工具相比呢？

洪堡德在中南美洲进行了五年之久的考察旅行，于1804年回到欧洲的时候，他随船带回来三十大箱的标本资料，随即在巴黎居住下来，开始进行整理研究工作，一直持续了二十年，写成了三十卷的《1797—1804年新大陆热带区域旅行记》。后来他回到柏林，又曾到中亚考察，晚年仍孜孜不息，勤于著述，一直到90岁的高龄（1859年去世）。

徐霞客在中国西南广大地区进行了三年多的野外考察（1636—1640），于1640年回到家乡江阴县的时候，他随身带回来的，是仅有的一些岩石标本，和一个由于过度劳苦而受到严重损害的身体。结果他回家后不到一年，就在病中含着未竟之志与世长辞。有记载说，在他卧病期间，他还把野外带回来的岩石标本放在病床旁边，进行细心观察，直到生命的最后一息。他享年只有56岁。除去几十万字的野外考察日记和几篇专题论文之外，再没有留下其他著作。

在这里，我把三百四十年前中国的徐霞客和一百三十年前欧洲的洪

堡德，作个比较，主要目的不仅在于说明他们个人之间命运上的悬殊，更重要的是想以这两位卓越的地理学家的影响为例，来说明东西方科学的发展，从这两位科学家的时代开始，各自走上了完全不同的道路。

洪堡德的科学活动，在欧洲产生了巨大的影响。例如，正是在洪堡德的影响下，英国政府于1831年派遣了The Beagle号船，去南美洲的一些沿海地带，进行考察测量。参加这次考察的一个青年科学工作者，随身携带着洪堡德的一些著作，热情地阅读着，而且寄信给家人，要求把洪堡德新出版的书籍，继续寄给他。这个青年人就是以这次考察的收获为开端，而创立了进化论的达尔文。达尔文的贡献又超过了洪堡德，对西方自然科学的进一步发展，产生了更为深远的影响。

回过头来看看徐霞客一生的科学活动，在中国知识界所产生的影响，真是微乎其微。有人只是欣赏他的卓越的文学才能，有人只是赞叹他探险搜奇、勇于跋涉的精神，而他所开创的地理学研究的新方向，竟然后继无人，甚至他所遗留下来的唯一的一部著作的科学价值，也只是到了现代才被发现，这不是一个很奇怪的现象吗？

应该看到，在徐霞客的时代以前，中国的科学与技术一直在不断的发展中。有些重要的发明和创造，例如用于海上航行的罗盘、用于传布文化知识的活字版印刷术等，都是首先在中国被广泛应用的，从而为人类文化的发展，作出了重要贡献。就是徐霞客同时代的一些重要科学著作，如李时珍（1518—1593）的《本草纲目》在植物学、矿物学、医药学以及宋应星（生于1587年）的《天工开物》（1637年初版）[2] 在农业、纺织、制陶、冶炼以及其他器物制造的研究和应用上，和徐霞客在地理学的考察上所开创的新道路一样，都达到了当时世界上的先进水平。可是从徐霞客的时代以后，中国科学技术的发展，开始落在西方的后面，而且是越落越远。直到现在，向西方先进的科学技术学习，仍然是我们所面临的一项重要任务，这究竟是什么原因呢？

我作为一个历史地理的学生，没有能力来答复这个问题。但是从自

然科学发展史的角度来看，在探讨这个问题上，还是有值得注意的地方的。

我们知道自然科学和技术是随着社会生产的发展而发展的。早在公元前3世纪时起，中国就已经进入封建社会，开始建立了中央集权的封建国家，在这里，皇帝的权力高于一切。此后在长达两千多年的封建社会里，小农经济是主要的社会基础，手工业也是在这个基础上发展起来的。在封建社会前期，随着生产的发展，在科学技术的领域里，也不断有新的发明和创造。到了封建社会后期，生产力进一步发展，又从原来个体手工业的经营方式中，开始出现了以雇佣劳动为主的作坊工业。在作坊工业里又逐渐出现了资本主义的萌芽。

到了徐霞客的时代，扬子江中下游一带——特别是三角洲地区，社会生产力有了迅速的发展，资本主义的萌芽日益成长。当时知识界的先进人物，更加注意到自然科学与技术的研究，他们把注意力转向了自然界的探索以及生产技术的总结和传布。上述李时珍、宋应星以及徐霞客都是这方面的代表人物。但是社会上维护封建统治的落后势力，则是他们前进的严重障碍。当时的封建皇帝利用考试制度来选拔知识分子，补充政府的官僚机构，从而为巩固封建统治服务。因此在考试科目中，主要是以测验应考者是否效忠封建王朝为唯一标准，自然科学技术的考试科目是没有的。而且一切从事科学技术研究的人，都被认为是“劳力”的，也就是体力劳动者，而体力劳动者在封建社会里是受鄙视的。因而自古以来，在中国的封建社会里，就是以“劳心者治人，劳力者治于人”作为社会分工的唯一信条。所谓“劳心”者，指的就是不事生产而只会玩弄笔杆、舞文弄墨的人，连搞科学技术，都被认为是“劳力”，因此在“劳心”者看来，都是“下贱”的，是永远不能通过国家考试的。连为人治病的医生，也得不到社会上应有的重视。李时珍、宋应星都是屡次参加地方上的国家考试而未被录取的人。至于徐霞客，从少年时代起，就鄙视这种国家考试，不屑一顾，对于腐朽没落的封建统治，尤其是深

恶痛绝。他决心献身于旅行考察事业，不畏一切艰险去探索大自然的奥秘。从这一点来看，他称得上是一个封建社会的叛逆者，是冲破旧社会的束缚，走向新时代的先驱。

但是，专制主义发展到极端的封建王朝，是绝不容忍这样的时代的先驱者。徐霞客去世后三年，中国历史上由一个少数民族——满族所建立的封建王朝——清朝，统治了中国。汉族知识分子身上，又增加了一副新的枷锁，那就是，任何不满于异族统治者的情绪，一旦见于文字，不仅本人可能要遭杀戮，就是亲属也要受到连累，这就叫做“文字狱”——因文字得罪而被关入的监狱。清朝前期因“文字狱”而惨遭杀害的，在知识分子中大有人在。大批知识分子被迫走向脱离生产、脱离实际的道路。资本主义萌芽及其在意识形态领域里的反映——即孕育着反对封建束缚、努力追求自由民主和个性解放的新思潮，更要受到压制甚至查禁。全国的思想界处于萎靡消沉的状态，在科学技术领域里，再没有出现像李时珍、宋应星和徐霞客那样的卓越人物。文学艺术毕竟还是反映了时代的最强音的，从这个意义上来说，二百多年前伟大作家曹雪芹的《红楼梦》这部小说，在深入揭露处于崩溃中的腐朽没落的封建社会这一点来说，确实是具有划时代意义的杰作。

但是在中国，真正结束了这个封建社会而相继出现的，和西方的历史进程不一样，不是资本主义社会，而是半殖民地半封建社会。说是“半殖民地”，因为是来自西方已经发达了的资本主义国家的军队打开了中国“闭关自守”的门户，把古老的中国，置于它的强权控制之下；说是“半封建”，因为封建统治者（皇帝）依然存在，只是不能像过去那样独裁一切，发号施令，反而必须借助于外来的势力，以压迫中国人民。

1911年以孙中山博士为首的革命运动，虽然推翻了统治中国长达两千多年的封建王朝，但是却没有像西方历史上法国大革命那样彻底摧毁封建势力。因此，到了1919年，又爆发了有名的“五四运动”，明确提出了反对帝国主义和反对封建主义的双重目标。这也就是在我国所说的新

民主主义革命的开始。这场革命在中国共产党的领导下一直继续到1949年解放战争的胜利。

总之，从1840年鸦片战争中西方武装力量入侵中国，一直到1949年中华人民共和国的成立，这一百多年间，中国人民在帝国主义和封建主义的双重压迫下，陷入了极其悲惨的境地，求生存都很困难，科学文化的落后就更不必说了。

新中国诞生之后，开始了社会主义建设的新阶段，到现在已经过了三十个年头了。在这三十年的时间里，经过了全国人民的艰苦奋斗，在自力更生的前提下，国家已经发生了史无前例的变化。但是由于基础薄弱，科学技术落后，我们还是个贫穷的、尚在发展中的国家，特别是经过“文化大革命”前后十年的大动乱，不仅在生产上遭到了极大的破坏，在其他各方面也都受到了极大的摧残。如果说“文化大革命”除去破坏之外还给我们带来了什么值得重视的东西的话，那就是它使我们进一步认识到：残存的封建遗毒还在阻碍着我们在建设社会主义的道路上迅速前进。例如“一言堂”、“终身制”、“个人崇拜”、“固步自封”、“官僚主义”、“小生产的习惯势力”等等，这些弊病有的在资本主义社会里也有，但是在我们这里就显得格外突出。

现在我们在吸取了“文化大革命”的惨痛教训之后，重新收拾残破局面，举国上下团结起来，决心在“新长征”的道路上，奋发前进。但是在现代科学技术突飞猛进的形势下，我们发现自己已经远远落后于西方国家，因此我们必须打破过去那种与世隔绝的局面，向西方学习先进的科学技术，以及先进的管理方法，来促进我们自己的“现代化”的建设。更重要的是我们还必须继续坚持“自力更生”的原则。在中文里“自力更生”这个词，也包括着使自己古老的文明获得新生的意思。有人说“现代化”是不能用金钱买来的，也就说不是能够简单地从外国搬运过来的。我们一方面要吸收西方一切先进的东西，为我所用。我们更需要从自己宝贵的历史文化遗产中汲取精华，发扬光大。

如果说三百四十年前徐霞客在探索自然界的奥秘中所开创的新道路，由于封建势力的阻挠而后继无人，那么今天，在我们坚决扫荡封建遗毒，在现代化的道路上奋发前进的时候，我们一定会创造出自己的新文化，正是在这个意义上，我想，一个中国式的“文艺复兴”的新时代，应该到来了吧！我这样殷切地期待着，我相信我们可尊敬的西方朋友们也会是这样期待着的。

谢谢！

北京大学地理系

一九八○年九月

⑦ T HE ANCIENT GREAT WALL IN A NEW ERA*

About one century after the fall of Alexander's empire which extended from Macedonia eastward as far as the Indus River, a great empire began to emerge in the central part of China. It was the Empire of Qin.

The founder of this Qin Empire who came to the throne in 221 B.C., claimed to be the first emperor of China or, in Chinese, Shi Huangdi. It is from the word Qin that the empire was known to the West as China.[1] However, before the Qin Empire China had already had a long period of historical development. The real contribution of Qin Shi Huang is that he was the first ruler in China who created a political system of centralized government by ending the power of the contending feudal states. This marks the beginning of the history of imperial dynasties with absolute power in the hands of a monarch, which lasted for more than 2,000 years until 1911 A.D.

Besides his political achievement, Qin Shi Huang left two material legacies for the present day. One is his tomb with the famous clay army discovered recently. The other is the Great Wall.

Walls were built in China as military fortifications long before Qin Shi Huang's time, but the building of the Great Wall was attributed to Qin Shi Huang. He was the first emperor who mobilized thousands of peasants to connect the walls constructed by three former feudal states along their northern boundaries. In addition, he built new sections both at the east and the west ends. Eventually a great long wall of thousands of miles came into existence; hence the name *Wanli Changcheng* which means a long wall of ten

thousand *li* , or simply the Great Wall. Since then the Great Wall was repaired and rebuilt again and again but not entirely along the same line. The last and most well preserved one was built during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Its length is estimated at 12,000 *li* , or 6,000 kilometers with its east end actually making a sheer descent into the Bohai Gulf, symbolizing the dragon's head dipping into the water. Its west end reaches as far as the north edge of the TibetanQinghai Plateau where the famous pass Jia Yu Guan was situated on the ancient Silk Road. The most majestic parts of this Ming Great Wall north of Beijing have become the best vantage points where modern visitors enjoy a spectacular glimpse of this massive but ingenious engineering achievement made by the sheer hands of man.

I do not intend to give you a full picture of the construction of the Great Wall, which is far beyond my ability. There are quite a number of books in the West devoted to the study of the Great Wall. The most comprehensive and readable English language work is probably that by a colleague, Luo Zhewen and his collaborators, Dick Wilson, Jean-Pierre Drege and Hubert Delahaye.

There is one point I would like to emphasize here. This is the tragic human aspect of the construction of the Great Wall in old China. This tragic nature is fully illustrated by the legend of the girl, Meng Jiang, who lived in the reign of Emperor Qin Shi Huang. Her husband, together with thousands of other peasants, was conscripted to build the wall but few came home healthy or even alive. Meng Jiang, being very anxious to see her husband, trudged hundreds of *li* northward to the foot of the Great Wall, only to find white skeletons piled at the foot of the wall. Her wailing and lamentations shook the heavens, and the newly built wall crumbled. [2] The legend of Meng Jiang comes down via one of the classical works of ancient China. There may

have been no real Meng Jiang. However, there were indeed thousands of young women having the same fate as Meng Jiang. She has touched deeply the hearts of later generations with her pure and sincere love. Even more important, the symbolism of Meng Jiang's spirit of opposition against persecution has always inspired people under oppression.

As we look back in Chinese history, there has been no need for a long time to rebuild the Great Wall to protect the central part of China. Now, with the birth of New China, under the guidance of the socialist principle that the different nationalities both within and beyond the Great Wall together with those in other parts of China are united as one big family, the old dream of "all men are brothers" has begun to be realized. As the Chinese proverb goes, the march of history has "turned arms into silk and gold". It has likewise changed the former battlefield along the Great Wall into the good earth of the new epoch.

The Great Wall itself, constructed with the sweat and blood, toil and effort of innumerable peasants, has been transformed into a monument symbolizing the renaissance of an ancient civilization. Due to this transformation, in recent years the work of restoring and repairing the Great Wall at key points has been started with the enthusiastic support and generous contributions of many Chinese people as well as friends in foreign lands.

At the same time, through recent research, some important features of the Great Wall have been revealed for the first time by using modern techniques of infrared light and remote-sensing. [3] For instance, the real length of the Great Wall within the administrative boundary of the Beijing Municipal Government is 629 kilometers, which is far longer than what had been previously known. Furthermore, the wall itself is by no means a single

but rather a complex defensive system following various topographical features, dotted with different kinds of terraces, fortresses, passes and observation towers. Wherever it was necessary for a garrison, a detour wall was added to the main body. The intricacy of the design has never before been mentioned in any records or discussion. Now a full and accurate picture, essential for the purpose of historical presentation, is revealed to us. Besides the Ming Wall, the ruined foundations of some earlier walls have also been discovered. We hope it will be possible to extend the same kind of study to the whole line of Ming Great Wall.

With the growing interest in the Great Wall, an association has been organized in Beijing to sponsor research and promote education about the Great Wall. Members of this association include those who have made substantial contributions either to the study or the preservation of the Great Wall. The most active members, of course, are the sponsors of this organization. Most of them are prominent figures in public affairs. Honorary memberships will also be offered to foreign friends who meet the same requirement for the Chinese members.

Furthermore, for the sake of the increasing number of visitors at Ba Daling, the spot nearest to Beijing where one can get the best view of the Great Wall, a museum is under construction. By means of essential exhibitions and visual aids visitors, especially those who come from abroad, will be able to get a full picture of the history and a better understanding of this great wonder of the world.

In each age, a country, a society, responds to the conditions prevailing in that period. Ancient society in the central part of China, from before the Qin through the Ming Dynasty, responded to the pressing need for secure defence by building this fortification. Now it is no longer needed. Today China is

responding to the modern challenge by honoring and preserving its history, symbolized by the Great Wall, when it is steadily going forward to build a new society for the future.

柒　新时代的万里长城[*]

亚历山大大帝从马其顿一直往东绵延到印度河的帝国倾颓后的大约一个世纪，在中国的中原地区开始崛起了一个伟大的帝国。这就是秦帝国。

秦王朝的创始人于公元前221年登基，成为中国第一个皇帝，史称“始皇帝”。正是因为“秦”这个字，这个帝国在西方以China著称。[1] 然而，在秦以前中国已经有了悠久的发展历史。秦始皇的真正贡献在于，他是中国历史上第一个结束纷争的封建诸侯国分庭抗礼、建立中央集权的政治制度的统治者。从此开启了国君独掌大权的王朝更迭史，这绵延了两千余年，一直到公元1911年。

除了他在政治上的作为，秦始皇还给后人留下了两件物质遗产，一件是最近发现的埋葬了兵马俑的陵墓，另一件就是长城。

在中国，早在秦始皇之前，就有作为军事工事的防御墙修建，但长城的兴建确是因为秦始皇。作为帝王，他是第一个征用成千上万的农民，将之前三个诸侯国沿北部边界修筑的防御墙连接起来的。此外，他还在东西两端修筑了新墙，最终建成了一条绵延万里的长城，万里长城由此得名，简称长城。此后，长城不断得到修缮和重建，但并不是完全沿原址所建。最新并且保存最完好的长城是明朝（1368—1644）修建的，全长约为12000里（6000公里），东端一头扎进渤海湾，喻示龙头入水，西端直抵青藏高原北缘古丝绸之路上的著名关口嘉峪关。如今，北京城北明长城最雄伟的部分已成为一个绝佳的景点，游人们可以在这里饱览这座人类用双手建成的浩大而精巧的工程。

我无意涵盖长城的整个修建过程，这也远非我力所能及。西方已经有不少专门研究长城的书籍。其中最全面也最易读的英文著作或许就是

我的同事罗哲文与迪克·威尔逊、戴仁、德罗绘合著的《长城》。

有一点我想在这里强调一下。这就是，古代中国修建长城有其悲剧的一面。这通过生活在秦始皇统治下的孟姜女的传说得到了充分的体现。孟姜女的丈夫和数以千计的其他农民一道被征召去修长城，但最后健康甚至活着回家的微乎其微。孟姜女因为急于见到丈夫，向北跋涉了几百里来到长城脚下，结果在那里却只看到累累白骨。她悲恸欲绝，哭声震天，新修的长城也因此倒塌。[2] 孟姜女的传说通过古代中国的一部经典著作流传下来。也许历史上并没有真正的孟姜女，但是有成千上万跟孟姜女同样命运的年轻女子。她纯真的爱情深深触动了后人的心。更为重要的是，孟姜女反抗压迫的精神一直鼓舞着后来受压迫的人民。

当我们回首中国历史，有很长一段时期并没有重修长城以保卫中原地区的需要。现在伴随着新中国的诞生，在长城内外的各族同胞和中国各地的其他民族团结一家亲的社会主义原则指导下，“四海之内皆兄弟”的古老梦想已经开始实现。正如中国一句老话说的，历史的行进已经“化干戈为玉帛”，同样也把过去长城两边的战场变成了新时代的沃土。

长城是数不清的劳动人民的血汗辛劳筑成的，它已变成了象征古老文明复兴的标志。由于这一转变，近年来在一些重要地段的修缮工作得到了广大同胞以及外国友人的热烈支持和慷慨贡献。

与此同时，最近的研究借助红外线和遥感等现代技术，首次发现了长城的一些重要特征。[3] 例如，长城在北京市行政辖区内的实际长度是629公里，远远超过之前的估计。此外，长城本身绝不是一个单一的，而是结合地形特征的复杂系统，有墙台、敌楼、券门和瞭望塔布设其间。只要驻军有需要，主体墙上还会加筑迂回墙。设计的精妙之前从未被记载或谈及。现在，一个完整而精确的画面终于展现在我们面前，这对于重现历史非常必要。除明长城之外，更古老的长城基址残迹也被发现了。我们希望把同样的研究扩展到明长城全线。

随着对长城兴趣的与日俱增，北京成立了一个支持长城研究、促进长城相关教育的协会。协会的成员包括对长城的研究或保护作出过巨大贡献的同志。最活跃的当然是协会的赞助人，他们大部分是参与公共事务的杰出人物。达到同样入会要求的外国友人也可以成为荣誉会员。

同时，由于游客数量的激增，距离北京最近的长城景点八达岭正在兴建一座博物馆。通过必要的展览和视觉辅助，游客，尤其是来自外国的游客，将能全面地把握它的历史，更好地了解这一世界奇迹。

每个时代，国家和社会都回应着当时的情势。中国中原地区的古代社会，从先秦一直到明朝，都因安全防御的迫切需求修建这一防御工事。如今，已经没有这种需要了。今天的中国正通过尊重和保护以长城为象征的历史，来回应现代的挑战，稳步向前建设一个面向未来的新社会。

邵冬冬　译

⑧ A NCIENT CITY RUINS IN THE DESERTS OF THE INNER MONGOLIA AUTONOMOUS REGION OF CHINA*

During the first century B.C. the Chinese built cities along the Hexi Corridor to protect the ancient Silk Road from raids by Huns. A Hun ruler reciprocated by founding his own city and later Chinese dynasties repeated the process. Urban populations were fed by cultivating oases and by harnessing melt-water streams to irrigate and reclaim areas of grassland. Where trees fell and cultivation broke surface layers of alluvium and clay, water and wind began to erode and expose underlying beds of sand. Blowing sand encroached upon the cultivated area and eventually drifted across the ruins of former cities. Sites of cities that once housed tens of thousands of people are now being explored scientifically. Research into the recurrent history of desertification throws light on present-day problems faced by one-sixth of the world's population living in arid regions and by one-third of the earth's land surface covered by deserts. By learning from past events we may be able to halt future advances of deserts.

The scenes of my lecture are extremely dreary places, age-old ruins buried, or partly buried, by blown sand for centuries. Nevertheless, these long-forgotten ancient cities have a prosperous past behind them: some have enjoyed great fame in history; others have been visited by travellers of world renown. Now, in today's New China, my young colleagues and I have penetrated into the deserts to investigate these ruins of ancient cities, not to indulge in nostalgic contemplations of the past, nor to revel in the vanished splendours of bygone days. We look back on the past for one purpose only: to

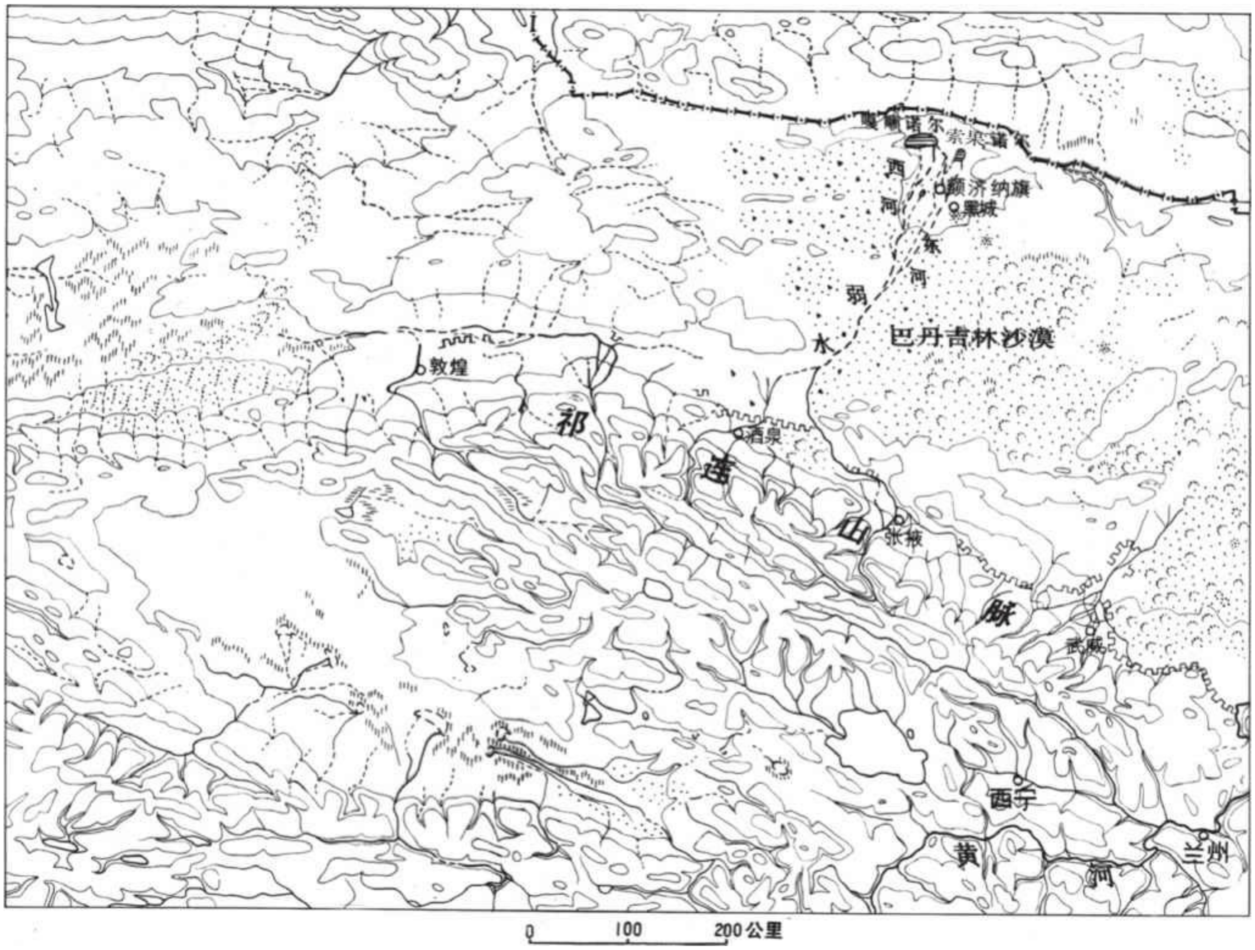
make out why such a region that once flourished in history should have turned into a desert. To clarify this point is a matter of great moment. It is for the purpose of creating a better future that we endeavour to understand the past. [1]

Building Cities on the Silk Road

Let us first of all look back on the prosperous stage of this area and start from the world-famous epoch of the Silk Road. As is well known, the historic Silk Road was a most important trade route which spanned the hinterlands of Asia. Its main line started at the east end, from Chang-an, the greatest political centre of ancient China and predecessor of the present Xi-an, and passed in a northwesterly direction through the Gansu (or Hexi) Corridor where it forked into two routes at Dunhuang, the ancient city which is well known to the world for the art treasures in its caves. These two routes stretched along the southern and northern borders of the Taklamakan Desert in the south part of China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. They joined together again at the present Meru in Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. Then a single road went on westward to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea where finally it reached the dominions of Rome.

The part of the Silk Road in China was first opened up during the reign of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty (140-87 B.C.) when Changan was made the capital. Besides being the political centre of the Han Dynasty, Chang-an was also the greatest economic and cultural centre. The Silk Road, with Chang-an as its starting point, was subject to attacks by the Huns from the Mongolian Plateau in the north, at the narrow strip of the Gansu Corridor which was about 1,000 kilometres in length and varying from 10 to 100 kilometres in width. This narrow belt was called the Gansu Corridor because

it was situated in Gansu Province; it was also called the Hexi Corridor because it was situated in the westernmost upper reaches of the Yellow River(Fig. 8-1). [2] It ran along the northern foot of the Qilian Mountains at an average elevation of 1,500 metres. The highlands of Qilian were on the northeastern border of the high Tibetan Plateau, the so-called"roof of the world" with an elevation of 4,000 metres in the eastern part, gradually rising to 5,000 metres and more in the west. The mountain tops were covered with snow all the year round and when snow melted, small patches of oases were formed at the foot of the mountains; and it was through these oases that the Silk Road was directed. To the north lay the boundless Gobi and the desert. The narrow belt through which the Silk Road passed ran between the mountains and the desert, hence the name "corridor".



8-1　The physical features of the Hexi Corridor　河西走廊地形略图

Qilian Mountains　祁连山脉

Sogo Nor　索果诺尔

Gaxun Nor　嘎顺诺尔

Ruo-shui　弱水

Ejin Banner　额济纳旗

Black City　黑城

Yellow River　黄河

Dunhuang　敦煌

This corridor formed part of the arid area in west China, receiving an average annual rainfall below 100 millimetres in most places and lower than

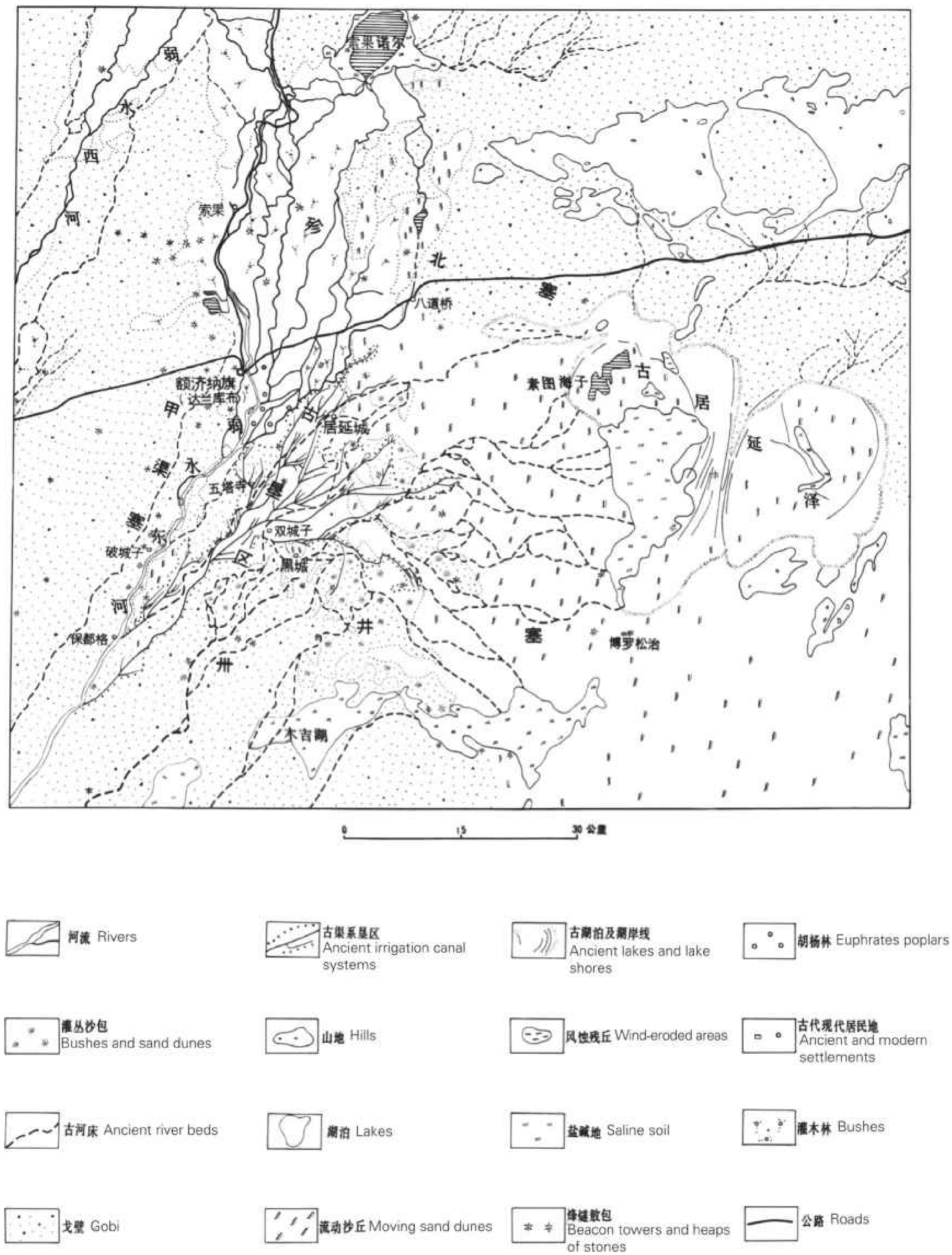
50 millimetres in its western part. Fortunately, patches of oases scattered here and there were richly endowed with water and grass. The area was then occupied by Huns, a nomadic tribe in the north, who still remained in an uncivilized state and presented a serious threat to the Han Dynasty.

During the reign of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty, China, being a powerful country with a flourishing agriculture, industry and commerce as well as increased revenues, was anxious to carry on trade with the world outside. In the decade after 129 B.C. she repeatedly dispatched troops on punitive expeditions against the Huns who fled to the north of the desert. As a result, the Han Dynasty took possession of vast tracts of land in the Hexi Corridor and opened up a trade route leading from Chang-an right to central Asia and Europe, thus bringing an era of prosperity to the Silk Road.

All the while, the Huns who had retreated to the north of the desert were still watching for an opportunity to return south. It was very easy for them to thrust into the middle of the corridor and cut off the Silk Road, for in the central part of the corridor the melted water running down from the north slope of the Qilian Mountains converged into a huge river called the Ruo-shui, now also bearing the name Ejin, which, rising approximately from 40°N latitude, flows north by east and crosses the space between the desert and the Gobi over a span of about 300 kilometres, and finally empties itself by two different channels into Lake Sogo Nor and Lake Gaxun Nor where the elevation drops to 820 metres or so. Thenceforward, the terrain gradually rises again towards the north.

This is the present pattern of surface drainage, but it was not so more than 2,000 years ago when water in the lower reaches of the Ruo-shui emptied itself into a vast lake called Ju-yan situated further to the southeast of the above-mentioned lakes (Fig. 8-2). The climate at that time was also arid

enough, but the Ruo-shui River, running by different channels before it emptied itself into the lake, moistened the land along the way and formed a delta area abounding in water and grass, with dense and luxuriant groves of Euphrates poplars covering its banks. On the way southward, the Huns found it very convenient to assemble at the delta before pushing forward along the Ruo-shui. It provided them with a most ideal route to cross the Gobi and the desert which stretched over hundreds of kilometres from east to west, but it exposed the Silk Road to an extremely serious threat.



索果诺尔
索果
八道桥
额济纳旗
(达兰库布)
居延城
五塔寺
双城子
破城子
黑城
保都格
素图海子
博罗松治
木吉湖
0
15
30 公里
河流 Rivers
古渠系垦区 Ancient irrigation canal systems
古湖泊及湖岸线 Ancient lakes and lake shores
胡杨林 Euphrates poplars
灌丛沙包 Bushes and sand dunes
山地 Hills
风蚀残丘 Wind-eroded areas
古代现代居民地 Ancient and modern settlements
古河床 Ancient river beds
湖泊 Lakes
盐碱地 Saline soil
灌木林 Bushes
戈壁 Gobi
流动沙丘 Moving sand dunes
烽燧散包 Beacon towers and heaps of stones
公路 Roads

8-2　The ancient delta of the Ruo-shui　弱水下游古代三角洲图

Sogo Nor　索果诺尔

Ancient Ju-yan lake　古居延泽

Ruo-shui　弱水

Ju-Yan City　居延诚

Ejin Banner　额济纳旗

To protect the Silk Road, the Han Dynasty had to enclose the banks of the Ruo-shui and the delta of Ju-yan Lake within their military defence line. By stationing garrison troops in the delta, they opened up an important area for reclamation and developed agricultural irrigation. At that time, the Ruo-shui settlement area was mainly composed of the middle and lower parts of the delta and in the year 102 B.C. the famous Ju-yan City was built at the centre of the area. But if you go there today, you will see that everything has changed. What meets your eyes is a vast stretch of sand dunes. With the help of a local guide we were able to penetrate into this area five and a half years ago. We saw nothing but ruins of castles, beacon towers, houses, abandoned fields and irrigation ditches, broken earthenware, wells choked with sand, slightly worn millstones, antique coins, arrowheads and many other artefacts. The ancient Ju-yan Lake had shrunk to a small lake. Amidst the deep sand to the south-west of this little lake, we found the ruins of an ancient city bordering dried up river beds both on the east and south sides. Inside the ruined city walls, the surface was scattered with Chinese tamarisks and sand-sage. Judging from the ruins, we conjectured that it was a city of considerable size and tentatively inferred that it was the site of the city of Ju-yan.

The city of Ju-yan, associated with an irrigated agriculture that flourished in the Han Dynasty, is now yielding a harvest of an entirely

different kind. During the last few decades, excavation has brought to light great quantities of historical relics, which are called by archaeologists"the Ju-yan slips of the Han Dynasty". The Han slips discovered here were not made of bamboo as in south China but of wood, on which were recorded documents and archives referring to the Ju-yan area during the Han Dynasty. They were strung together with cords and meant for preservation. More than 30,000 Han slips excavated in this area have been given the name "Ju-yan". Still more are being dug out to add to the growing collection of historical data, rich and detailed in content. It is no exaggeration to call it a bountiful harvest.

Ruins of another ancient city lie some 15 kilometres south by west of the ruins which we have inferred to be the site of the city of Ju-yan. This is the famous Black City, much frequented and more than once excavated by native and foreign investigators. Way back in 1934 when I was a young college student, I read an article in the February issue of the same year's British magazine *The Listener* , written by the distinguished Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin, entitled "The 'Black City' of the Gobi Desert". It immediately attracted my youthful interest, but it was not until 50 years later that I was lucky enough to have a chance to visit the scene and see for myself the ruins of the ancient city. Although quite close to Ju-yan, the Black City, completed in 1035 A.D., was constructed much later than the former. Some 950 years ago, it was a local administrative centre, with the attribute "Black Mountain" preceding the name of the administrative division. Later it was shortened to Black City; in the Mongolian language it is called Chara Choto, which bears the same meaning.

This area and the environs of the Hexi Corridor were under the rule of a local regime established by a national minority, known in Chinese history as

the West Xia (1038-1227). The West Xia Dynasty was exterminated by the Mongols in 1227, the year when their illustrious chieftain Genghis Khan breathed his last. It was not until Kublai Khan, Genghis Khan's grandson, had unified China and established the Yuan Dynasty that the Black City resumed its position as administrative centre of the region, with a new name Yijinai. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo passed through here in 1272, and by a roundabout route through the Mongolian Plateau, he reached first the city of Shangdu, built by Kublai Khan and later the city of Dadu, predecessor of the present Beijing. Yijinai is now written in Chinese characters as 额济纳 (Ejin), whereas in *Marco Polo's Travels* it is Etsina. Marco Polo stated that he had to acquire stocks of food for forty days there before continuing his journey, which shows that the neighbourhood of the Black City was still an agricultural area at that time.

To reach the Black City today, one has to cross a desolate and unpopulated desert, only a little easier than to approach the ancient city of Ju-yan. The walls of the Black City still stand lofty and magnificent in the desert today. They look as if they were square, but actually the south wall is 425 metres long, 15 metres longer than the north wall; and the east wall is 405 metres long, 48 metres longer than the west wall. On the city walls, we saw stones that had been used as projectiles in ancient times, still piled there as if the garrison had been preparing for a defensive battle. The strange thing is that historically the city was actually taken after a fierce battle. But the stones have remained undisturbed on the city walls ever since, suggesting that the city may have been abandoned as soon as the battle was over. That decisive battle took place in the late 1360s when the emergent Ming Dynasty, having captured Dadu and exterminated the Yuan Dynasty, dispatched a contingent of troops to take the Black City in their advance westward. They stormed into

the city and reduced its buildings to ashes. When the expedition was finished, not only was the Black City abandoned, but the middle and lower reaches of the Ruoshui River were separated from the Hexi Corridor by the newly-built Great Wall. The Ming Dynasty concentrated the energy exclusively on developing the Corridor. The ancient Ju-yan area, protected by an earlier Great Wall, was now given up as "beyond the frontier" and no further effort was spent on its development.

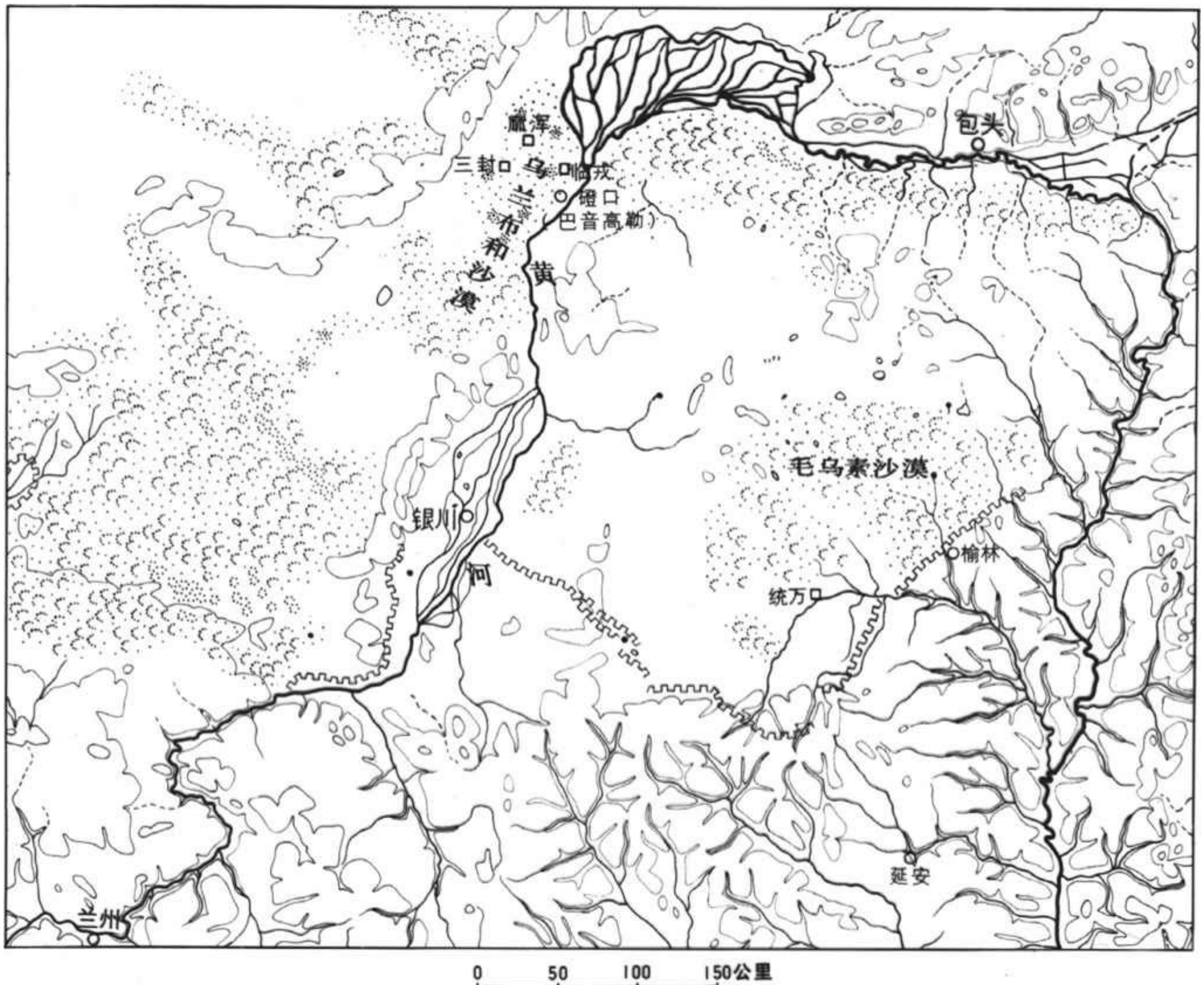
From our investigations, we are of the opinion that the area reclaimed during the Han Dynasty, with the city of Ju-yan at its core, consisted mainly of the middle and lower parts of the ancient Ruo-shui delta. Reclamation by the West Xia and Yuan dynasties, with the Black City at its core, shifted to the upper middle part of the same delta. Certain places were reclaimed on the basis of work done in the Han period; in fact, the Black City itself may have been built upon the ruins of a Han castle. From the Han Dynasty down to the West Xia and Yuan dynasties, the southward shift of the reclamation area was directly related to the drying up of waterways in the delta area. This, however, is a subject undergoing further investigation.

Land Reclamation and Desertification

The ancient Ju-yan area is an outstanding example of desertification occurring in historic times, but many other places in west Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region have suffered a similar fate. During the early years of the Han Dynasty when the Ju-yan area was first reclaimed, another area of importance was also being reclaimed on the south prairie west of the Yin Mountains. Although the average annual rainfall here was higher than in the ancient Ju-yan area, it nevertheless turned into a desert in the end. This area is situated in the north of the present Ulanbuhe Desert. In Mongolian, "ulan"

means "red" and "buhe" means "bull", the whole phrase signifying that the scourge of the wind and sand is like an unruly bull. The north part of the Ulanbuhe Desert was originally an alluvial plain formed by the Yellow River, flowing in ancient times north along the west side of the Ordos Plateau, heading straight for the foot of the Yin Mountains(Fig. 8-3). There it turned east and formed the first abrupt turn at the Bend of the Yellow River. As early as the late Pleistocene epoch, the river bed had begun to move eastward long before reaching the Bend. This movement still continues gradually to the present day. During the process of eastward turning, water from the Yellow River frequently overflowed into a lake occupying the deserted old river bed, and occasionally flooded surrounding low-lying country. More than 2,000 years ago, when the Han Dynasty first began to open up this area, a long narrow lake ran from east to west at the foot of the Yin Mountains. It was called Tusheng Lake. During the Han Dynasty land was reclaimed on the alluvial plain to the south of this lake. People were moved here to settle on the land and military fortresses were established to defend the new settlements against invasion and plunder by Huns from the north. During this period, hordes of settlers moved from the hinterlands to the banks of the Yellow River near the southern edge of the Yin Mountains, including the northern part of the present Ulanbuhe Desert and the Ordos Plateau. In 127 B.C. alone no fewer than 100,000 people moved here. The western part of the Yin Mountains and the plains south of Tusheng Lake were particularly important as areas for new settlements. A broad and smooth mountain path to the north-west of Tusheng Lake passed through the gorge of the Yin Mountains and afforded an important pass leading to Hun territory beyond the mountains. To defend the southern entrance to this pass, a small stone fort was built on the steep slope to its west. This fort, the renowned Cock and

Deer Fort, has been preserved to this day.



8-3 Ordos Plateau and adjacent areas 鄂尔多斯高原及附近地区地形略图

Mowusu Desert 毛罗素沙漠

Ulanbuhe Desert 乌兰布和沙漠

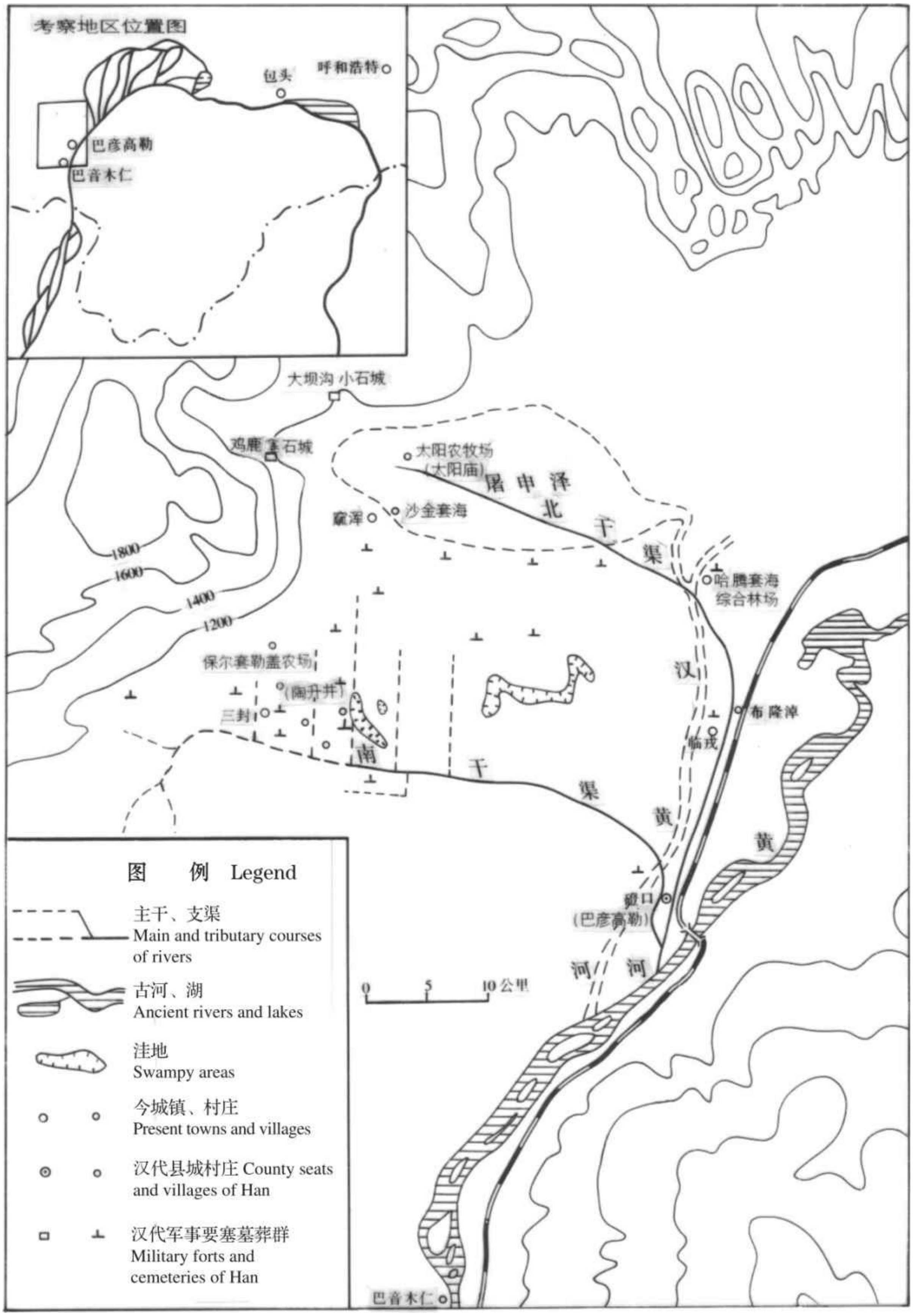
Yellow River 黄河

Yuhun 窳浑

Tongwan 统万

Close to the south-west shore of Tusheng Lake, some 20 kilometres to the south-east of the Cock and Deer Fort, a large city called Yuhun was the

city westernmost on the frontier built by the Han Dynasty in this area (Fig. 8-4). It was a place of strategic importance commanding the gorge of the fort, but it was soon reduced to ruins. Remains of city walls are still discernible and sites of blacksmiths' workshops in the city may be identified by fragments of scrap iron, bronze arrowheads and heaps of debris scattered all over the place. Some local shepherds we met told us that there was a huge pit filled with skeletons outside the city, marking the site of an ancient battlefield. Ruins of two other Han cities have been discovered. The first lies some 20 kilometres to the south and the other some 30 kilometres to the south-east of Yuhun. The former was called Sanfeng and the latter Linrong. The space between these two and Yuhun is dotted with groups of Han graves as well as ruins of hamlets and fields, discernible even to this day. As a result of peaceful co-existence between the Han Dynasty and the Huns, the last 50 years B.C. enjoyed an unprecedented spell of quiet and stability. During this period reclamation extended from the neighbourhoods of the three cities to the southern edge of the Yin Mountains. Historical records indicate that population increased, cows and horses flocked in the fields and that cities which had been securely guarded in the past now shut their gates at a very late hour. It really became a scene of prosperity and abundance.



考察地区位置图
包头
呼和浩特
巴彦高勒
巴音木仁
大坝沟 小石城
鸡鹿塞石城
太阳农牧场
(太阳庙)
屠申泽
窳浑
沙金套海
北
干
渠
哈腾套海
综合林场
1800
1600
1400
1200
保尔套勒盖农场
(陶升井)
三封
南
干
渠
汉
布隆淖
临戎
黄
黄
磴口
(巴彦高勒)
河
河
0 5 10公里
巴音木仁
图 例 Legend
主干、支渠
Main and tributary courses of rivers
古河、湖
Ancient rivers and lakes
洼地
Swampy areas
今城镇、村庄
Present towns and villages
汉代县城村庄 County seats and villages of Han
汉代军事要塞墓葬群
Military forts and cemeteries of Han

8-4 Sites of ancient cities in the northern Ulanbuhe Desert 乌兰布和沙漠北部汉代遗址与水系分布示意图

Yellow River 黄河

Course of Yellow River in Han 汉黄河

Tusheng Lake 屠申泽

What does it look like now? The Mongolian term "Ulanbuhe" aptly describes the present state of this area, a region devastated by moving sand. The process started long before modern times. In 981 A.D. a traveller named Wang Yan-de crossed the Yellow River at the Ordos Plateau, passed through here and journeyed westward to the Ju-yan area. He took detailed notes of living conditions in this district, recording: "No food crops ever grew here, except a kind of grass called Denshiang, the seeds of which are gathered for food". According to our investigation, Denshiang is what we now call *shami* (sand seeds or *agriophyllum arenarium*), a kind of pioneering plant growing on sand dunes, the first that ever grew on them. The fact that sand seeds could be gathered for food shows that they grew in abundance and yielded large quantities of seeds. It may be inferred that a thousand years ago, this area was still in the early stages of blown sand encroachment and has been entirely desertified in the course of the present millennium.

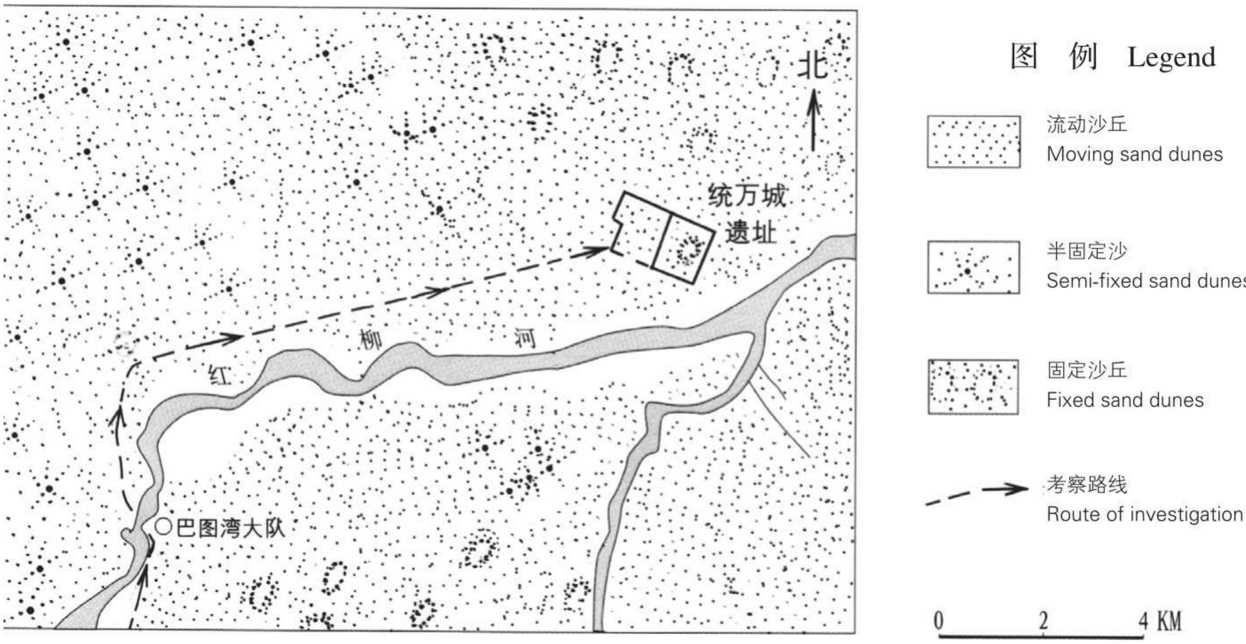
Near the city of Yuhun, we saw wind-eroded pits of varying sizes, huge pits formed by intense wind erosion. In a natural section at the edge of a wind-eroded pit, we could identify clearly that a horizontallydeposited layer of clay, 70 millimetres thick, had under it nothing but fine sand. It is easy to see that when the surface layer was broken, the fine sand underneath was liable to be blown away by fierce north-west winds. This is the chief source of blown sand in this area. The thickness of the surface layer of clay we saw

here varied from place to place, thicker in some places, thinner in others. It was not very difficult to reclaim land where the clay was thick, but where it was thin, if the primeval vegetation was removed and the surface exposed to wind erosion, the place was likely to turn into a sandy tract of its own accord. This is exactly what history has taught us.

The Settlement and Abandonment of Tongwan

Finally, please allow me to touch upon another ancient city in the desert. It is the biggest among the relict sites of ancient cities in the desert of western Inner Mongolia and the most remarkable in architectural engineering I have seen so far. It was built in 413 A.D. as the capital of a short-lived minor Hun kingdom, but its builder, Helianbobo, gave it the extremely pretentious name Tongwan, which means "ruling over all nations". It must be pointed out that the year when the city of Tongwan was founded corresponds to the third year after the West Goths captured Rome and was nearly half a century before Anglo-Saxons entered Britain. It was recorded in history that Helianbobo conscripted 100,000 men to construct this enormous city and that in the operation, thousands of artisans were killed for failing to achieve the desired solidity. Up to the present, this great city, though long abandoned, has preserved a 24-metre high watch-tower standing aloft amidst the rolling sand dunes, reflecting dazzling rays in a scorching sun. It was situated in the south of the Ordos Plateau, close to the north bank of a river called the Red Willow River (Hangliu River) which crossed the south-eastern corner of the Mowusu Desert, carrying vast amounts of sand and clay with it, turning the water turbid. Consequently, it was called the Salawusu River in Mongolian, meaning "yellow water" (Fig. 8-5). The Salawusu River is important in Chinese archaeology because an important late Paleolithic site was

discovered here. The people who lived here some 50,000 years ago were called "men of the River Bend", because the site was near the Bend of the Yellow River.



8-5 The site of the ancient city of Tongwan 统万城城址位置图

Although deeply buried in the desert, the city of Tongwan has been investigated before, but earlier investigations have been satisfied either with mere descriptions of the ruins or with reporting the discovery of relics. No one appears to have been interested in pursuing inquiries into the relationship between the development of the city and changes in the local environment. In the first instance, was this place a desert when Helianbobo chose the site? How could he have built his capital in a desert? If it was not a desert at the time, when did it turn into one? Where has all that rolling sand come from? As historical geographers, my young colleagues and I visited the historically renowned city of Tongwan with the aim of solving these problems. The visit has left deep impressions on my mind.

It was a summer morning in 1983, the sun had not yet shown its full might. The weather was fine, the sky clear and cloudless. We set out on foot with excitement from our encampment by the Red Willow River towards the city of Tongwan which lay 10 kilometres away. What a splendid tri-coloured picture presented itself to our eyes! Overhead was a spacious, blue sky, arching over the rolling sand which looked like turbulent waves of a vast sea. Suddenly, in the distance between the blue sky and the yellow sand emerged something which looked like an enormous white sail on an ancient seagoing vessel. "Look, the White City!" someone cried out. The White City was the name given to Tongwan by shepherds in the neighbourhood. It is a more appropriate name than the latter, because its lofty walls actually shine with dazzling white rays in the sun. On the instant of seeing it, I was affected with an unforgettable poetic sensation, feeling as if I were facing a huge landscape painting. But what is of greater significance is the clear and unequivocal thread it supplies to our investigation of changes in the environment in this area. If it were not for the tall ancient city towering there, people would be inclined to believe that it had been an unpopulated desert from time immemorial. But no, that is not the case. The city of Tongwan was certainly not built in a desert in the beginning. This place was not a desert, but a vast prairie, richly endowed with water and grass.

In the days of Helianbobo, China was in a state of chaos, rent into separate little kingdoms by many contending forces. Besides the Jin Dynasty established by the Han nationality, fifteen minor kingdoms had been set up by national minorities, rising to power one after another. Helianbobo rose on the Ordos Plateau and founded a small kingdom called Xia, occupying the whole plateau and surrounding grasslands. He once stormed into Chang-an. His courtiers advised him to make it his capital, but he insisted on returning

to the Ordos Plateau and personally chose a site to build his future capital, Tongwan. It was recorded in a chronicle that when the construction of the city was about to begin, he appeared on the scene himself and mounting a high spot nearby, looked about him and declared with pride: "Among the innumerable places I have seen between the north of the Horse Mountain and the south of the Yellow River, there is no country like this, which is surrounded by vast stretches of grassland and a limpid river." Here, "north of the Horse Mountain" refers to an area on the loess plateau north of the present Liupan Mountain, "south of the Yellow River" refers to an area at the southern edge of the Yin Mountains,"the limpid river" refers to today's Red Willow River, noted for its turbid waters, and "vast stretches of grassland" refer to the present Mowusu Desert.

Unlike the delta area where the ancient city of Ju-yan stood and the alluvial plain near the city of Yuhun, both arid regions receiving very little rainfall, the city of Tongwan enjoyed quite good natural conditions, with an average annual rainfall of nearly 400 millimetres and plentiful water sources. Why, then, has it also turned into a desert? The city of Tongwan was the largest among the sites of ancient ruined cities partly buried in the sand of the Ordos Plateau. Around it are many other sand-buried ruins of smaller castles and hamlets. It is note-worthy that these relics of ancient settlement were distributed in the desert in such a way that they seemed to move from the north-west towards the south-east in accordance with a progressive sequence through time. For example, the ruins of the Han Dynasty, 2,000 years ago, extended to the furthest limit of the north-western frontier. Moving backward a little to the south-east, are ruins mostly of the Tang and Song dynasties, hundreds of or even a thousand years later than the Han Dynasty. Ruins from the Ming and Qing dynasties of the last 300 to 400 years, are distributed

mostly along the innermost south-eastern border of the desert area. This distinctive pattern of distribution is not only closely related to the growth and decline of the power of the Chinese dynasties but also is directly connected with the chronological order of desertification in these areas: the inevitable consequence of unreasonable utilization of land, caused primarily by the reclamation of places unfit for agriculture and secondly by excessive firewood cutting and pasturing. Details of that process await further examination and study.

In short, the Ordos Plateau is one of the most remarkable examples of desertification in Chinese history. The main reason for its desertification lies not in changes of climate or other natural elements but in the activities of man. The area of such "desertified land" accounts for only 9.2% of the total area of deserts in north China, which occupies 1,095,000 square kilometres or 11.4% of the total area of China's territory. The percentage is small, but the cause of desertification is highly significant.

Now in the world, especially in developing countries, desertification remains a serious problem. Deserts and desertified land occupy one-third of the earth's surface and nearly one-sixth of the world's population live in such areas. For this reason, ways of preventing and curing desertification, as important measures of environmental protection, have become questions of world-wide and outstanding interest in the sphere of desert studies today. Some of the circumstances concerning desertification which developing countries are confronting at present, have repeatedly occurred in our history. To sum up this process scientifically is a task, we may say, of definite relevance to our present and future welfare. In our opinion, it is a task all historical geographers should participate in. I believe the historical geographers of my country will strive to make contributions to this cause

which calls for international cooperation.

捌 内蒙古自治区西部沙漠中几个重要的古城废墟*

主席先生，

女士们、先生们：

在我访问英属哥伦比亚大学这个著名学府的同时，又很荣幸地有此机会为温哥华学会这个富有学术特色和国际联系的团体，介绍一点我个人和我的青年同伴在我国内蒙古自治区西部荒凉的沙漠中徘徊探索的片断见闻，这对我来说是一种不平常的际遇，是我当初进入沙漠时绝对没有想到过的。我只是担心不要把沙漠中那种荒凉的气氛，带到你们这个十分活跃而且丰富多彩的学会生活中来。

今天我所要讲的，在今天看来确实是一些很荒凉的地方，是多少世纪以来已被流沙湮没的古城废墟。但是，这些地方也有自己繁荣的过去。那些已被人遗忘了的古城，有的也曾在历史上享有盛名，有的还曾为举世闻名的旅行家访问过。现在，在新中国，我和我的青年同伴深入沙漠去考察这些地方——这些古城废墟，不是为了单纯地凭吊过去，更不是为了要陶醉在过去的、已经消失了的荣华之中。我们回顾过去，我们试图弄清楚为什么在历史上繁荣一时的地方，而今竟然沦为沙漠。弄清楚这一点是大有意义的。了解过去，正是为了创造未来。[1] 这就是这个新时代所赋予我们的使命。

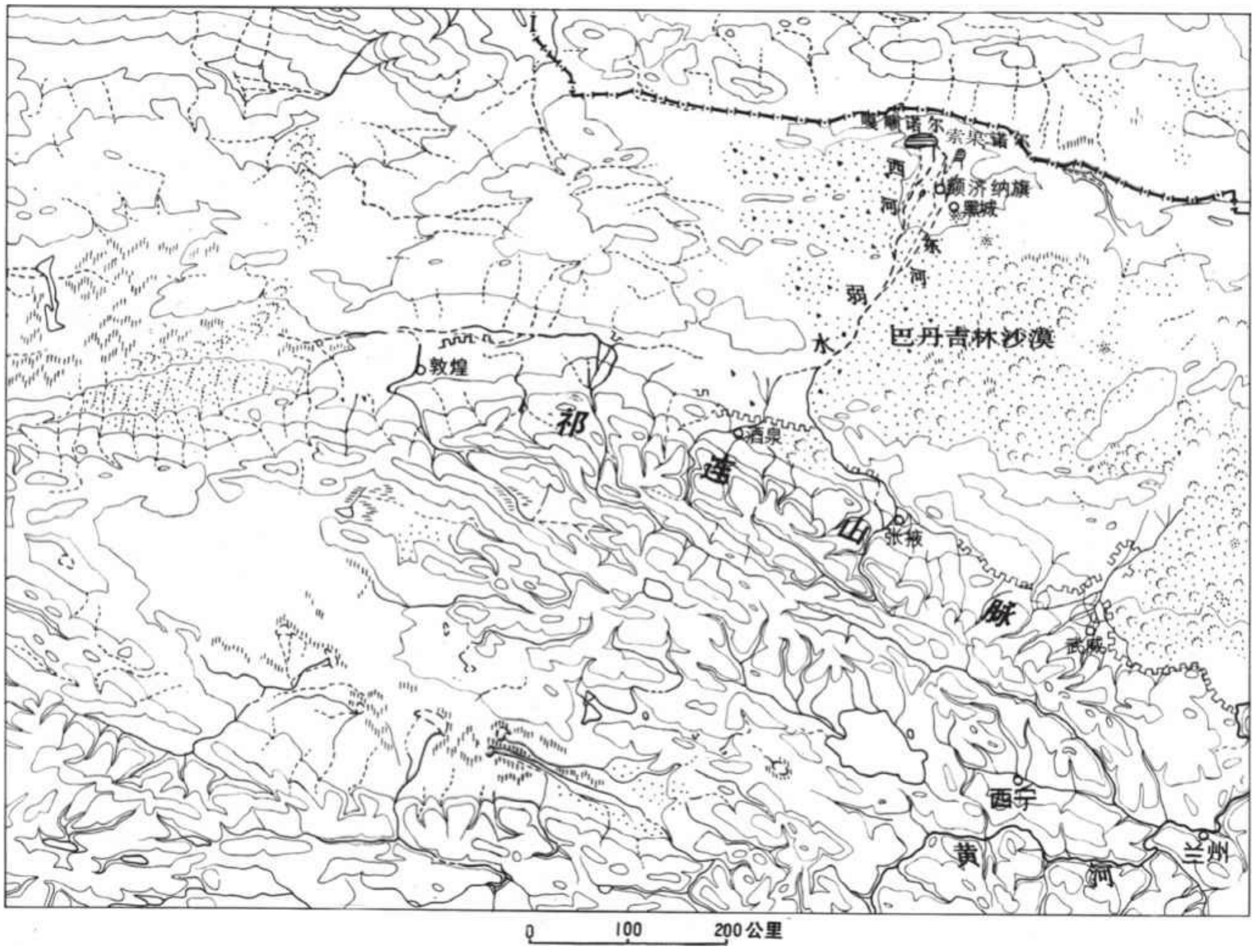
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为此，还是让我们先回顾一下过去的繁荣时代吧。这样，我就得从享有国际声誉的“丝绸之路”讲起。众所周知，历史上有名的丝绸之路，是古代横贯亚洲腹地的重要商道。它的主要路线，东起当时中国最大的

政治中心长安——也就是现在西安的前身，向西北通过“甘肃走廊”，从敦煌这个今天以洞窟中人类所创造的世间罕见的艺术宝藏而闻名于世的古城，分为两路，分别沿着我国境内新疆南部塔克拉玛干大沙漠的南北边缘，越过帕米尔高原，在苏联土库曼境内相会，然后继续西行，直到地中海沿岸，最后到达当时的罗马各地。

按时间上来说，在公元前第二世纪以后的一千多年间，大量的中国丝和丝织品，经由此路西运，因此叫做“丝绸之路”。其他商品以及东西方的经济文化交流，也多是通过这条道路。它在历史上促进了欧亚非各国和中国的友好往来，因此也可以说是一条和平友好的道路。

在中国境内，最初打开这条道路，是在汉武帝时期（公元前140—前87年）。汉朝建都长安。长安除去作为汉王朝的政治中心之外，它还是当时全国最大的经济中心和文化中心。以长安为起点的丝绸之路，在穿过甘肃走廊的这一条东西长达1000公里，南北宽自10公里到100公里的狭长地带，最容易受到来自北方蒙古高原上的匈奴人的攻击。这一条狭长地带，叫做“甘肃走廊”，因为它在甘肃省境内，也叫“河西走廊”，因为它在黄河上游之西（图8-1）。[2] 这条地带正当祁连山地的北麓，平均海拔1500米。祁连山地，实际上也就是号称“世界屋顶”的西藏大高原的东北边缘，其东部海拔约4000米，向西升高到5000米以上。山上终年积雪，冰雪溶化之后，沿北边山麓地带形成片片绿洲，丝绸之路就是沿着山麓的这些绿洲开辟起来的。从此山麓地区再往北去，尽是一望无际的戈壁与沙漠。丝绸之路所经过的这一条狭长地带，介于高山与沙漠之间，是唯一便于东西来往的通道，所以叫做“走廊”。



8-1　The physical features of the Hexi Corridor　河西走廊地形略图

Qilian Mountains　祁连山脉

Sogo Nor　索果诺尔

Gaxun Nor　嘎顺诺尔

Ruo-shui　弱水

Ejin Banner　额济纳旗

Black City　黑城

Yellow River　黄河

Dunhuang　敦煌

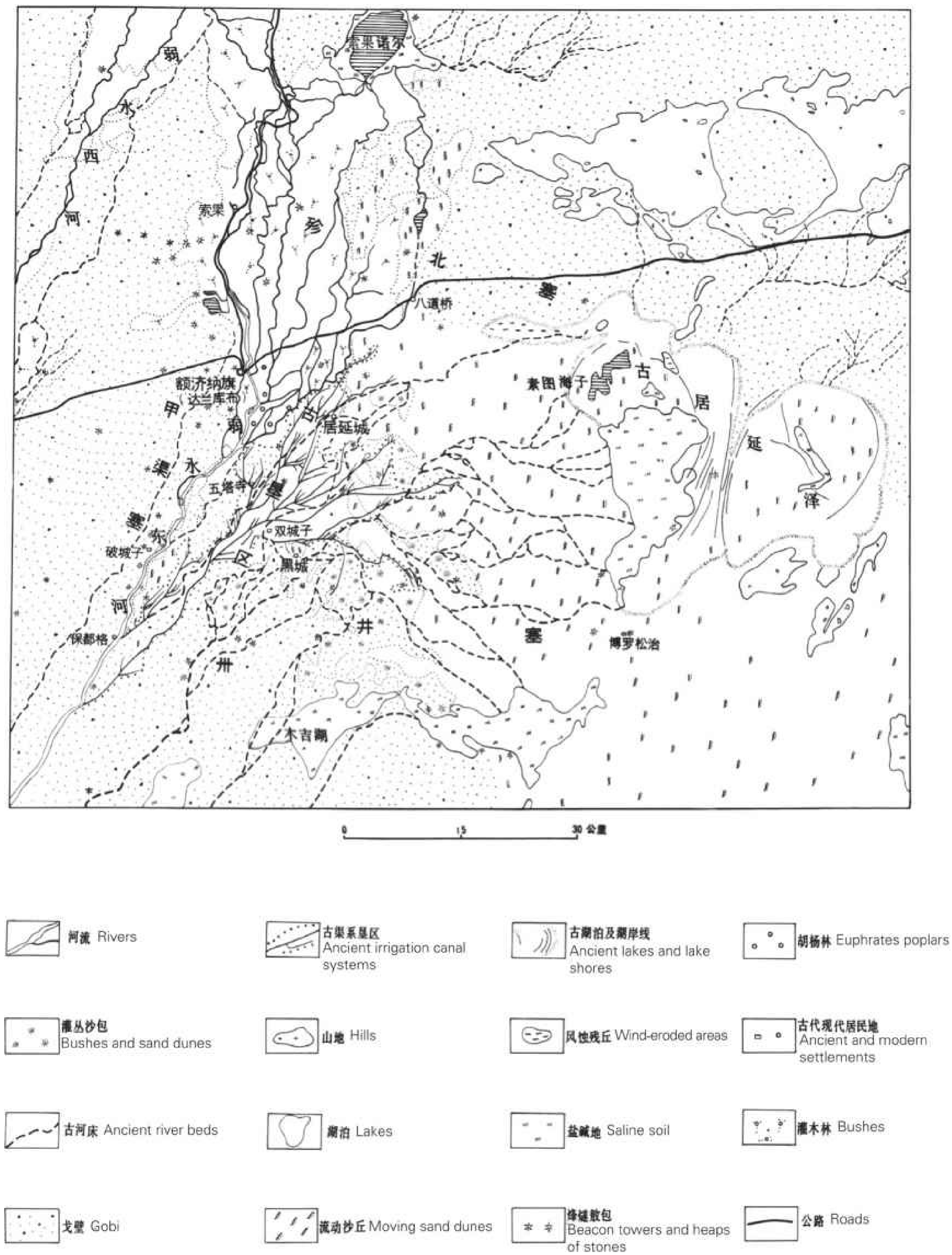
这条走廊上的平均年雨量，大部分都在100mm以下，西部则减少到50mm以下，全部属于干旱区。幸而有片片绿洲散布其间。绿洲上水草

丰美，在丝绸之路未曾开辟以前，这里为北方的游牧民族匈奴人所占有。当时匈奴族还处在野蛮时期，全部人口除老弱妇孺外都是战士，习惯于掠夺战争，对汉王朝构成了严重的威胁。

汉武帝时，国力强盛，农业和工商业发展，统治阶级财富增加，也渴望与外部世界通商贸易。从公元前129年以后的十年间，屡次出兵征伐匈奴，匈奴远走漠北，汉王朝占有了河西走廊的广大地带，从而打开了从首都长安直通中亚与欧洲的商道，这就是“丝绸之路”上繁荣时代的开始。

但是退走漠北的匈奴，还是经常伺机南下，很容易插入走廊的中部，把丝绸之路从中切断。因为在走廊的中部地区汇集了自祁连山北坡下注的雪水，流成了一条大河叫做弱水，现在也叫额济纳河。这条河流大约从北纬40°的地方起，沿着正北偏东的方向，穿过近300公里的戈壁与沙漠之间，分道注入索果诺尔与嘎顺诺尔两个湖泊之中，这里的海拔高度已下降到820米左右。再往北去，地形又逐渐升高。

以上所叙，是现在的情况，但在两千多年前却不是这样。那时弱水下游注入一个叫做“居延泽”的大湖，其位置还在上述两个湖的东南方（图8-2）。这里的气候虽也十分干燥，但是在弱水入湖之前，河道分流，土地湿润，从而形成了一片水草茂密的三角洲，河边上胡杨成林，十分繁茂。匈奴人从漠北南来，最便于集结在这个三角洲上，然后沿弱水长驱直下，这是东西数百公里之间穿越戈壁与沙漠的最理想的通道，因此也就构成了对丝绸之路的最大威胁。



索果诺尔
索果
八道桥
额济纳旗
(达兰库布)
居延城
五塔寺
双城子
破城子
黑城
保都格
素图海子
博罗松治
古
居
延
泽
0
15
30 公里
河流 Rivers
古渠系垦区 Ancient irrigation canal systems
古湖泊及湖岸线 Ancient lakes and lake shores
胡杨林 Euphrates poplars
灌丛沙包 Bushes and sand dunes
山地 Hills
风蚀残丘 Wind-eroded areas
古代现代居民地 Ancient and modern settlements
古河床 Ancient river beds
湖泊 Lakes
盐碱地 Saline soil
灌木林 Bushes
戈壁 Gobi
流动沙丘 Moving sand dunes
烽燧散包 Beacon towers and heaps of stones
公路 Roads

8-2 The ancient delta of the Ruo-shui 弱水下游古代三角洲图

Sogo Nor 索果诺尔

Ancient Ju-yan lake 古居延泽

Ruo-shui 弱水

Ju-Yan City 居延诚

Ejin Banner 额济纳旗

汉王朝为了保卫丝绸之路，不得不把弱水两岸和居延泽上的三角洲，包入军事路线之内，并在三角洲上进行军屯，开辟了一个重要的农垦区，发展了灌溉农业。

当时的垦区，主要在三角洲的中、下部，并于公元前102年在这一垦区的中心，建筑了有名的居延城。

可是现在来到这里，一切都变了。沙丘连绵，一望无际。一年半以前，我们靠了当地的向导，才得深入这一地区。我们所看到的是汉代城堡、烽燧的残迹、居民点的遗址、废弃的田块和渠道，还有房屋的残基、破碎的陶片、被沙填满了的水井、完整的石磨，以及古代的钱币、箭头等等。古居延泽已枯缩成一个小湖了。在小湖西南方的深沙之中，我们找到了一座古城，它的东、南两面都濒临干枯的河床，残破的城墙内部，到处都是柽柳、沙蒿。从残存的遗迹来看，它的规模是相当大的，我们初步推断，这应是居延城的遗址。

如果说居延城的名字在汉代是与繁荣一时的灌溉农业联系在一起的，而现在它却与另外一种完全不同性质的“丰收”联系在一起，这就是近几十年来考古学上所谓“居延汉简”的大量出土。这里的汉简不是写在竹片上而是写在薄木片上的关于汉代居延地区的文书、档案等，木片用绳索穿连着，是有意识地保存起来的，因此是非常可贵的史料，记事的内容也十分丰富。现在从这一地区发掘出来的汉简，统以“居延”为名，已有三万多枚，而且还在陆续出土，说它是考古学上的“丰收”，并不为

过。

在我们所推断的居延城故址以南偏西大约十五公里处，有另外一座古城废墟，这是不止一次为中外考察者所访问和发掘过的地方，这就是有名的黑城。

1934年当我还在大学读书的时候，我以一个偶然的机会，在同年2月号英国的《听众》杂志上，读到了瑞典著名地理学者和探险家斯文·赫定的一篇文章，题目是《戈壁滩上的黑城》，引起了我青年时代的极大兴趣。可是经过了整整45年，我才有机会来到现场，看看我久已向往的这座古城废墟。

黑城虽然至居延不远，但是它的建筑年代却要晚得多。它建成于公元1035年，至今945年，是个地方行政中心，但是在这个政区名称的前面，又冠以“黑山”两个字。后来又叫黑城，可能是从黑山演变而来的。蒙古语叫做Chara Choto，也就是黑城的意思。当时统治这一地区和河西走廊一带的，是一个少数民族所建立的地方政权，这就是中国历史上的西夏王朝（1038—1227）。

公元1227年，西夏为蒙古族所灭。率领蒙古骑兵西征中亚和东欧的著名首领成吉思汗，也就是在这一年去世的。

到了成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈统一了中国并建立了元朝的时候，这个大城又继续成为这一地区的行政管理中心，只是改名叫做亦集乃城。1272年威尼斯的旅行家马可·波罗正是从这里经过，绕道蒙古高原，先到忽必烈初建的上都城，然后再到大都城的。大都城也就是现在北京城的前身。

“亦集乃”现在汉字写作“额济纳”，在马可·波罗的《游记》中，则写作Etsina。马可·波罗在他的《游记》中还提到要在亦集乃城准备好40天的粮食，才能继续前进。这就说明在当时，黑城这一带地方仍然是一个农业区。

现在去黑城，也要穿过荒无人烟的沙漠，只是比进入居延古城要容

易一些。现在黑城的城墙依然高大、壮观。看似正方形，实际上南墙长425米，比北墙长出15米；东墙长405米，比西墙长出48米。在城墙上，我们看到还有在古代作为炮弹用的石块，堆积在那里，好像是为了守城的战斗作好了准备的样子。奇怪的是，黑城确实是在一场激烈的战斗中被攻下了，而堆积在城墙上的石头炮弹，却一直未被清理。这大约是在这次战役之后，城市就被放弃了。这次战役发生在14世纪60年代末，当时新兴的明王朝，在出兵攻下大都城和灭亡了元朝之后，又继续西征，分兵一支打进了黑城，城内建筑全部为战火所毁。从此以后，不仅是这座城市被放弃了，就是整个弱水的中下游，也都被隔离在明朝新建的长城以外。明朝的统治者只是集中力量开发河西走廊，古居延地区原是包在汉代长城之内的，这时则被看作是“塞外”，再也没有去经营了。

经过考察，我们认为以居延城为中心的汉代垦区，主要在古代弱水三角洲的中下部。以黑城为中心的西夏和元朝的垦区，则已移至这同一三角洲的中上部，其间也有部分地区是在汉代开垦的基础上，继续开发起来的。黑城本身也可能就是在一处汉代城堡的遗址上建筑起来的。从汉朝到西夏和元朝，前后垦区自北而南的迁移，和三角洲上水道的变迁直接有关，这是还在继续深入研究的问题，这里就不多谈了。

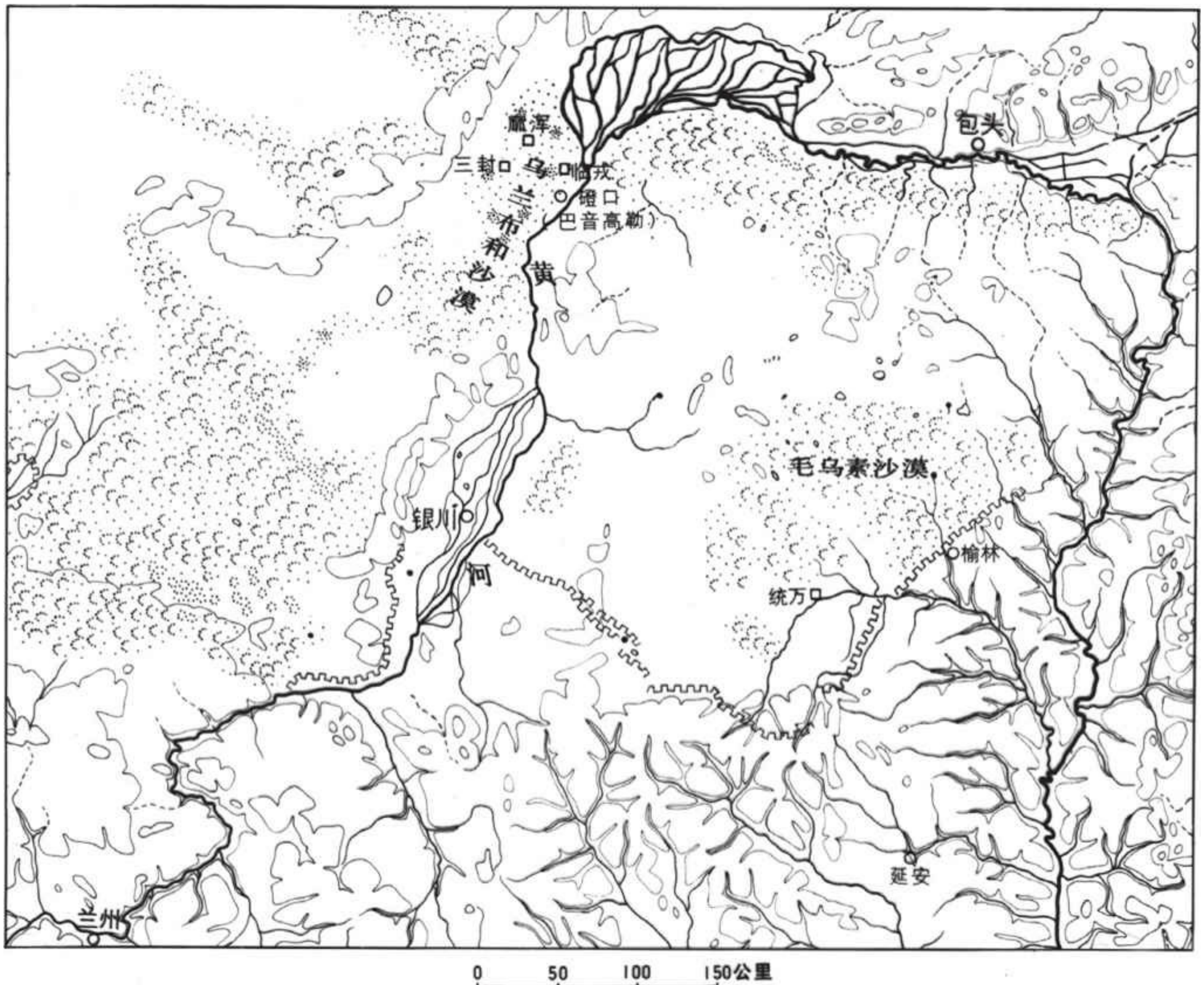
二

古居延地区是历史时期沙漠化的一个十分明显的例子，这种沙漠化的情况，在内蒙古自治区西部干旱地区的其他地方，也曾出现过。

在汉朝初年开辟居延地区的时候，在阴山西端以南的草原上，也有一个重要的农垦区被开垦起来。这里的平均年雨量，虽然多于古居延地区，但仍然不免变为沙漠，这就是现在叫做乌兰布和沙漠的北部地区。蒙语“乌兰”是红色、“布和”是公牛，全名的含义是说这里风沙为害之烈，有如难驯的红色公牛。

乌兰布和沙漠北部这一带地方，原是黄河的冲积平原。古代的黄河

沿着鄂尔多斯高原西侧、从南向北流，直趋阴山之麓（图8-3），然后转而东流，形成了黄河之套的第一个直转弯。从晚更新世以来，这段河道在未转弯之前，就开始向东移动，这种趋势至今还在缓慢地进行中。



8-3　Ordos Plateau and adjacent areas　鄂尔多斯高原及附近地区地形略图

Mowusu Desert　毛罗素沙漠

Ulanbuhe Desert　乌兰布和沙漠

Yellow River　黄河

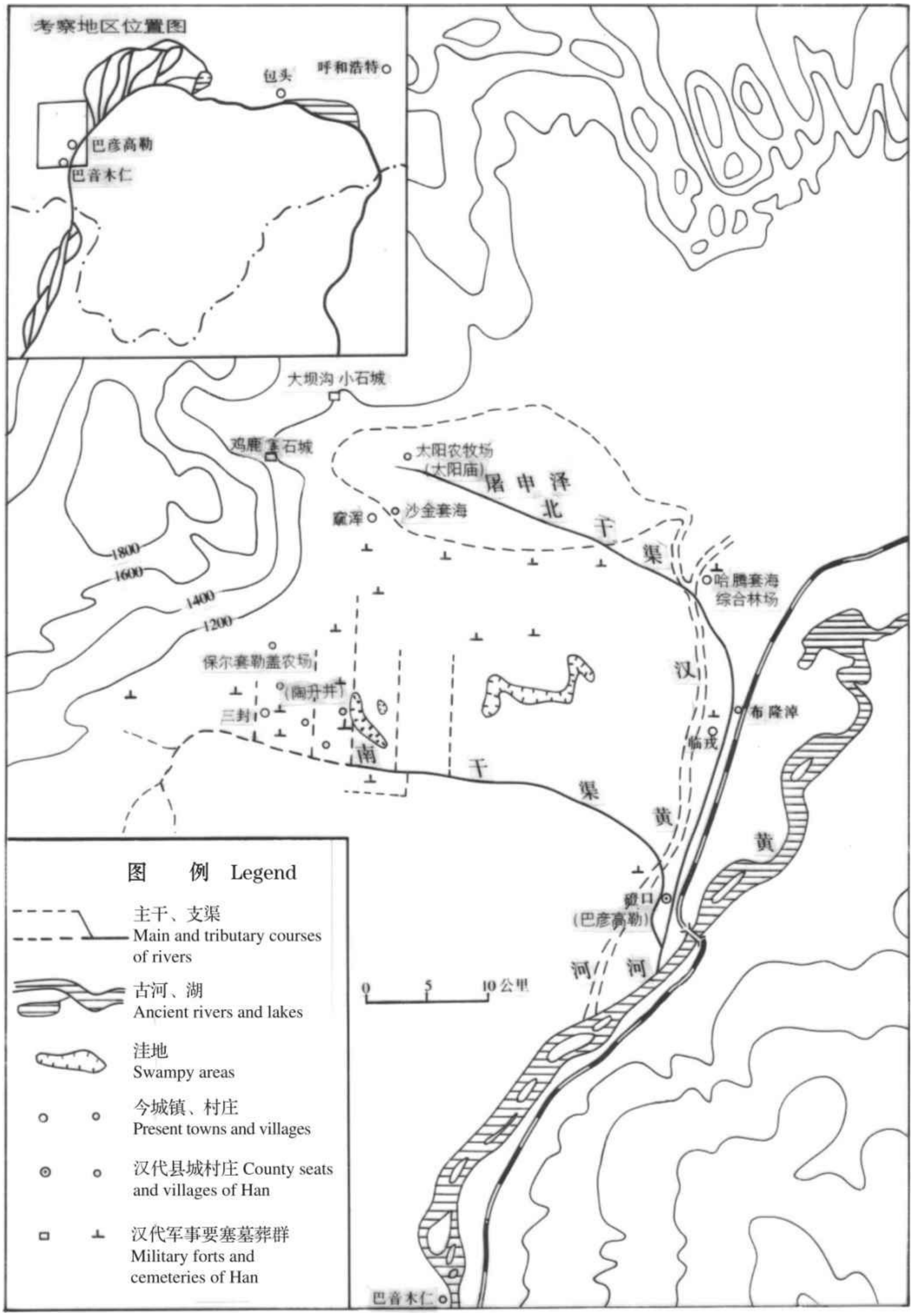
Yuhun　窳浑

Tongwan　统万

在河道东移的过程中，因为河水有时漫溢，就在被遗弃的旧河床及其附近低洼处，积水成湖。两千多年前，当汉王朝最初开辟这一带地方的时候，靠近阴山之麓，还曾有一个东西狭长的大湖，叫做屠申泽。汉代的农垦区就是在这个大湖以南的冲积平原上开辟出来的。

汉王朝在这里移民开垦，并建立军事要塞，也是为了防御从北方来的匈奴人的侵扰和劫掠，以保护黄河中上游一带的农业居民。当时傍阴山南麓的黄河两岸、包括现在的乌兰布和沙漠北部和鄂尔多斯高原的北部，曾有大批移民从内地迁来。例如，公元前127年一次移民，即达十万人。在这一新的移民区中，阴山西端、屠申泽以南的平原地带，特别重要。因为在屠申泽的西北，有一条穿越阴山的谷道，宽阔平坦，是通往山后匈奴地区的重要孔道。为了守卫这条孔道的南口，就在山口西侧的峭壁般的阶地上，修建了一座小石城。这座小石城还一直保留到今天，这就是古代有名的鸡鹿塞。

在鸡鹿塞东南约20公里处，傍近屠申泽的西南岸，有一座大城，名叫窳浑城，这是汉王朝在这一地区所建立的最西头的一座县城（图8-4），是控制鸡鹿塞谷道的军事重镇，现在也已经沦为沙漠中的废墟，但是残存的城墙，还明显可见。城内有大片冶铁遗址，到处可以拣到废铁块、铜箭头，无数的残砖断瓦散布地上。偶然遇到的当地牧民说，这座城外有一处大坑，堆满了尸骨，这是古战场的重要标志。



考察地区位置图
包头
呼和浩特
巴彦高勒
巴音木仁
大坝沟 小石城
鸡鹿塞石城
太阳农牧场
(太阳庙)
屠申泽
北
干
渠
窳浑
沙金套海
哈腾套海
综合林场
1800
1600
1400
1200
保尔套勒盖农场
(陶升井)
三封
汉
布隆淖
临戎
南
干
渠
黄
黄
磴口
(巴彦高勒)
河
河
0
5
10公里
图 例 Legend
主干、支渠
Main and tributary courses of rivers
古河、湖
Ancient rivers and lakes
洼地
Swampy areas
今城镇、村庄
Present towns and villages
汉代县城村庄 County seats and villages of Han
汉代军事要塞墓葬群
Military forts and cemeteries of Han
巴音木仁

8-4　Sites of ancient cities in the northern Ulanbuhe Desert　乌兰布和沙漠北部汉代遗址与水系分布示意图

Yellow River　黄河

Course of Yellow River in Han　汉黄河

Tusheng Lake　屠申泽

约在窳浑城以南20公里和东南30公里处，还各有一座汉城废墟。三城之间，有成群的汉墓，散布其间，还有村落、田块的遗址，至今明显可见。在公元前的最后半个多世纪，由于汉王朝与匈奴统治者和平相处的结果，阴山南麓的农垦区，包括上述三城在内的地带，出现了前所未有的和平安定生活，史书描写说这一带人口繁盛，田野里牛马成群，过去防卫森严的城市，现在连城门也都关得很晚了。真是一幅繁饶富庶的景象。

可是现在又是什么情况呢？

"乌兰布和"这一蒙语的意思，说明了这里流沙为害的现状。而这种情况，并不是近代开始的。公元981年，也就是整整一千年前，有一位旅行者叫王延德的，从鄂尔多斯高原渡过黄河，经过这里，西行到居延地区。他详细记录了这一带的情况，说这里已是"沙深三尺，马不能行，皆乘橐驼。"又说沿途"不育五穀，沙中生草曰登相，收之以食。"按登相现在叫做"沙米"，是生长在流动沙丘上的先锋植物，也就是流动沙丘上首先生长的植物。当时能采集沙米籽粒为食，说明沙米生长繁茂，结实量大。可以推想一千年前，这一带地方还是流沙初期的阶段，近一千年来，这里已全部沙漠化了。

这里的流沙是从哪里来的呢？

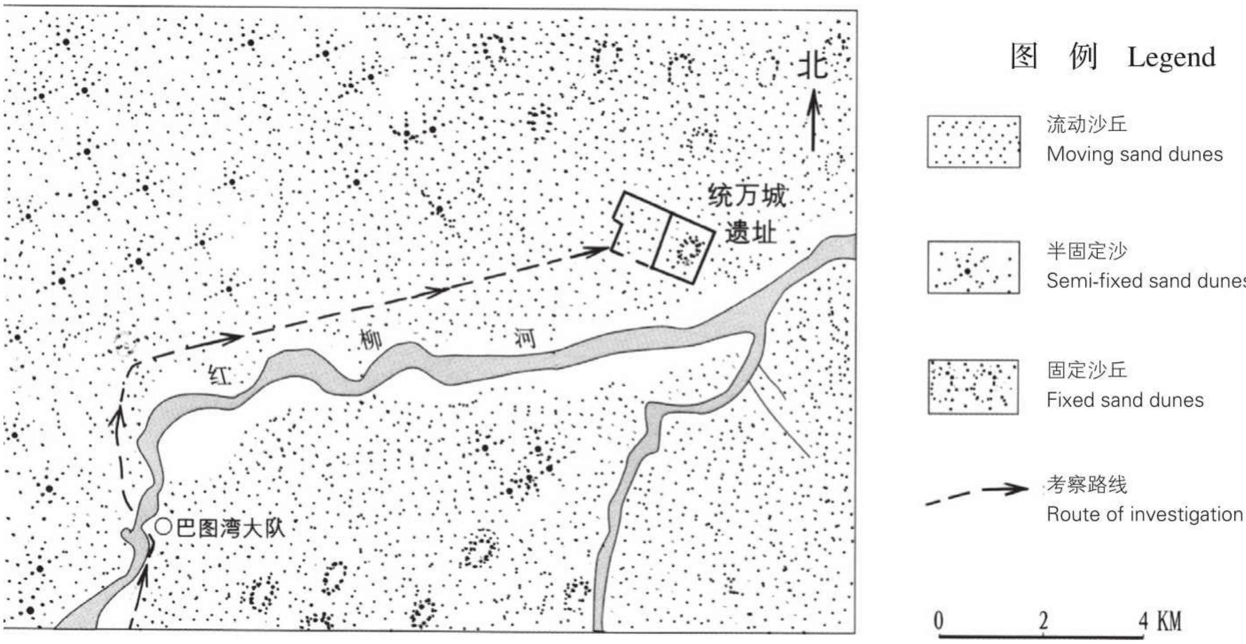
在窳浑城的附近，我们看到了一些大小不等的风蚀坑——由于强烈的风蚀而形成的大坑。在一个风蚀坑的边缘所显示的天然剖面上，可以明显地看到表面是70mm厚的一层水平沉积的黏土层，下面掩埋的则全

是细沙。可见表土层被打破之后，细沙就很容易被强烈的西北风吹扬起来，这就是这一地区流沙的主要来源。这里所看到的地表黏土层的厚度，随地而异，有的地方厚，有的地方薄。厚的地方进行开垦，问题不大。薄的地方，如果原始的植被遭受破坏，并继续暴露在强烈的风蚀之下，那就很容易导致就地起沙。历史的教训就是这样。

三

最后，请允许我再讲一个沙漠中的古城。在我所见到的内蒙古西部沙漠中的古城废墟中，这是最大的一个，也是在筑城工程上最值得注意的一个，这是公元413年所修建的一个匈奴族为时短暂的小王朝的都城，但是它的创建者赫连勃勃却为它起了一个大得极不相称的名字，叫做“统万”，意思就是“统治万邦”。

应该指出，统万城创建的这一年，刚刚在西哥特人攻陷罗马城后的第三年（攻陷罗马城在410年），还在盎格鲁撒克逊人进入不列颠以前不到半个世纪。史书记载说，当时赫连勃勃征调了十万人来修建这座大城。在筑城过程中，由于工程没有达到所要求的坚固程度，就有数以千计的工匠被杀死。至今这座大城虽然已久无人居，但还保留有24米高的敌楼，耸立在滚滚流沙中，在强烈的日照下，放射出耀眼的白色光芒。它的位置在鄂尔多斯高原的南部，靠近一条叫做红柳河的北岸。红柳河穿过毛乌素沙漠的东南一角，携带了大量的泥沙，水色浑浊，因此蒙语叫它做“萨拉乌素河”，也就是“黄水”的意思（图8-5）。



8-5　The site of the ancient city of Tongwan　统万城城址位置图

萨拉乌素河在中国的考古学上是很有名的，因为沿河上游有重要的旧石器时代晚期的遗址在这里被发现，当时住在这里的人被称为“河套人”，至今大约已有五万年。叫他做“河套人”，因为这里也是属于黄河之套以内的地方。

统万城虽然已深陷沙漠之中，但是也早已被人所考察过。奇怪的是过去的考察者只是满足于对古城足迹的描述或古物的发现，都从来没有人把它和周围环境的变迁联系起来进行探讨。比如说：当赫连勃勃在这里建城的时候，这里是沙漠么？他怎样能在沙漠中建立他的都城呢？如果当时这里不是沙漠，那么从什么时候起开始变成了沙漠呢？这些滚滚流沙又是从哪里来的呢？

作为一个历史地理工作者，我和几位年青的同行，正是带着这些问题，访问了这座历史上赫赫有名的统万城的。这次访问，给我留下了十分深刻的印象。

那是夏季的一个早晨，太阳的威力还没有充分显示出来。天晴气朗，万里无云。我们怀着十分兴奋的心情，从红柳河边的驻地出发，步

行向着十公里外的统万城前进。举目所见，那是多么壮观的一幅三色的画面呀！蔚蓝如洗的天空，笼罩在有如大海的波浪那样翻滚着的黄沙上。突然间，我们看到了像古代海船上巨大的白帆一样的东西，出现在远方的蓝天黄沙之间，“看！白城子！”有人叫起来了。“白城子”就是附近的牧民给统万城起的名字，它比统万城一名更富于写实的意义，因为它那巍峨的城墙在阳光照耀下，确实是发出了耀眼的白光的。

在这初见的一刹那间，我所感受到的那种诗情画意，是永难忘怀的。但更重要的是白城子在探讨这一地区的环境变迁上所提供的确切无疑的线索。如果眼前不是有这样一座巍峨的古城屹立在那里，人们还会认为这一带地方自古以来就是荒无人烟的沙漠呢。

不，不是这样。

统万城最初绝不是建筑在沙漠里的。

这里原来不是沙漠，而是一片水草丰美的大草原。

赫连勃勃的时代，中国的政局，四分五裂，在汉族建立的晋王朝外，还有十五个少数民族建立的小王朝，先后崛起。赫连勃勃兴起于鄂尔多斯的草原上，他所建立的小王朝叫做“夏”，占有整个鄂尔多斯高原及其外围一些地方。他曾领兵打进长安城，当时他的部下劝他建都长安，他却坚持回兵鄂尔多斯，亲自选择了统万城的城址。史书有明文记载说，在建城之前，他曾亲自来到现场，登上附近一处高地，一面瞭望，一面赞叹说：“这里草滩广大，河流清澈，我跑过很多地方了，从马岑以北，黄河以南，没有一处地方，比得上这里那么好！”他所说的“马岑以北”指的是现在黄土高原上的六盘山以北，“黄河以南”指的是现在阴山南麓的黄河以南。清澈的河流就是现在以浑浊著称的红柳河，广大的草滩就是现在的毛乌素沙漠。

这里的自然条件本来是不错的，和前面所讲的古居延城所在的三角洲和窳浑城附近的冲积平原不同，那里都是干旱区，降水量都很少，而统万城所在的地方，年平均降水量近400mm，地方上水源丰沛，为什么

也会变成了沙漠呢？

统万城是毛乌素沙漠中所淹没的若干古城废墟中最大的一个，此外还有许多较小的城堡和村庄的遗址，也都已被沙淹，值得注意的是这些古代人类活动的遗迹，在沙区内的分布，自西北而东南，有着一定的时代先后的顺序性，例如两千年前汉代的遗址，向西北地区伸展得最远。稍向东南来，则多是比汉代晚了数百年或是上千年的唐、宋时代的遗址。至于近三、四百年明清时代的遗址，大都分布在沙区的东南边缘一带。这一分布的特点，除与中原王朝势力的消长有密切关系外，同时也与沙漠化时期的早晚直接有关。而这一地区的沙漠化，又是不合理的土地利用的必然结果。所谓不合理的土地利用，主要指的是在不宜于农耕的地方进行开垦，其次是过分的樵采和放牧。其具体过程，也有待于更深入的调查和研究。

总之，鄂尔多斯高原是我国历史上沙漠化的发展最显著的地区之一，导致沙漠化的主要原因，是人类本身的活动，而不是气候或其他自然因素的变化。新中国建立以后不久我们注意到这一问题，1963年后才开始从历史地理的角度上进行有计划的考察。可是1966年以后十年间的混乱，中断了这项考察工作的进行。一年半以前，才有可能重新开展这项考察研究工作。我相信，在实现我国社会主义现代化的过程中，这项工作是不可缺少的。

在你们伟大而美丽的国土上，既没有沙漠，也没有遇到沙漠化的问题。但是今天在世界上，特别是在发展中的国家里，沙漠化仍然是个严重的问题。沙漠和沙漠化的土地，占去了地球上陆地面积的1/3，全世界近1/6的人口，生活在这种地方，因此防治沙漠化这一项重要的环境保护的问题，已成为当前国际上关于沙漠研究的一个突出的课题。

第29届联合国大会通过的3337号决议要求采取国家间的联合行动，来同沙漠化进行斗争。贵国的学者，有人在这方面已经作了大量的工作，是值得我们钦佩的。

现在一些发展中国家所遇到的沙漠化的问题，有些情况在我国历史上曾经不止一次地出现过。对这一历史的过程，进行科学的总结，在今天应该说是有一定的参考价值的。我们认为这项研究，也是历史地理工作者所应该积极参加的。我相信，我国的历史地理工作者也将会努力工作，为国际的合作，作出自己应有的贡献。

谢谢大家耐心地听我的发言，现在我准备答复大家所提出的问题，虽然我不一定都能作出令人满意的答复。

⑨ I COME FROM YENCHING UNIVERSITY*

1. Interaction Between the Cultures of East and West and the Trend of the Times

When I came as a first-year freshman to Yenching University, it was the autumn of 1932. At that time almost ten years had passed since construction along a set lay-out had started of the university campus, and it was almost reaching completion.

On the campus the scenery everywhere was very beautiful, overflowing with an ever thriving vitality. This first impression the university had on me when I just arrived, has never left me. Therefore, I will now write down from memory how the very construction of the campus has influenced me. I will discuss this from the following aspects:

1) The campus with its beautiful scenery and classical Chinese architecture.

2) The probe into the campus' history and research on traditional culture.

The recently constructed Yenching University had chosen the northwestern outskirts of Peking as its campus location, an area famous historically for its gardens. The main gate faced west, facing in the distance Xishan, the West Mountains. Inside the main gate one crossed a large marble bridge spanning a pool clear as a mirror, and reached the teaching centre. Large buildings in classical Chinese architectural style stood on three sides, with in the centre a wide space with luscious green grass. From the teaching centre one drifted into the campus' hinterland with its winding hills and dense foliage. The main road rose and fell unobstructed by anything ahead, only

small footpaths joining it. But suddenly, after going through a section of hills, the ripples of a vast lake stretched out in front, exceeding all one's expectations. The glint of the water had the colour of the sky, the field of vision was open and wide: it was the magnificent Lake Without a Name. A small island adorned the centre of the lake, adding to the boundless view. The buildings of the men's dormitories were lined up one by one on the northern shore of the lake. Tucked away behind hills and a dense forest on the southern shore of the lake was the women's dormitories, in the traditional courtyard style. From the first day of entering the university I was captured by the natural scenery of the campus. I came to know only afterwards that here used to be a famous garden called Shuchun Yuan, the "Garden of the Fair Spring, closely connected to the Qing imperial court two hundred years ago. The streams filling the rivers and lakes of the garden came from the adjoining Shaoyuan, a famous garden three hundred years ago in the Ming Dynasty already renowned for its streams. When Yenching University opened up its campus in 1921 however, the structures of these two historic gardens had already disappeared without a trace. Yenching University used exactly the spot of these two famous gardens, and after adopting special designs and using the conditions of the natural environment to the full, a very special university campus was built. Even more important, however, was that for the buildings on the campus classical Chinese architectural forms were used, creating an even closer harmony between historical traditions and modern needs.

Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that the principal lay-out of the campus was carried out under the guidance of the American architect Henry K. Murphy, which proved it was in fact a new creation completed under the influence of the cultural exchange between East and West, representing the

trend of the times rather well. [1]

At the Yenching University campus there were several other equally picturesque buildings, like a small bell pavilion on a hill under a pine tree, the "Overlooking the Water Cottage" (Linhu Xuan) on the lakeside, the small "Contemplating Merit Pavilion" (Siyi Ting) on the lake's island, and the "Broad Elegant Pagoda" (Boya Ta) towering over the shore, structures which were all rather spectacular. The expression "glimmering lake reflecting pagoda" became the famed proverbial portrayal of the campus'scenery. The Boya Pagoda and the Siyi Pavilion are well worth talking about in more detail.

The name of the Boya Pagoda had much to do with the American professor at that time at the Philosophy Department of Yenching University, Bo Chenguang or Lucius C. Porter. He was influenced deeply by traditional Chinese culture and had been working at the Peking office of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. More importantly, his elders had done a great deal to develop Tongzhou Union University, one of the predecessors to Yenching University. When Yenching University started constructing a water-pagoda to add to the streams inside the campus, in order to commemorate these historical origins, the shape of the famous pagoda of Tongzhou, the Randeng Pagoda ("Sparkling Lamp Pagoda") was adopted, and the name Boya Pagoda was chosen. "BO" refers to the first character in Porter's Chinese name, and "YA" implicates an "elegant scholar". In English the pagoda is simply called "Porter's Pagoda".

The name of the Siyi Pavilion has an even more commemorative meaning than the Boya Pagoda's. The "SI" in the name is a diminutive form of "Luce", while "YI" has the meaning of "a magnanimous act undertaken for the public good". In English it is called "Luce Pavilion". It is in

commemoration of Henry W. Luce, the first vice-president of Yenching University, who did so much to raise funds to set up Yenching University. [2]

I feel very privileged in arriving at Yenching in the period it had just been completed and being captured by the beauty of its surroundings; I was even more inspired by Professor William Hung's research at that time on the campus' history, which even influenced the direction of my later research.

In the very first beginning, when I had only just enrolled in the university, Professor William Hung's main work on the research of Shaoyuan, "On the Painting and Records of Shaoyuan", had been published smartly by the Yinde Compilation Office of Yenching University Press (the foreword was written on 29 October, 1932). The photo reprint in this book of the hand-drawn "Friends Gathering at Shaoyuan" by the prominent calligrapher Mi Wanzhong, the owner of the garden, drawn in the 45th year of Wanli of the Ming Dynasty(1617 A.D.), makes the scene of three hundred years ago appear vividly before one's eyes. It is said that when Yenching University was established, Professor William Hung had learned from archives that this scroll was still around somewhere, and after painstaking searches he was finally able to purchase it for the Yenching University Library. After the publication of the photo reprint, Professor Hung obtained a poetry text from the late Ming concerning Mi Wanzhong and a description of the lay-out of Shaoyuan, which enabled him furthermore to verify the ancient site of Shaoyuan and its geographical position. At the end of the scroll was added a map of the rivers, lakes and other waterways of the campus and its surroundings, which was extremely valid for reference. Also included was a record stating that the English envoy Lord George Macartney stayed temporarily at the ancient site of Shaoyuan when coming to the Qing court during the reign of the Qianlong emperor.

Thereafter, Hung wrote in English about his research on the Shuchun Yuan, in which he covered important historical circumstances of most of the places inside the Yenching University campus. Furthermore, he gave his special report in English at the "university lecture", which was very well received by both teachers and students. [3]

This historical research by Professor Hung led me to start an actual investigation in the area of the historically famous gardens in the western suburbs of Peking, then extending it to the research of the development of the whole Peking area.

When teaching students in class, Professor Hung was original and demanding, which made me benefit even more from his wisdom. For example, when I was only a second-year student, I attended his class about "Methods on Elementary Historiography". One of the important things was the exercise in writing scientific papers, in which his requirements were very specific. For example, one had to get hold of first-hand material, to annotate the sources of the material, to have new insights or new explanations, and then to write one's paper following a standard form. Only half the time of the term was used for teaching. After that, every student was given a certain topic and asked to go to the library to find material, write everything down on cards divided by subject, and start to sort out the research. The paper for that term made up the academic record. The topic handed out to me at that time was"Who was the most fervent book collector in history?" After browsing through the materials in the library, I found three scholars fit for the description, and I started comparative research on the materials I had found. In class I made oral reports to Professor Hung, and finally I chose one scholar from the Ming Dynasty, and wrote my "term paper": "The most fervent book collector Hu Yinlin". As a result, I was given a remark by Professor Hung in

two black characters, written with a calligraphy brush: "Very Fine". This made me feel immensely encouraged, and I kept his calligraphy. Now 62 years have passed, and even though every side of life has changed, I have kept it until today, because it is the first lesson on academic training I had from Yenching University.

Professor Hung's guidance was not only confined to the classroom, he deliberately created some opportunities for me outside the classes, which gave me an even broader job training. This was even more the case when I became his research student. For example, Professor Alice Boring, Dean of the Pre-medical Department of the university, invited me to make a report in English for PAUW on the subject "geographical Peking". The full name of this organisation is Peking Association of University Women, and its members, most of them being graduates of American universities, were naturally good at speaking English. However, as I had never written a lecture in English before, I was of course a bit shy and tried desperately to refuse. Only then professor Boring told me straight on the spot that she had originally invited Professor Hung to talk on historical Peking, but he had insisted on recommending me to talk on geographical Peking. After this information I went to see Professor Hung immediately to explain my English was not sufficient to give a talk in public, and to ask him to replace me by somebody else. Professor Hung pointed very solemnly to me and said, "Well, this is an excellent opportunity for you to practise, is it not?" He insisted on me writing out the speech and practising it on him beforehand, before going to the association to do the report. This was a deliberate training for me, and I could not but go along.

Professor Hung had noticed at a very early stage that my academic interest had turned from history to historical geography, so he deliberately

arranged for me to go abroad for advanced studies, to get an even better training in the theory of the field. One morning in the autumn of 1938, I was summoned to go to Professor Hung's study at his home, and the first thing he said to me was "there is no school exceeding a master, and there is no master exceeding a famous master". He paused for a while, and then explained, "Harvard is a famous university, but they don't have a department of geography there. The University of Liverpool in England is of course not as famous as Harvard, but they have a famous professor in geography who has also a great knowledge of the geography of China, Professor Percy Maude Roxby. After research by our school it has been decided to send you there next autumn to advance on your historical geography." Professor Hung had close ties with the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and had always sent research students from Yenching's graduate school of history to Harvard for further study, but because of my special interest, he recommended me to go to the University of Liverpool to specialise in historical geography. The following year war broke out in Europe, and I couldn't go. When after the great war had ended I was finally able to go to the University of Liverpool, Professor Roxby had retired, but his successor, Sir Clifford Darby, influenced me deeply. The theories and methods on historical geography initiated by him were introduced by me in China for the first time, and I made my own contribution to the development in the field of Chinese historical geography. When talking now about these matters, I cannot but think of the opportunity Yenching University gave me in the first place.

Just now I have given a few examples of how William Hung guided and trained me, but it was not only Professor Hung who let me share in his knowledge in my years of study at Yenching. There were two other full-time professors at the Department of History: Gu Jiegang and Deng Zhicheng.

Both of them were renowned historians, although they were not as good at English as William Hung, who had a thorough knowledge of both Chinese and Western topics. If William Hung's appointment as professor at Yenching had a historical origin, for he was a Christian convert and had close ties to the founding of Yenching, it needs to be pointed out that Gu Jiegang and Deng Zhicheng were not Christian converts nor proficient in English, but because the two of them had made special contributions to the world of Chinese historiography, they were employed by Yenching University. Professor Deng Zhicheng guided me in my research on Chinese historical treatises, and Professor Gu Jiegang deepened my interest in researching Peking's historical geography(I will talk about that later in more detail). Just like Professor Hung, Professor Gu Jiegang had been employed at the Harvard-Yenching Institute's Peking office, where William Hung even had been in charge. I should add that with financial help of the Harvard-Yenching Institute the magazine *Yanjing Xuebao* was edited and published at Yenching, recognised in China and abroad to be one of the leading academic journals on the research of Chinese literature, history and philosophy. Also, there were the publications in volumes of the Yinde collection, about traditional Chinese books and records, esteemed equally in the academic worlds of both China and the West as the *Yanjing Xuebao* . Professor William Hung contributed enormously to the establishing and printing of the Yinde collection. It has to be added here that although after the merging of Yenching University and Peking University in 1952 the above mentioned publications came to a halt, reprints continued to be in circulation. More significantly, the Alumni of Yenching University in Peking and the Second Campus of Peking University started cooperating in 1993 and established the Yanjing Graduate Institute, in order to continue and expand the spirit and stamina of Yenching. At the same

time, the academic efforts of mainly the Alumni of Yenching University were bundled into re-editing and republishing *Yanjing Xuebao* , of which the first "New Issue No.1" was published in August 1995. Moreover, there are plans in progress for continued compilation of the Yinde collection.

It has to be added here that after Yenching University merged with Peking University in 1952 the campus expanded greatly, but the original campus of Yenching University has been fully preserved, the glimmering lake and pagoda reflected thereon are just like in the old days. In 1990, the Municipal Government of Peking decided to have the area around the "Lake Without Name" of the original Yenching campus site put on the municipal cultural heritage list, and had this engraved on a stele to be remembered forever.

2. The Tradition of Patriotism and the Spirit of Devotion

The campus of Yenching University was as pretty as a Chinese landscape painting, but this didn't mean it was a small paradise closed off from the outer world. It was built on the ancient sites of gardens of former times, but the fate of the whole country was still in the midst of restless movement. The first couple of years after the school was set up, the Peking government was controlled continuously by warlords who strived for power by selling out their country, and bureaucracy. The successive national governments in Nanking were facing against Japanese and other foreign aggressions.

It was at this time that the Japanese aggressors staged the "Mukden Incident" of 18 September 1931, to occupy the three provinces in China's Northeast, and the resistance movement against Japan to save the country, initiated by the Chinese people in all kinds of ways, started to develop from

this point in time.

The situation as described above was the historical background for my enrollment at Yenching University as a freshman in 1932. At that time, because the Chinese government had moved south, Peking was renamed Beiping, "northern peace", and after Mukden Incident it came day by day closer to the nation's defence front lines.

One day, not long after I became a student, I was strolling on the campus and arrived at the area close to the library full of hills and streams, when suddenly a stone stele, straight as a brush, appeared in front of me, upon which from the top down in large characters one line was inscribed:

"MEMORIAL STELE TO LADY WEI SHIYI"

Followed by an inscription stating lady Wei Shiyi's life story and a short commemorative text. The last three lines, in small characters, stated the persons who erected the stele and the date it had been put up:

> Erected in honour by all members of the men's and women's student unions of Yenching University, together with the student union of the Yenching high school for girls, in the 16th Year of the Republic.

So this was the stele erected on the campus to remember the second-year female student Wei Shiyi, who only one year before the erection (1926 in fact) on March 18, as a member of the Peking young student patriotism movement, had been killed by the Warlord Regime. This massacre in Peking where so many people were killed and which shocked the whole nation was known as "the March 18 Massacre". My high school was far from Peking when this massacre took place, but I was deeply influenced by the student movement of that time. After coming to Yenching I hadn't expected to experience the profound lesson of that patriotic student movement once

again, a lesson which was expressed so well in the inscription on the stele, which reads as follows:

> In the country there are great parasites, the government is without law.
>
> Foxes and rats infest the capital, they vie with each other in unbridled unruliness.
>
> The gates of the government are awash with blood from the killing of our heros.
>
> They slaughtered little me, but in the end there will be a reckoning!
>
> Whether the Dipper stars do not pour wine, or the Sieve conste-llation winnows grain (i.e., whether high officials are aloof or they do care)
>
> The prosperity or decay of the country depends on the support of people!
>
> Please let those who have survived never forget this!

When going over this inscription carefully, I cannot but think that such an stele, so strong in attacking the government and denouncing the warlords, at that time was indeed an important patriotic symbol for the young students of Yenching University, and an indisputable illustration of the protection and development of the young students' patriotic ideals by the Yenching University staff. Thinking back of it now, it must have been the first lesson in patriotism I was taught by Yenching University.

In the four years after I enrolled in Yenching University, the Japanese invaders occupied the three provinces of China's Northeast, and advanced even further to the Great Wall Line in the north. Apart from the normal teaching and studying routine, the staff and students on the campus of Yenching were incessantly engaged in anti-Japanese activities. Among the professors circulated a publication about promoting resistance against Japan, with big characters "The Torch" in its cover printed; as I remember correctly

the calligraphy was by Rong Geng, professor of Chinese literature. Gu Jiegang, professor of history, got everybody in their spare time together to compile propaganda material for resistance against Japan and saving the country, which was published under the name "Popular Literature Editing House". The students were constantly busy with activities supporting the army defending the Great Wall Line to resist the Japanese army. Because of the "non-resistance policy" of the central government in Nanking, a patriotic student movement finally broke out on 9 December 1935, which spread gradually to other cities. From the very beginning of the movement the students of Yenching had an important leading role; moreover, they were supported by their teachers, including several foreign teachers. Two of them were quite extraordinary, one was Randolph Sailer, the very popular American professor of psychology, the other one was the American journalist and part-time lecturer at the Department of Journalism at Yenching, Edgar Snow. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party had already established Yan'an as its base to propagate resistance against Japan and form a united front. It was after this student movement of 9 December that Edgar Snow travelled to Yan'an and subsequently wrote his very influential book, *Red Star Over China* . It was also this student movement that increased the admiration of the students for Dr. Sailer, for he showed enormous care and support for students who, though suffering hunger and cold, had walked for miles to join the demonstrations.

Six months after the 9 December demonstrations I graduated from my department at Yenching University. The evening before my graduation Professor Gu Jiegang told me that the university had appointed him as part-time head of the history department from the next term onward, and he hoped I would stay on as his assistant. From September 1936 till June 1937,

Professor Gu tried out a new approach with his class "Exercise in Research on Ancient Sites and Ancient Objects". Every fortnight on Saturday afternoon he would take the students to an old building or ancient site which he had chosen beforehand, either inside Peking's city walls or in the surrounding countryside, to make an on-the-spot investigation. He wanted me to make a written report beforehand on the basis of his reference materials and my own inspection results, and hand this out to the students for reference. It was a training very precious for me, which deepened my interest in doing research on Peking's historical geography.

On 7 July 1937 the Japanese aggressors staged the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" or "July 7 Incident" in the outskirts of Peking, and they attacked and occupied the city, setting off the widespread War of Resistance Against Japan. Professor Gu Jiegang left Peking quickly for the south, to escape an arrest by the Japanese. Thereafter, I obtained a scholarship by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and became a M.A. research student under the guidance of Professor William Hung. National University had, just as Peking University and Qinghua University, already after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident moved to the south. Although Yenching University was situated in an enemy-occupied area, it could continue to exist because it was run by an American Christian organisation, and Yenching was like a solitary island where the youth in enemy-occupied north China could still pursue their studies. As a research student the first problem I had was what to choose as the field of research and the subject for my thesis. Actually, William Hung had proposed me a subject long ago, when I wrote my graduation paper. Because he knew my interest had moved to historical geography, he hoped I would take the chapter on Shandong province from the work *Tianxia junguo libing shu* (*The Blessings and Ills of All Regions of the Empire*) of the famous late Ming

early Qing scholar Gu Yanwu, and then add a compilation from the early Qing to the late Qing and early Republic. The point was to disclose all good and bad aspects of every place inside Shandong province of the past three hundred years, to be of reference when building up the nation, for although we were occupied by the enemy, everyone believed the war would eventually be won, and the nation would be built up again. The choice of Shandong was made because it is my original home, and also because the library of Yenching had the most Local Gazetteers on Shandong province. These Local Gazetteers are characteristic of China, they are books compiled by the authorities on the situation of all districts in all provinces, usually compiled every odd years. Because I had only limited time then, I could not but choose another subject for my thesis with a rather smaller scope. M.A. research students had enough time to do research. It was very important then that I could get a better understanding of the idea of Gu Yanwu's *Tianxia junguo libing shu* . He was born in the late Ming dynasty, and felt great concern for the deteriorating society and politics which caused the people great suffering. Then he compiled his *Tianxia junguo libing shu* . In the foreword to his work, he wrote the following: "I am moved by the many ills that beset all the corners of our land, and thus am ashamed of the lack of skill of the students of the Classics". Then he started propagating his idea of "Use the Classics", attacking the shallow style of study of his contemporaries, and he recommended openly "everybody has a responsibility to protect the world". Thereupon, he called out loudly in distress, saying:

> As of today, it is our responsibility (as scholars) to save our people from their state of utter distress and open up an era of peace for ten thousand generations.

Even when the Qing armies had entered through the passes and snatched

away the ruling power of the Ming Dynasty, he kept resisting Qing Dynasty rule, and refrained from being employed. When my country was in imminent danger, I was able to understand the deeds of his life much better, and I was deeply moved. In the period that the country's crisis deepened after the occupation of Peking, it took me three years to finish my sequel to *The Blessings and Ills of All Regions of the Empire* on Shandong province. William Hung was there to recommend it, and he had my M.A. thesis published as a special edition of the 19th issue of *Yanjing Xuebao* . This work, written under the enemy puppet regime, was full of ideals of saving the country and rebuilding the land, which without Yenching University and the guidance of Professor William Hung would have never seen the light.

However, when in the winter of 1941 this book had just been published, the Japanese invasion army that had recently occupied China meeting with the persistent resistance of the Chinese people, suddenly attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour from the air on December 8 (Peking time), setting off the Pacific War. It was very early that day that the Japanese military police surrounded Yenching University quickly and consequently occupied the campus. All students and staff members were expelled from the area, the staff with American nationality were locked up in concentration camps, and a couple of staff and students were arrested and confined in the army barracks of the Japanese military police in Peking, including the university president Leighton Stuart. Eleven people of the staff were arrested in all, among whom I was the youngest. Both my professors, William Hung and Deng Zhicheng, were arrested too.

Here I should go into the reasons of my arrest.

After finishing my M.A. in June 1940, I had decided to stay on at Yenching to teach, and I had already started to prepare classes. Dr. Leighton

Stuart the university president, invited me for a talk. He wanted me to be in charge of some student matters part time besides teaching, because there were many problems the students were facing due to the campus' position on occupied territory. Some students had financial problems because of the war, some students couldn't work quietly because of the puppet regime, they all needed to be given care and support. Because I had been a student here for eight years myself, I was rather good in understanding the students. After three meetings, it was decided to set up a Student Welfare Committee, chaired by Professor Sailer who was very popular with the students, to facilitate tackling the Japanese if they would come to the university to stir up trouble. I was vice chairman of this committee and acted as a contact with the students. One committee member was chosen among the young and enthusiastic professors of the Colleges of Arts, Natural Sciences and Public Affairs, and the Dean was invited to be secretary of the Committee, to make it easier to communicate with the whole school's various administrative organisations and the university president. On 21 June 1940 President Stuart signed a memo and sent it to everybody appointed. I have kept my personal copy until today, and added it to this paper. Therefore, before I even entered a classroom, I walked into the office of the Student Welfare Committee inside the large office building.

The fact that I had accepted this task had to do with the education I was given by Yenching University as well. The Yenching University motto "Freedom Through Truth for Service" was known by heart by all university students. The understanding of this motto by the students might have been profound or superficial, but there was one thing the students themselves could all feel in a minor or major degree: the spirit of helping others, to be found everywhere on the campus. This spirit of helping was most concrete in

the relationship between students and staff, and also most obvious there. The establishing of a Student Welfare Committee by the president of the university is a very concrete example of this spirit. Honouring this university motto became my unshirkable duty.

Student life at Yenching University had, apart from compulsory studying, its special characteristics. Especially when the nation's crisis deepened daily and the students' activities outside the classroom became gradually more and more restricted, one characteristic became obvious, and that was the existence of an organisation called Small Christian Fellowship. As a Christian university, Yenching University had established Colleges of Arts, Natural Sciences and Public Affairs, which were officially registered at the central government in Nanking of that time, but there existed also a College of Religion, which didn't enroll students publicly but attracted students majoring in religion. The College of Religion had its own building, in which was built a small worship hall, where believing and non-believing staff and students could freely attend the Sunday service, although not many people did. There was yet another organisation, called the Christian Fellowship of Yenching University, whose office was inside the building of the College of Religion also. The Fellowship was divided into a number of small fellowships, which were led mainly by student believers. Non-believers could join freely, and some fellowships invited Christian professors to join as advisors. Every fellowship had its own name, some names had to do with religion, like "Friends of Jesus", or "Shining Salt Group", but not all names were like that. For example, there was a fellowship which from the start was organised by six people, and was therefore called the "Group of Six". These fellowships were full of vigour, because they did not only study the Bible and discuss religious doctrine, but touched upon the problems in daily life, most

importantly the discussion about current affairs. If it hadn't been under the name of a fellowship meeting, discussions about current affairs wouldn't have been possible, because it was forbidden explicitly by the puppet regime of that time. Later, the fellowship organisations developed into some small groups specialising in discussions about vocational study. I helped organising a small group on vocational study, whereby everybody came together once every weekend to exchange what one had learned when studying vocationally, called the"Saturday Symposium". Actually these student organisations, given the objective situation at that time, really set off the students' self-education, and brought about the spreading of patriotic ideals. Because the same thing had happened to me when I was a student, I was perfectly happy to share some work in caring for the students through an organisation at school.

At the office of the Student Welfare Committee Dr. Sailer and me took shifts, and started our "spare-time" work for the students. I hadn't attended his classes when I was a student, even though his class on"Mental Hygiene" was universally appraised and received enthusiastically by the students. Now I could see with my own eyes how he gave himself totally for his work, and couldn't help thinking about the Yenching motto about "service", a motto which had clearly been manifested in him. He arranged mainly "Self-Help Work" for the students with urgent financial needs, all kinds of odd jobs being paid for by the hour. Because of the war, the amount of students applying for Self-Help Work increased daily. Sailer's work load increased accordingly, but his attitude towards the students and his work spirit were so admirable that I will never forget.

My main work had to do with the students' problems of quite another nature, problems which were linked with the day-by-day development of the

War of Resistance Against Japan. The Japanese invaders were getting crazier every day in "mopping up" the occupied area, so there were a minority of students then who insisted on giving up their personal opportunity to study, and plunged into the struggle to defeat the enemy and save the country. Students whom I was familiar with came directly to me, and there were also students who went straightaway to university president Leighton Stuart to discuss their plans. The president wanted me to be in charge of these matters, but he also established one principle, being that as long as the students dropped out to join the work for"the United Front Against Japan", no matter if they wanted to go to the hinterland (being the land under Kuomintang rule) or the liberated area(being the area of the Eighth Route Army of the Communist Party), they would have to receive equal treatment: to be given support, including making contacts for their route and helping out with travel costs. If they asked to change their subject of study or asked to leave to go to work, that was a different matter. I started to help the students to leave school on this principle, but as it was best to go unnoticed, I could only operate in the strictest secrecy. At that time, there was an international friend of China, Rewi Alley, who set up an organisation in Sichuan called"Chinese Industrial Cooperation", which got together mainly scattered labour groups in the inner provinces to expand production and support resistance against Japan. A very good friend of his, the English lecturer at Yenching E. Ralph Lapwood, had as early as 1939 left Yenching, and travelled through mountains in the west and the liberated area of the Eighth Route Army towards Sichuan, where he worked for this Industrial Cooperation. There were several students of the school who, influenced by him, wanted to leave and support the same Cooperation. There were also students who actively sought to join the direct struggle against Japan with the liberated area of the Eighth Route Army. In

the position of vicechairman of the Student Welfare Committee in the period of one year since the autumn of 1940, I helped these students to leave university. For a more detailed record of these affairs please read my account"Reminiscences on the Closing Down of Yenching University" in the volume *Peking under the Japanese Puppet Regime* [4] . Unfortunately, some messages written by students who had gone south were intercepted, and I was arrested by the Japanese military police. In June 1942 I was sentenced by a Japanese military court to prison for one year with the execution suspended for three years, and was released on bail, but I had no freedom of migration or travel. When my three-year suspension period was just over, the Japanese invasion army lost the war and surrendered. The university president Stuart was released, and he immediately reestablished the university committee, seven people in all, and I was asked to join too, even though I was still quite young. [5] The new university committee set down one strict rule, being that whoever had worked for the enemy when Yenching was closed off by the Japanese bandits, was not allowed to return to university. This rule again proved that Yenching University stuck firmly to its principles, and the rule was resolutely supported by staff and students alike.

Before I end this paper, I should make some additional remarks, being that when I came out of prison and went through my suspension period, in the field of conducting myself in society and the field of studying I received the unremitting guidance and strict demands of William Hung. The couple of letters he wrote to me by hand then are still treasured by me today. Four of these letters I had even photo reprinted, and they will appear in the second issue of the new edition of *Yanjing Xuebao* (*Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*). This Yanjing Xuebao, the magazine that in the past by spreading the splendid Chinese traditional culture became famous at home and abroad,

will now, under the enthusiastic support of the Alumni of Yenching University, continue to be published by the Yenching Graduate Institute, keeping its editorial characteristics. How things will develop in the next phase, is a problem I feel should also be considered deeply.

Peking University
March, 1996

玖　我从燕京大学来*

一、中西文化交流与时代趋向

我作为一年级新生进入燕京大学，是在1932年的秋天。那时大学校园按着预定的规划设计，经历了前后十年时间，已经基本建设完成。整个校园里，风景佳丽，光彩焕发，洋溢着蓬勃向上的朝气。这是我初入学时的第一个印象，至今难忘。因此在这里先追记一下这座校园建设的本身所给我的影响。先从以下两个方面说起：

1．风景如画的校园与中国古典式的建筑。

2．校园历史的探索与传统文化的研究。

新建成的燕京大学校园，选址在北京城的西北近郊，是历史上有名的园林区。校门西向，遥对西山。校门以内，跨过一个波平如镜的池塘上的一座大石桥，就进入了教学中心。中国古典建筑形式的大楼，三面环列，中间场地开阔，绿草如茵。从教学中心深入校园腹地，岗阜逶迤，林木丛茂。大路起伏，畅通无阻。羊肠曲径，经过其间。出人意料的是穿过这一区岗阜，突然展现在眼前的是一片微波荡漾的湖泊，水光天色，视野开阔，这就是享有盛誉的未名湖。湖中有小岛，点缀其间，平添无限景色。男生的宿舍大楼，一座又一座，并列在湖泊的北岸。深在湖泊南岸岗阜密林之后的则是传统庭院式的女生宿舍。从入学的第一天起，我就为这座校园的自然风光所吸引，只是后来我才了解到，这里原是两百多年前与清朝皇室有密切关系的一座名园，叫做淑春园。园中河流湖泊的上游，来自紧相毗连的勺园。而勺园早在三百多年前的明朝，就已经是一座以水取胜的名园了。可是到了1921年燕京大学在这里开始建校的时候，这两处历史名园的建筑，都已荡然无存。燕京大学正是在这两处名园的旧址上，经过独出心裁的规划设计，充分利用其自然条件，建造起一座独具特色的大学校园。还有更重要的一点，即这座校

园的建筑物，一律采用了中国古典的建筑形式，这更是历史传统与现代化要求的相互结合。

还须指出，校园的规划设计，乃是在美国建筑师Henry K. Murphy的主持下进行的，实际上这也正是在中西文化交流的影响下所完成的足以代表时代趋向的一种新创造。[1]

需要补充说明的是在燕京大学校园里，还有一些类似景点的建筑物，如小山上古松下的钟亭、俯视水面的临湖轩、湖中小岛上的思义亭和湖边上凌空而立的博雅塔，都是十分引人注目的，而“湖光塔影”更成为校园风景中颇负盛名的写照。在这里特别值得一提的是博雅塔和思义亭。

博雅塔的命名和当时燕京大学哲学系的美籍教授博晨光有密切关系。他深受中国传统文化的影响，曾兼任哈佛燕京学社在北平办事处的工作。更重要的是他的前辈曾为燕京大学前身之一的通州协和大学的发展作出过贡献。为了纪念这一历史渊源，燕京大学为供给校园内自来水而建成的水塔，就采取了通州有名的古建筑“燃灯塔”的造型而兴建起来，并且取名博雅塔。“博”字是Porter一字第一声的音译，“雅”字有“儒雅学者”的含义。英文就直接叫做Porter's Pagoda了。

比起博雅塔更有纪念意义的是思义亭。在这里“思”字是Luce一字简化的音译，“义”字有“义举”的含义。英文名称就是Luce Pavilion。这是为了纪念燕京大学第一任副校长路思义为燕京大学的筹款兴建所作出的贡献。[2]

我深感幸运的不仅是燕京大学校园新落成时就来到了这里而深受其幽美环境的感染，更重要的是当时洪煨莲教授对于校园历史的研究，又使我深受启发，一直影响到我日后的研究方向。

最初，还是在我入学不久的时候，洪煨莲教授关于勺园研究的重要著作《勺园图录考》由燕京大学引得编纂处精印出版（序文写于1932年10月29日）。这部书影印了明万历四十五年（1617）勺园主人、著名书

法家米万钟手绘的《勺园修禊图》，使三百多年前校园一隅的景象重现于眼前。按早在燕京大学建校之初，洪煨莲教授从记载中获悉这幅画卷尚流传在人间，遂刻意访求，终为燕京大学图书馆所购得。煨莲师在影印之后，又进一步收录了晚明以来有关米万钟家世以及描述勺园景物的诗文记载，并且进行了勺园故址及其地理位置的考证。卷末还附有校园以及附近地区河湖水系的略图，极有参考价值。其中也包括了清朝乾隆年间英国使臣马戛尔尼勋爵来朝时暂住勺园故址的记述。随后，他又用英文写成了关于淑春园的研究，涉及燕京大学校园中大部分地方的重要历史情况，而且他还用英文在“大学讲演”中做了专题报告，深得师生欢迎。[3]

正是煨莲师关于校园历史的研究，引导我进行对于北京西北郊区历史上著名园林区的实地考察，进而又扩大到对整个北京地区开发过程的研究。

在课堂教学上煨莲师的独出心裁和严格要求，更使我深受教益。例如我还在二年级的时候，从他学习“初级史学方法”一课，主要内容之一，是科学论文写作的训练，他的要求十分具体，例如必须掌握第一手资料，必须在写作中注明资料的来源，必须有新的发现或新的说明，然后按照一定的格式写成论文。课堂讲授时间只用了半个学期。然后分配给每一位学生一个问题，要求学生到图书馆去查阅资料，分门别类写成卡片，进行研究整理，写成学期论文，作为学习成绩。当时我所分配到的问题是“历史上最爱藏书的是谁？”经过查阅图书资料，我认为有三位学者符合要求，根据收集所得，进行比较研究，在课堂上向煨莲师作了口头报告，最后选定其中明朝的学者一人，写成我的“学期论文”：《最爱藏书的胡应麟事绩考略》。结果我得到煨莲师两个字的墨笔评语：“佳甚”。这使我深受鼓舞，就把这篇写作珍藏起来，整整六十二个年头过去了，虽然历经沧桑，仍得一直保存到今天，这是燕京大学所给我的学术训练的第一课。

煨莲师对我的教导，还不仅限于课业指导，他还有意在课外为我创造条件，使我得到更为广泛的业务训练。在我作为他的研究生之后，更是如此。例如有一次，学校医学预科主任Alice Boring教授约我为PAUW用英文作一次报告，题目是Geographical Peking。这个组织的英文全名是Peking Association of University Women，它的会员自然都是长于说英语的，可是我从来还没有用英语作过讲演，心里有些胆怯，极力推辞。于是Boring教授就直截了当地告诉我说，她原来是要请洪煨莲教授去讲Historical Peking，而洪教授却一定要推荐我去讲Geographical Peking。我了解到这一情况后，就立刻去看煨莲师，说明我的英语程度还难以作公开讲演，希望他另外推荐别人。可是煨莲师却十分郑重地指点我说："这正是你练习的好机会嘛！"他一定要我写好稿先面对他试讲，然后再到会上去作报告。这是有意对我进行训练，我也就只好同意了。

煨莲师早已体会到我的学术兴趣已经从历史学转向地理学，就有意为我安排出国深造的机会，便于从学科理论上得到更好的训练。1938年的秋学期，一天上午，我应命来到煨莲师家中的书房，他开头第一句话就说："择校不如投师，投师要投名师。"随后稍一停顿，他又进一步解释说："美国哈佛大学是有名的大学，可是那里没有地理系。英国的利物浦大学虽然不如哈佛大学那样有名，可是那里却有一位地理学的名师，对中国地理很有研究，他就是Percy Maude Roxby教授。现在经过学校研究，已经决定明年秋学期送你到那里去进修历史地理学。"煨莲师和哈佛燕京学社有密切关系，曾派遣燕京大学历史系的研究生到哈佛大学去进修。可是为了我的学术兴趣，他推荐我到利物浦大学去攻历史地理学。只是转年欧战爆发，我未能成行。一直到大战结束后，我前往利物浦大学的时候，Roxby教授已经退休，而他的继任者Clifford Darby教授正是现代历史地理学奠基人之一，我深受Darby教授的影响，并把他所倡导的历史地理学的理论与方法，第一次介绍到中国来，并对中国历史地理学的发展作出了自己的贡献。现在讲到这一点，我还是不能不

想到当初燕京大学给我提供的机遇。

以上我举出洪煨莲教授如何教导和培养我的一些例子，我在燕大学习期间所深受教益的，不仅是洪煨莲教授一人。当时历史系还有其他两位专任教授，即顾颉刚和邓之诚。他们两位都是著名的历史学家，却不像洪煨莲那样长于英语，学贯中西。如果说洪煨莲来燕大做教授是有历史渊源的，他既是基督教徒，又与燕大的创办有密切关系，可是顾颉刚和邓之诚两位既不是基督教徒，又不谙英语，但在中国史学界都有特殊贡献，因而受聘于燕京大学。邓之诚教授曾指导我研究中国史学专著，顾颉刚教授又进一步启发了我研究北京历史地理的兴趣（详见下文）。顾颉刚教授和洪煨莲教授一样，都受聘于哈佛燕京学社北京办事处，洪煨莲还曾兼任该办事处的负责人。在这里应该顺便提到，由哈佛燕京学社资助，由燕京大学编辑出版的《燕京学报》，被认为是研究中国文学、历史和哲学的最重要的学术刊物之一，传播于海内外。与《燕京学报》同样见重于中外学术界的，还有关于中国古代图书典籍的“引得丛刊”的编纂出版。洪煨莲教授对“引得丛刊”的规划设计以及印刷，贡献最大。在这里还应该附带提到的是，1952年燕京大学与北京大学合并后，上述两种出版物都停刊了，可是两者的影印本还继续传播于世。更重要的是1993年在北京的燕京大学校友会与北京大学分校又进行合作，成立了燕京研究院，为继承和发扬燕京大学的办学精神而努力。同时又组织以燕京校友为主的学术力量，重新编辑出版《燕京学报》，首期复刊即“新一期”已于1995年8月出版。

还应该附带提到的是1952年燕京大学合并于北京大学后，校址范围已经大为扩展，可是原来燕京大学校园，保留如昔，湖光塔影，无异当年。1990年，北京市人民政府决定将未名湖周围的原燕京大学校园，列为全市文物保护单位，刻石立碑，永作纪念。

二、爱国主义传统与献身精神

燕京大学校园虽然风景如画，却不是“世外桃源”。它虽然是从旧时代的园林废墟上建设起来，可是整个国家的命运还处在动荡不安之中。学校创办的最初几年间，北京政府一直在争权夺利、卖国求荣的军阀与官僚的控制之下。相继而来的南京中央政府，又面临着外患日疾的情况，也就是在这时候，日本侵略者于1931年阴谋制造了“九一八事变”，入侵东北三省，中国人民以不同方式所进行的抗日救亡运动，也就是从这时候进一步发展起来的。

以上情况，就是我在1932年作为一年级新生进入燕京大学时的时代背景。当时，因为中央政府南迁，北京已改称北平，而“九一八”以后的北平，也日渐接近国防的最前线。

在我入学后不久，有一天，我在校园里散步，来到图书馆附近一处溪流环绕的丘岗之间，忽然看到一座笔直的石碑耸立在面前，碑的正面自上而下刻着一行大字：

魏士毅女士纪念碑

碑座上刻着魏士毅女士的小传和纪念她的铭文。最后三行小字刻的是立碑的时间和立碑人如下：

中华民国十六年燕京大学男女两校及女附中学生会全体会员敬立

原来这是为纪念前一年，也就是1926年3月18日在北京青年学生的爱国运动中，被军阀政府所枪杀的二年级女同学魏士毅而竖立在校园中的。这次在北京被杀学生多人，是震动全国的大惨案，就叫做“三一八惨案”。惨案发生时我所在的中学虽然远离北京，可是也深受这次学生运动的影响。没有料到，我在进入燕京大学之后，竟然又一次感受到这次爱国运动的深刻教育，这一点，从石碑上所刻的铭文中又充分地反映出来，兹将铭文抄录如下：

国有巨蠹政不纲

城狐社鼠争跳梁

公门喋血歼我良

牺牲小己终取偿

北斗无酒南箕扬

民心向背关兴亡

愿后死者长毋忘

细读这篇铭文，我不禁联想到，如此强烈谴责当时的军阀反动政府的石刻，既是燕京大学青年学生爱国主义的重要标志，又是燕京大学领导维护和发扬青年学生爱国主义思想的无可争辩的说明。如今回想，这应该是我在燕京大学所接受的爱国主义教育的第一课。

在我进入燕京大学本科后的四年间，正是日本侵略者入侵东北三省之后，又进一步向华北的万里长城沿线推进的时候。燕京大学的校园里在正常的教学工作之外，师生的抗日活动也在不断地进行中。教师中曾流传着一个宣传抗日的内部刊物，封面上印着“火把”两个大字，记得是中国文学系教授容庚所题。历史系教授顾颉刚组织大家利用业余时间，编写抗日救国的宣传材料，用“通俗读物编刊社”的名义出版发行。学生中不断发起支援长城沿线抗日将士的活动。但是由于南京中央政府的“不抵抗政策”，终于激发了1935年12月9日这一天开始的爱国学生运动，逐渐扩展到其他城市。从运动的一开始，燕京大学的学生就起了重要的领导作用，并且得到教师们的支持，还包括了外籍教师在内，最突出的有两位，一位是在教学上深受欢迎的心理系美籍教授夏仁德，另一位是美籍新闻记者同时又是燕京大学新闻系的兼任讲师Edgar Snow。那时主张抗日统一战线的中国共产党已经在延安建立了根据地。就是在这次“一二·九学生运动”之后，Edgar Snow前往延安从而写出了他那部影响广泛的*Red Star Over China* 。也是通过这次学生运动，夏仁德进一步获

得了学生们的敬佩，因为他对饥寒交迫中长途奔跑去参加游行的学生们，表示了极大的关怀和支持。

“一二·九学生运动”后的半年，我在燕京大学本科毕业。毕业的前夕，顾颉刚教授告诉我说，学校从下学年起聘他兼任历史系的系主任，要我留校做他的助教。从1936年9月到1937年6月，顾颉刚教授别出心裁地开设了一门课，叫做“古迹古物调查实习”，每两个星期的星期六下午，要带学生到他所事先选定的古建筑或重要古遗址所在地，或在北京城内，或在城外近郊，进行实地考察。事先他要我先根据他所提供的参考资料和我自己的检阅所得，写成书面材料，印发给同学作参考。这对我是个极为难得的训练，也进一步启发了我对研究北京历史地理的兴趣。

1937年7月7日，日本侵略者阴谋制造了北平郊区的“卢沟桥事件”也就是“七七事变”，进而攻占北平城，全民抗日战争从此开始。这时顾颉刚教授为避免日寇的逮捕，仓促离开北平南下。其后，我得到哈佛燕京学社的奖学金，在洪煨莲教授的指导下，做硕士研究生。早自“卢沟桥事件”后，北平的国立大学如北京大学和清华大学都已南迁。燕京大学虽然处在沦陷区，因为是美国教会所创办，得以继续存在，犹如一片孤岛，使华北沦陷区的青年还可以升学进修。我自己作为一个研究生，首先遇到的一个问题，就是研究领域和论文题目的选择。实际上，早在大学本科写作论文时，煨莲师就向我建议过一个题目，因为他知道我的兴趣已经转入历史地理，希望我把明末清初著名学者顾炎武《天下郡国利病书》中的山东一省，加以续修，从清朝初年一直续到清朝末年和民国初期。至于选择山东一省，因为我的故乡在山东，而燕京图书馆所藏山东一省的地方志书又最为丰富。更重要的一点是这时我对顾炎武最初编写《天下郡国利病书》的目的，有了进一步的认识。他生在明朝末年，痛感社会政治腐败，人民生活于困苦患难之中。于是他立志编写《天下郡国利病书》。在全书的序文中，就写下了如下两句话：

感四国之多难，耻经生之乏术。

于是他开始提倡“经世致用”之学，痛斥当时读书人的虚浮学风，进而公开提倡“保天下者，匹夫有责”。并且大声疾呼：

今日者，拯斯人于涂炭，为万世开太平，此吾辈之责也。

及至清兵入关之后，夺取了明朝的统治权，他却始终反抗清朝的统治，不为所用。我在当时国难当头的情况下，进一步了解他一生的事迹，深受感动。我用了三年时间，在北平沦陷后国难深重的时刻，完成了《天下郡国利病书》山东一省的续编。煨莲师又及时推荐，把这篇硕士论文，作为《燕京学报》专号之十九付印出版，这本书在敌伪统治下包含着挽救祖国、重建家园的思想，如果不是在燕京大学和洪煨莲教授的指导下，是不可能问世的。

可是，就在这本书于1941年冬刚刚出版之后，正在入侵中国遭到中国人民坚决抵抗的日本侵略军，又突然于12月8日（北京时间），空中偷袭美国的珍珠港海军基地，发动了太平洋战争。这天一早，日本宪兵立即包围了燕京大学，继而进侵校园。全体学生与教职员被驱逐出校。美籍教职员被关押到集中营，部分教职员与学生被逮捕，关押在北平日本宪兵队本部，司徒雷登校长也被拘留。被捕的教职员共11人，我也在其中，是最年轻的一个。我的老师洪煨莲和邓之诚两位教授，也同遭逮捕。

这里需要说明一下我被捕的原因。

1940年6月我完成硕士学业后，已决定留校任教，并已开始备课。这时司徒校长忽然约我谈话，要我在教课之外还兼管学生工作，因为当时学校处在沦陷区，学生中所遇到的问题很多，有的学生因军事的影响，经济来源困难；有的学生在敌伪统治下不能安心学习等等，都需要给予关心和帮助。因为我在校做学生，已有八年时间，比较了解学生情

况。经过三次商谈，最后决定成立一个“学生辅导委员会”，由深受学生钦佩的夏仁德教授做主席，也便于对付日本人来学校找麻烦。我做副主席，便于和学生联系。从文学院、理学院和法学院的年轻而又热心的教师中各选一人为委员，并特邀教务主任做秘书，便于和全校的教学领导机构，即院长会议进行联系。1940年6月21日司徒校长签字发给任命通知书（我个人收到的这份通知书，保存至今）。因此在我尚未走进课堂之前，就先走进了设在办公大楼的学生辅导委员会的办公室了。

我接受这项任务，也和燕京大学所给予我的教育有关。燕京大学的校训“因真理，得自由，以服务”是每个燕京学生都熟悉的。对于这个校训的理解，或浅或深可能各有不同，但是有一点却是每个学生都能或多或少亲身感受到的，那就是洋溢在校园中的服务精神。这种服务精神体现在师生关系上最为具体，也最为突出。校长所提出的成立学生辅导委员会的设想，也正是这种服务精神的一种具体体现。遵循校训的要求，对我来说也正是“义不容辞”。

从整体来说，燕京大学的学生生活，除去业务学习之外，也自有其特点。特别是国难日深学生的课外活动日益受到限制的时候，这一特点也就格外突出，这就是基督教小团契的组织。燕京大学作为一所由外国教会举办的大学，师生的宗教信仰是自由的。这些小团契主要是由信教的学生带头组织，非教徒的学生可以自由参加，有的小团契还约请教师中的基督徒参加为顾问。小团契各有名称，有的与宗教有关，如“耶稣之友”、“光盐”，但并不是都如此。例如有一个小团契，开始是由六个人组成的，就叫做“六人团”。这些小团契富有生命力，因为除去研读《圣经》讨论教义之外，还涉及日常生活中的问题，更重要的是时事讨论。如果不是在小团契聚会的名义下，集体的时事讨论是不可能的，因为这在当时的敌伪统治下是被明令禁止的。后来又从小团契的组织形式，发展成一些专门讨论业务学习的小组。我还参加组织过一个与业务学习有关的小组，在每个周末大家聚到一起，互相介绍自己业务学习的

心得，就叫做“星期六座谈会”。实际上这些学生中的组织，在当时的客观情况下，真正起到了学生自我教育的效果，而爱国主义的思想也就因之而得到传播。因为我自己在学生时代是这样走过来的，因此在学校组织上分担一些关心学生的工作，也是心甘情愿的。

在学生辅导委员会的办公室里，我和夏仁德轮流值班，开始了我们“业余”的学生工作。我做学生的时候，没有听过他的课，尽管他的“心理卫生”一课，有口皆碑，是深受学生欢迎的。现在我亲眼看到他在工作中的献身精神，我不由得想到燕京大学校训中所强调的“服务”这一点，在他身上已经具体地体现出来。他主要负责为经济上急需的学生安排各种各样的“自助工作”，因工种的不同，计时付酬。当时由于战火的影响，申请自助工作的学生与日俱增。他工作的负担也就有增无减。可是他对待学生的态度和他的工作精神，却使我永远难忘。

至于我所负责的主要工作，则是学生中所遇到的另一方面的问题，即随着抗日战争的日益发展，日本侵略者在沦陷区的“扫荡”也日益疯狂，这时有少数学生宁愿放弃个人学习的机会，要投身到抗敌救国的斗争中去。其中有我所熟悉的学生直接找到我，也有学生径直去找校长司徒雷登提出他们的设想。校长就要我具体负责这件事，但是他也确定了一个原则，只要是停学去参加“抗日统一战线”的工作，无论是自愿到大后方（即国民党统治区），或是到解放区（即共产党八路军的抗战区），都应一律对待，给予支持，包括联系路线和给予路费补助。至于要求转学或就业的，不在此例。就是根据这一原则，我开始了帮助学生离校的工作，只是不得公开进行，只能在严格守秘密的情况下，予以帮助。当时有一位国际友人艾黎在四川办起了“中国工业合作社”，主要是把内地分散的手工业组织起来，扩大生产，支援抗日。他的一位好朋友、燕京大学的英籍讲师赖朴吾已应约于1939年从燕京大学步行，穿越西山，经过八路军解放区前往四川，支援工业合作社的工作。在他的影响下，有些在校学生自愿前往支援工业合作社。另外也有学生主动要求

就近参加八路军解放区的直接抗日斗争。从1940年秋以后的一年间，我以学生辅导委员会副主席的身份，掩护这些学生分批离校。详细情况见于我所写的《燕京大学被封前后的片断回忆》，收入在公开出版的《日伪统治下的北平》[4]一书中。不幸的是，南下大后方的学生有人走漏了消息，因此我遭日本宪兵逮捕。1942年6月，被日本军事法庭判徒刑一年，缓刑三年，取保开释，但无迁居旅行自由。我的缓刑刚期满，日本侵略军战败投降。校长司徒雷登获释，立即召集成立复校委员会共七人，我虽年轻，也被邀参加。[5] 复校委员会做出一项严格规定，即凡是在燕京大学被日寇封闭期间，参加了敌伪工作的，一律不得返校复职。这一规定，再一次显示了燕京大学坚持原则的严正立场，得到了全体师生的坚决拥护。

我在燕京学习、工作、生活了近二十年。燕京的一草一木对我是那样的熟悉，燕京的师长和同学对我是那样的难忘。我如今已是八十多岁的老人了，回顾过去，我写了《我从燕京大学来》。

⑩ I N MEMORY OF PROFESSOR P. M. ROXBY From the School of Geography of the University of Liverpool*

A telegram came this morning informing us of the sad news of Professor Roxby's death yesterday in China.

Thus, Professor Roxby lowered his guiding hand!

His help to China has stopped!

May he rest in peace forever!

A great educator of geography, a real scholar in his field and a true friend of China during the hard time of her suffering!

I sincerely believe that when his death is announced in the newspapers, all Chinese geographers, including my senior fellow workers, and especially those who were his pupils, will mourn his untimely death. All those who knew him will remember with grief the loss of a great personality.

I came to the School of Geography at the University of Liverpool drawn by his academic fame and achievements and hoping to further my training under his guidance, in the school established by him. I still remember my Chinese history teacher, Professor William Hung of Yenching University summoning me to say, "It is better to select a teacher than to select a school. But the most happy coincidence is a superior and accomplished teacher in a better school." Professor Roxby was undoubtedly a teacher of utmost accomplishment in the field of geographical education. Unfortunately, by the time I arrived in England, he had already retired from the university and

departed for China as a representative of the British Council. In spite of his advanced years, he accepted the responsibility of promoting Sino-British cooperation in science and culture.

Professor Roxby has left behind the School he established and nurtured. He never considered the possibility of dying in the far-off country which he sympathized with, and which he helped so much during her days of suffering. He offered his life to work in and friendship with China.

Early this morning I ran to the School amidst heavy snow taking with me the sad news. I raised my head and looked at the newly painted door of the School. There I saw the golden words inscribed above it: "School of Geography. Tears filled my eyes. I meditated mournfully: for several decades, hundreds of students of geography had been taught there by the old beloved professor. Now he lay dead in far-off China, my motherland.

I entered the building to seek my tutor, and Professor Roxby's successor, Professor H. C. Darby, intending to inform him of the sad news. I found him in the library reading room. Even before I opened my mouth I noticed his sadness.

"Professor Roxby is dead," I murmured. "Yes, I know," Professor Darby solemnly replied, "Mr. Smith phoned me early this morning. (Mr. W. Smith is a lecturer in Chinese geography whose own specialty is the economic geography of England.) We are waiting for more details. It is a pity indeed. We were to wait for his return in the summer to offer an open-to-all lecture on China." We left the reading room.

Later, I met Mr. F. J. Monkhouse, a young lecturer who taught me cartography. The first few words he said were "As a 'cultural ambassador'to China, Professor Roxby was the best one." I replied, "Undoubtedly. A cultural ambassador is actually an ambassador of friendship. It is not unusual

that cultural ambassadors come before any political ambassadors. Such people are pioneers of their age. They are born not made. As a Chinese student of geography my sorrow is twofold. Personally I have lost a respected teacher in my field; as a Chinese student, my country has lost a great friend!" I declared this loudly, standing near the staircase, resembling someone who is making a public speech, but actually it was an expression of my uncontrollable sorrow.

I then went upstairs to the top storey of the building, to the Center for the Study of Chinese Geography. The Center was organized and established by Professor Roxby. Another Chinese fellow-student also came, a Mr. Wu Chuen-Chun from Nanking Central University, who was a lecturer of geography there. We exchanged information concerning Professor Roxby's death. At the end, he suddenly blurted out, "You know, immediately after the Japanese started the war, they tried to buy scrap iron and copper here in England. I don't know how Professor Roxby came to know of this, but anyway, he wrote to the newspapers practically daily, disclosing the facts, and denouncing the Japanese until he finally stopped their plan." Thus even before England declared war against Japan, Professor Roxby had already become our comrade in the trench.

Just by chance, I looked back at the wall. There, hanging on it, was a glass frame with Chinese calligraphy by Professor Gu Jie-Gang, who had tutored me in China. It was the full text of "Yu Gong," one of the most ancient classics on Chinese geography, taken from *Shang Shu* , an ancient historical scripture. The frame was a present from two Chinese students of Professor Roxby at the opening of the Center. They are Professor Zhang Yin-Tang of Qinghua University at Peking, and Professor Lin Chao of Central University at Nanking. Looking at the glass frame, I couldn't help but reflect,

"Now that Professor Roxby has gone, will this Center continue to function? Will the English geographers keep up their interest in studying China?" True sympathy is rooted in real understanding. Real understanding should be built upon thorough investigation and sound research. Professor Roxby is one person who obtained his real understanding of China through his thorough research. His understanding generated sincere sympathy which he offered whole-heartedly in his help to China. Thus, he was a true friend to China during her age of suffering. And now, Professor Roxby has left us. May we wish him rest in peace forever.

I recently wrote two essays for the Chinese periodical *History and Geography Weekly* . Both concerned Professor Roxby. The first is a Chinese translation of Professor Darby's Inaugural Lecture at the time he succeeded Professor Roxby as Dean of the School of Geography at Liverpool University. It contains the following passage concerning Professor Roxby:

> It is customary in an inaugural lecture to render homage to one's predecessors. It is a good custom. But it would be impertinent of me to praise Professor Roxby's 40 years' work here; his own creation, the School of Geography with its long line of devoted students, speaks for itself. Numbered among his students are not only those who have been fortunate enough to study in Liverpool. Others in other universities in Britain are his pupils, and have gained from his idealism and humanity. Beyond Britain, and particularly in China and Egypt, the same generous influence has been felt. Professor Roxby's work on China has not only enriched our knowledge in the more technical geographic sense, but has deepened our understanding of Chinese civilization.

Professor Roxby has gone, and now it is through words such as those of Professor Darby's that we feel his affection and guidance. I admit that when I

translated Professor Darby's words I felt he had spoken what I wanted very much to express from my own heart.

Once again I remember the many people who expressed their affection and respect for Professor Roxby since my arrival in England. Here is a letter from a former English student of Professor Roxby, a mother of two children who graduated from the School of Geography at Liverpool:

> I too studied geography at Liverpool many years ago under Professor Roxby, for whom I have great affection and respect. It is a pity that he is not in Liverpool now.

I would like to change the last sentence of her letter to "It is a pity that he is not in this world now." I know she will mourn for him. Her words not only express her own feeling but that of his many friends in England. Professor Roxby was not only a scholar of geography, but a great teacher in geographical education. As a great teacher he not only offered us his knowledge, but also, in Professor Darby's words, nurtured us with his ideals and personality, which is the most important thing.

As an educator, Professor Roxby leaves behind him such a deep impression and influence that he and his achievements will live after him forever. Truly, the spark of his physical life is no more, but his "ideals and personality" will live and be carried on by those who succeed him.

For me, a student who came from far-off China, hoping to be taught by Professor Roxby personally, this hope will now never be realized. Nevertheless, the moment I arrived at the School, I found myself surrounded by his voice, his image and his influences. This is the place where he had worked for forty years. Every corner reflects his image of warm-heartedness and far-sightedness. Recently, for example, a dance party was organized in

honour of Mr. and Mrs. Scott (the leader of the Liberal Party). A few hundred people were invited. I was surprised to also get an invitation and found out that they had done so because Professor Roxby had written from China requesting help for me. Even though I knew nothing about dancing, I nevertheless attended. There I met many of Professor Roxby's friends. All of them talked of him when I was presented to them. I could not help but have the impression that there was an inseparable relationship between every Chinese student here and Professor Roxby. From what these friends told me, I realized what deep affection and consideration the English people have for China, and what influence Professor Roxby has had on his friends. After the party, I wanted to write Professor Roxby a letter, thanking him for his kindness, even though we never got to meet. I have the following draft written in my diary, "Although I had not the opportunity to personally meet you before I left China, I nevertheless still seem to be meeting you everywhere in England." I had intended to write this to him, but later changed my mind, thinking it not so polite to say so, despite its truthfulness. Thus I delayed mailing the letter and it remained undelivered.

In my second essay for the *History and Geography Weekly* titled"A Review of Wartime English Geographers and Their Present State,"I mentioned the three volumes on China edited by Professor Roxby. Although this work was completed in collaboration with others, it is chiefly the fruit of his own research on Chinese geography.

Professor Roxby wrote many scholarly papers and theses, but never published a book (with the exception of a booklet). Yet all recent English texts on Chinese geography, without exception, mention his name. In addition to his writings for periodicals, he wrote the section on Chinese geography for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* . Because he never published a

book on Chinese geography, not many people in China know him. His achievements are rooted in the field of teaching geography rather than as an author. Yet his academic achievements in geography cannot be denied. An editorial published in the first issue of the *History and Geography Weekly* contains the following passage:

> Many of us consider history and geography as academic topics only for historians and geographers, but not for common people. Such a comprehension is incomplete. If not corrected, it will hinder the development and influence of the study and research of history and geography. Our periodical is preparing to take up the responsibility of media in the popularization of historical and geographical studies. We hope to establish a normal relationship between the research of history and geography and the education of history and geography.

In the eyes of modern geographers, Professor Roxby was the first colleague to accomplish the task of promoting the desired normal relationship between research and education in geography.

On hearing the sad news of Professor Roxby's passing away, I cannot help leaving my daily work undone and planning this short passage to express my feelings about an unforgettable memory. By sending it to this periodical, I hope Professor Roxby's life and work may be an inspiration to all readers. However, do forgive my toughness in writing.

Let us remember Professor Roxby as a great teacher of geography in our time! Let us remember him as our true friend, a friend of China when she was suffering. May we wish that his blessings, ideals and personality be with us, forever!

February 18, 1947. A very cold day.

拾　悼罗士培教授——寄自罗教授手创之利物浦大学地理学院*

今晨电信传来，散布了罗士培教授于昨日在我国首都逝世的噩耗。

罗士培教授放下了他的手！

罗士培教授停止了他对中国的援助！

罗士培教授永远安息了！

一代地理教育的大师，一个真正的学者，一位患难中的中国伟大的良友！

我相信，当这个噩耗在祖国的报纸上传布出来的时候，国内的地理学家——尤其是得以亲炙其教益的诸前辈——一定要为这个不幸的消息流泪。地理学家以外的，其他真正认识罗士培教授的人，也一定要为这个不幸的消息而同声哀悼！

作者今天来到罗士培教授所手创的利物浦大学地理学院继续受益，原是由于先生的吸引。我还记得当初我的老师洪煨莲教授对我说过这样的话："择校不如投师，投师要投名师。"像罗士培教授这样的学者，也算是地理学界的一位名师了。但是，不幸的很，当我来到英国的时候，罗教授却已经跑到中国去。他这次丢下了他手创的利物浦地理学院，以其退休以后的古稀之年，代表英国的交流协会，来到中国，目的乃是在于促进中英两国科学文化事业的合作。但是没想到他老先生就这样死在了他的工作上，他为他所爱的患难中的友邦，奉献了他自己的生命！

今天早上，我带着这个悲哀的消息，在冰天雪地中跑到学校，抬头看看那所刚刚油漆过的大门，与门额上所写的"利物浦大学地理学院"的两行金字，不禁潸然泪下。"在这里出入了几十年，栽培了成百成千个

地理学生的那位老教授，他死在了我的祖国！”我心里默默的哀悼。

我走进大门去，找我的导师德贝教授（罗士培教授的继任者），预备把这不幸的消息告诉他。找他一直到书画室，还没等我开口，他已经是满面愁容了。他知道我这么早跑进来找他是什么事，他也一定看透了我哭丧的面孔。

“罗士培教授故去了！”我几乎哭出来。

“是的，”他镇静的说，“史密士先生（英国经济地理及中国地理讲师，罗教授的学生与同事）一早就打电话来了，现在我们只在等更详细的消息。真可悲，我还盼望他夏天回来，给我们作关于中国地理的公开讲学呢！”

我从书画室出来，正好遇见教我“制图学”的青年讲师孟先生，他开头一句就说：

“我们没有比罗士培教授更好的人选，作为我们的‘文化使节’到中国去了！”

“不错，”我回答说，“‘文化使节’是真正的友善的使节，‘文化使节’是常常走在‘政治使节’的前面的。这样的人，都是时代的先驱，可遇而不可求！在中国学生的立场上，我的悲哀是双重的。在我个人，我丢了一位素所景仰的地理教授；在我的祖国，我们丧失了一位伟大的良友！”我站在楼梯上，好像是对他作公开演讲，实在是发抒我自己不可抑止的悲哀。

于是，我上楼，爬到四层楼顶上残存下来的“中国地理研究室”，中国同学吴传钧兄（南京中央大学地理系讲师）也来了，我们互道罗士培教授逝世的消息。最后，他跳起来说：

“你知道么？卢沟桥战事爆发之后，日本人在这里设法收买废铜烂铁。这事情不知道如何给罗士培教授知道了，他天天在报纸上写文章，大施攻击，一直到把日本人的收买工作完全破坏为止！”

“这样说起来，在他作‘文化使节’之前，在英日还没有宣战之前，他

已经作了我们的‘战友’了！”

这时，我蓦然回头，看见挂在墙上的大玻璃镜中，顾颉刚师所手写的《尚书·禹贡》全文，这是当“中国地理研究室”成立时，罗士培教授的高足张印堂教授（清华大学）与林超教授（中央大学）所共同赠送的纪念。我心里不禁想道：“罗教授去世了，英国研究中国地理的中心，还会在这里继续么？英国的地理学者还会像以前那样对中国研究热心么？”真正的同情，基于真正的了解，真正的了解，基于真正的研究。罗教授是真正由研究而了解，由了解而同情，由同情而援助中国的一位患难中伟大的良友！如今他放下了他的工作，他永久安息了！

在我最近寄给《史地周刊》的两篇文稿中，都会涉及罗士培教授。第一是拙译德贝教授的就任演讲。在那篇演讲中，德贝教授对他的前任罗士培教授曾经说过这样的话：

> 在就任演讲中，照例是要对前任表示敬意的。但要本人在这里称赞罗士培教授在本校四十年的工作，未免有些鲁莽。罗教授所手创的地理学院，以及其专诚献身的满门桃李，已自昭彰在人耳目。何况，出身在他门墙之下的，还不仅限于幸能身临利物浦以得亲炙教授的人呢！英国其他大学的好多人，也都是他的小学生，并且因他的理想与人性，而深受陶冶。英国之外，特别是在中国与埃及，也同样沾受了他丰厚的赐惠。罗士培教授关于中国的著作，不但在专门的地理学的意义上，增加了我们的知识，并且使我们更进一步了解了中国的文化。

现在，罗教授已经去世了。在他去世之后，我们再重读德贝教授对他的评语，尤觉无限亲切。当我最初翻译这一段的时候，我立刻觉得德贝教授也说出了我心中所要说的话；同时，我也立刻回想到自从我来到英国之后，有多少人曾当面对我提起了他们对于罗士培教授的亲切爱慕之情。不久之前，我还接到了未曾晤面的一位英国朋友的信，她是早年在利物浦大学地理学院毕业的一位女生，现在已经作了两个孩子的母

亲，在她的信里，她曾这样写道：

> ……知道你是来研究地理的，尤为高兴。好多年前，我也是在利物浦大学从罗士培教授读地理的，对于他，我心中怀有无限的爱与敬！真可惜，他现时不在利物浦了！

刻下我找出此信，试译在这里的时候，这最后一句，应该改作："真可惜，他已经不在人世了！"她知道这消息时，一定要痛哭一场！

这位朋友的信，不只代表她个人，在英国，不知道有多少人要对这位老教授说出同样的话来："对于他，我心中怀有无限的爱与敬！"是的，他不但是一位地理学者，他更是一位地理教育的大师。一位大师所能授予人的，不止是他的学问，更重要的乃是他人格的感化，乃是他的"理想与人性"的"陶冶"（德贝教授评语）。世之为人师者，果能予人以如此的影响，果能在人心中留下这样的印象，即遗教在人，虽死犹生！他现在生命的火焰停熄了，但是他的"理想与人性"，却要永远活在后继者的心上！

对罗士培教授，我是一个万里投师而未得亲炙教益的小学生；但是在我来到此处之后，我好像无处不听见他的声音，无处不看见他的容颜。这是他工作了四十年的地方，在这地方的每一个角落里，好像都在反映着这一代大师的和煦慈爱深厚博大的音容。比如前本地自由党的领袖司各特夫妇举行社交跳舞大会，被约请的有数百人，承他们的好意也一定要我去，说是他们的朋友罗士培教授从南京写信给他们，要他们多多关照我。他们认为这是交结社会人士的好机会，所以一定要我去。我虽然不会跳舞，也只好勉强去了。到了那里之后，又遇见了许多罗士培教授的朋友。他们看见我，都谈起罗士培教授，好像每一个中国学生都和罗教授有不可分离的关系似的。从他们的谈话中可以知道，罗士培教授实在代表了英国社会人士对中国最高尚最真实最友爱的关切。而此地的人则又似乎无不传染了罗士培教授的影响。当晚回来之后，我想写一

封信，谢谢罗教授，因为他虽然知道我来，却是未曾见面，承他如此惦记，实可感激。当时我曾在手册上写下这样两句话：“离国之前，未能谒见你，可是来到英国之后，却又无处不遇见你！”但又觉得这样的写法，虽出至诚，然而对于一位年长的前辈，似乎不够尊敬，因此竟然搁置。现在，我再想这样写去时，也没人看了！

其次，在我最近寄给《史地周刊》的第二篇文稿，《战时英国地理学界之回顾及其现状》中，我又提到罗士培教授在“地理丛书”中所主编的《中国地理》三大册，这虽非他独立完成，可是他一生对于中国地理研究的结晶，应当都在这里了。罗教授一生写了不少文章，却没有出版一部书（小册子除外），但是近年以来，凡讨论中国地理的西洋著作，几乎没有一册不提到他。除去在各地理杂志上他所发表的论文之外，早年《大英百科全书》中，关于中国地理的一部分，也是由他执笔的。只因他对中国的研究未出专书，所以国内的一般读者，反而不大知道他。至于他最大的贡献，我觉得与其说是在专门学术上的研究，毋宁说是在地理教育上的推动；与其说他是一位地理学专家，毋宁说他是一位地理教育的大师；自然，他在学术上的贡献也是不可泯灭的。

本刊的编者在第一期的发刊辞上，曾向读者诸君宣告说：

> 一般人提到史地，马上觉得这是史地学专家的专门学问，普通人不敢也不能问津。这种不健全的现象，若不加以纠正，将使史地研究失掉意义和作用。本刊愿意负责介绍人的责任，作些普及化的工作，使史地研究与史地教育发生正常的关系。

在现代地理学家中，罗士培教授可以说是作到了“使地理学的研究与地理学的教育发生正常的关系”的第一人！

作者今日得此噩报，痛悼万端，不得不扔下平日的工作，将痛苦抑郁之情，有所抒发，所以信笔写下了这篇追悼的文字。又因为罗教授一生的工作，正是本刊努力的榜样，所以又大胆把这篇私人追悼的文字，

寄呈本刊的读者。假如语无伦次，亦是情不自禁，望读者诸君原谅。最后让我们纪念这位当代地理教育的大师！

让我们纪念这位患难中的中国的良友！

愿他的遗泽长存人世！

愿他的“理想”与“人性”继续不朽！

一九四七年二月十八日大寒中

⑪ ADDRESS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY*

It is a rare honour to speak on behalf of the graduates and honorary graduates to express our gratitude to the University of Liverpool for all we have received from her in training of our minds and increasing our awarenesses.

The young graduates among us will be discovering more and more of this debt as the years pass by.

Others of us must reminisce.

My membership of the University should have begun in 1940 or 1941. In 1939 Yenching University (a private university in Beijing now absorbed into the National Peking University) awarded me the Blue Funnel Scholarship, established by the Alfred Holt Shipping Company. All told the scholarship has been held by six persons working in Physics, Statistics, Economics and Geography.

I remember clearly how one morning in the autumn of 1938, my professor, the distinguished Chinese historian, William Hung, summoned me to his office and said, "Choosing a teacher is more important than choosing a school. The happiest thing is when the good teacher you need is to be found in a good school." While I was wondering what he was talking about, he continued, "We have nominated you for a scholarship for advanced study in the School of Geography of Liverpool University. There you will find a world-renowned teacher of geography in a university of world-wide connections. He is Professor Percy Maude Roxby."

It was not to be, because the Second World War broke out. In 1941, instead of sitting in a Liverpool University lecture hall, I found myself in a Japanese army prison, along with Professor Hung and other colleagues(including Dr. Lin Chia-Tung, an earlier Blue Funneller who studied Statistics here).

The link between Liverpool University and Yenching University survived the war, and in 1946 my dream of coming to Liverpool University was realized, but seven years late. By this time Professor Roxby had retired after 40 years of service. Ironically, he had gone to China as representative of the British Council. Professor H.C. Darby succeeded him as Head of the School of Geography. His Inaugural Lecture "The Theory and Practice of Geography" made such an impression on me that I translated it into Chinese and it was published in Tientsin in the *History and Geography Weekl* y, a supplement of the famous *Yi Shi Newspaper* on March 18, 1947. Alas! that same issue also contained an essay I wrote commemorating Professor Roxby who had just died in China. I have brought a photograph of that issue of the *Weekly* together with an English version of my article, for presentation to the Library of the School of Geography.

The many new ideas on historical geography that Professor Darby developed in his teaching have been influential in China, producing a new school of study that has grown especially fast in the past decade. Just before I came abroad early this year, we established a new Research Centre on Historical Geography along these lines in Peking University.

There is a Chinese proverb 饮水思源: "When drinking water remember the water source." I published a book—a collection of my scientific papers which bear on some aspects of the socialist reconstruction of China. It was natural and proper for me to borrow the title of Professor Darby's Inaugural

Lecture, simply adding the word "Historical": "The Theory and Practice of Historical Geography." I am giving a copy of the first edition of this little book to the Harold Cohen Library, which itself is a "water source" so ocean-like that I almost drowned in it nearly 40 years ago.

My key thought for this unforgettable day is pride and gratitude that Liverpool University has been such a bounteous source of the living water of creative thought that flows from people to people and gives us all hope for the future.

Some 40 years ago, just after the Second World War, Professor Darby said it for his particular discipline, ending his Inaugural Lecture with the following words with which I would like to end mine:

> As I stand here amid the devastation of war on Brownlow Hill, and in Liverpool, a city with contacts as world-wide as those of any city, I cannot help but think that the point of view of the geographers both abroad and at home is not without some bearing on the New World we hope will be our future.

Thank you.

拾壹　1984年7月4日在英国利物浦大学毕业典礼上代表应届毕业生及荣誉学位获得者致辞[*]

能够作为毕业生和荣誉毕业生代表发言，以表达对利物浦大学对我们心灵的训练和智识的提升的感激之情，我倍感荣幸。

随着时间的推移，我们中间的年轻毕业生将会越来越多地体会到这份感激。

其他人将会铭记一生。

我跟利物浦大学的联系应该是从1940或1941年开始的。1939年燕京大学（北京的一所私立大学，现在已经并入国立北京大学）颁给我阿尔弗雷德·霍特船运公司设立的蓝烟囱奖学金。先后有六位从事物理学、统计学、经济学和地理学研究的学者获此殊荣。

我清楚地记得1938年秋的一个早晨，我的老师，著名的中国历史学家洪业教授是怎样把我喊到他的办公室，对我说，“择校不如投师，投师要投名师。”当我还在琢磨他说的是什么的时候，他继续说：“我们已经提名你接受去利物浦大学地理学院深造的奖学金了。在这所跟世界广泛联系的大学里，你将会认识一位世界知名的地理学老师。他就是罗士培教授。”

但事情没这么简单。因为第二次世界大战爆发了。1941年，我非但没有坐在利物浦大学的讲堂里，却和洪教授以及其他同事（包括林嘉通博士，之前在利物浦大学攻读统计学的蓝烟囱奖学金得主）一起被关进了日本军队的监狱。

利物浦大学和燕京大学之间的纽带在战火中幸存了下来，1946年我来利物浦大学的梦想终于在七年之后实现。这个时候罗士培教授已经服务四十年退休了。而命运弄人，他却作为英国使馆文化教育处的代表去

了中国。德贝教授接替他担任地理学院的院长。他的就任演讲“地理学的理论与实践”给我留下了非常深刻的印象，于是我把它译成中文并于1947年3月18号发表在天津著名的《益世报》的副刊《史地周刊》。同一期还发表了我写的缅怀刚刚在中国去世的罗士培教授的文章。这次我带来了这一期周刊的翻拍照片以及我文章的英译本，将呈献给地理学院图书馆。

德贝教授在教学中形成的关于历史地理学的很多新观点已经在中国产生了很大的影响，并催生了一个在过去十年间飞速发展的新学派。就在今年我出国之前，北京大学新设立了一个这方面的历史地理学研究中心。

中国有句成语叫饮水思源——喝水的时候要记得水的源泉。我出版了一本有关中国社会主义重建若干问题的科学论文集。我顺理成章地借用了德贝教授就任演讲的标题，仅仅加上了“历史”这个词——《历史地理学的理论与实践》。我将拙著第一版赠送给哈罗德·科恩图书馆，四十年前正是在这座图书馆徜徉时我几乎被浩瀚的知识海洋所淹没。

这难忘的一天中我最深的感受是欢愉和感激，利物浦大学是创造性思想的宽广丰沛的活水源头，这活水在人们之间流淌着，带给我们所有的人对未来的希望。

大约四十年前，就在二战后，德贝教授就他的学科说了如下这番话，以此结束他的演说，而我正想用它来结束我的发言：

> 当我站在这里，置身布朗洛山的满目疮痍，在利物浦这样一个跟任何其他城市一样与世界紧密联系的城市，我禁不住想到海内外地理学者的观点都不会不涉及一个新的世界，而它正是我们希望的未来。

谢谢。

邵冬冬　译

⑫ HOU RENZHI's ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS FOR THE GEORGE DAVIDSON MEDAL*

When I was informed that the American Geographical Society was going to award me The George Davidson Medal, I had not thought that in these late years of my life I would receive such a high international honor. This happy news has also brought a considerable and important attention on the part of many of my colleagues in the circle of Chinese geography. I wanted very much to come and to accept this prestigious award personally. Yet, because of my poor health, I cannot but request my good friend, Dr. Diane Obenchain, who is a Visiting Professor at Peking University and who is working with me cooperatively on a project, to represent me. However, if Dr. Murphy or any other member of The Honors Committee of The American Geographical Society has the opportunity to come to China, I ardently hope that we can meet each other at Peking University so that I may in person express my heartfelt gratitude for this award.

What I would like to first explain is that George Babcock Cressey, who, in 1952, was the first to receive The George Davidson Medal, had, in fact, great influence upon me from the very start. Sixty-three years ago, in 1936, the year I graduated from Yenching University, I was fortunate enough to read Cressey's book *China's Geographic Foundations* . This drew my profound interest and is one of the main reasons why I was moved to change from strictly historical studies to research in historical geography. However, because of the eight-year Anti-Japanese War, it was not until the summer of

1946 that I was able to go as planned to Liverpool University in England to specialize in the study of historical geography under the expert guidance of Professor H. C. Darby.

In 1949, Professor G. B. Cressey, as the newly-elected President of the International Geographical Union, was invited to Liverpool University to give a guest lecture entitled "China's Prospects." This occasion remains quite distinct in my memory. The day was April 27th, in the afternoon. A great many people came to hear the lecture, which indicated a tremendous interest in China's future. I also was very moved by the lecture. Professor Darby presided over the lecture and at his request I was invited to give a few words in gratitude on behalf of the audience at the end of the lecture. This was the first time that I had occasion to meet Professor Cressey and it has remained an unforgettable memory for the rest of my life.

What should be mentioned especially here is that it was only five months and three days after Professor Cressey's lecture that New China was born on October 1st, 1949. And it was just three days before the birth of New China that I returned to Beijing from England.

When New China established the "Beijing City Planning Committee"for reconstruction of the capital, Beijing, I had the honor to be invited as a member of the committee. For research reference and for the purposes of planning construction, my first responsibility was to make geographical investigation of the newly-designated cultural and educational region of the capital. This important region in the northwest suburbs of Beijing city, called the Haidian, was the famous terrain of the summer palaces of the Qing period, and has become today the location of Peking University, Qinghua University, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Renmin University, the National Library, the Central University of Nationalities, the Agricultural

University and several others.

Since the days of those initial tasks on the "Beijing City Planning Committee", fifty years have passed. During these fifty years, except for the few years that I participated in investigations of China's Northwestern desert areas, most of my research work has concentrated upon the historical geography of Beijing city. My intention has been to make a contribution to the planning and construction of the capital.

During the past fifty years, China has undergone enormous changes. Particularly during the last twenty years of reform and opening up to the larger world, cultural exchanges between China and other countries have increased daily. Now, as I look back over the past twenty years, during which I have had the opportunity to visit the United States twelve times, I feel greatly honored to have been invited as a Fulbright Scholar in Residence to give lectures at Illinois University during 1981-1982. I will always remember that significant time.

Following this, I received a letter of invitation from Dr. Alison Casarett, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School of Cornell University, requesting that I be their Chinese Scholar in Residence during the years 1983-1984 under the Luce Foundation Program for China Studies. In her letter she said, "I note your recent strong interest in the comparative design and layout of the older city portions of Beijing and Washington, D.C." What she said was exactly true. Therefore, her invitation was indeed a precious opportunity for me. Not only did I spend one semester doing in-house research on the campus of Cornell University, which is full of natural beauty, but I also, while on the "Cornell in Washington Program," was able to carry out on-location investigation of the central part of the city of Washington, D.C. In the end, I was able to complete my piece for Chinese readers entitled,

"From Beijing to Washington, D.C.—Explorations into Thematic Design in City Planning."

To look back on the past is at the same time to look ahead to future developments. This year I am eightyeight years old. As I look back to that year when G.B. Cressey gave his lecture "China's Prospects," a new picture now unfolds before my eyes. To have this high honor of receiving The George Davidson Medal is truly a great encouragement to me. I will continue to work hard in carrying out research on the historical geography of Beijing. At the same time I join hands and go forward together with the next generation of excellent young scholars. I am very grateful to Professor Diane Obenchain who has represented me in reading my address to you today and extended once again my heartfelt respect and gratitude toward the Council of the American Geographical Society for awarding me this most precious honor. Thank you.

拾贰　在美国地理学会荣誉委员会授奖仪式上的发言*

在我获悉美国地理学会将要授予我乔治·戴维森勋章的时候，我没有想到在我人生的晚年能够获得如此崇高的国际荣誉。这个喜讯，也引起了中国地理界众多好友的高度重视。我极愿意亲自前来接受这一崇高的荣誉，只因健康关系，不能成行，只好拜托在北京大学任教并且和我有合作关系的好朋友欧迪安博士前来代我领奖。但是如果墨菲博士或是美国地理学会荣誉委员会其他负责者，能有机会前来中国，我殷切希望能在北京大学相会，使我得以亲自表示我衷心的感谢。

在这里我愿意首先说明的是，早在1952年第一位乔治·戴维森勋章的获得者葛德石，原是对我很有影响的一位学者。六十三年前的1936年，也就是我在大学毕业的那一年，我有幸阅读了他的《中国地理基础》。这本书深深吸引了我，也是促使我从历史学转向历史地理学研究的原因之一。只是随后发生的连续八年的抗日战争，使我直到1946年夏才得以前往英国利物浦大学地理系，在德贝教授的指导下，专攻历史地理学。1949年，葛德石教授作为新当选的国际地理学会的主席，应邀前来利物浦大学作学术讲演，题目是“中国的前途”，非常引人注目，时间是在4月27日下午，当时到会的听众很多，这表明人们十分关切中国的前途。我自己听了很受鼓舞。德贝教授主持了这次演讲会，并要我在讲演完毕后，代表听众致谢辞。这是我和葛德石教授第一次会面，使我终生难忘。

现在应该特别指出的是当时葛德石教授演讲的时间，距离1949年10月1日新中国的诞生，只有5个月零3天，也正是在新中国诞生的前三天，我从英国回到北京。

新中国重新建都北京，成立了“北京市都市计划委员会”，我有幸应邀作为委员。我所承担的第一项任务，就是为首都新定的文化教育区，进行地理考察，作为规划设计的参考。

现在五十年的时间已经过去，在这五十年间，除去有几年的时间我参加了我国西北地区的沙漠考察之外，主要的研究工作，都集中在北京城的历史地理研究上，力求为首都的规划建设，作出贡献。

过去的这五十年，中国发生了巨大的变化，特别是近二十年，在改革开放的新形势下，中外文化的交流，日益增加，现在回顾这二十年来，我曾有十二次来美国访问。其中我深感荣幸的是1981—1982年，我曾应邀作为富布莱特驻校学者前往伊利诺伊大学讲学，这是我永远难忘的。

其后，我又接到康奈尔大学副校长兼研究生院院长艾莉森·卡萨特博士的邀请信，约我作为驻校学者受卢斯基金会中国研究计划资助于1983—1984学年访问康奈尔大学。信中还特别有如下几句话：“我注意到您最近对北京城与华盛顿城城市布局设计对比研究的强烈兴趣。”她讲的确是事实。因此，她的邀请，对我来说，实在是一个难得的机会，结果我不仅在康奈尔大学富有自然之美的校园里度过了一个学期的室内研究，而且还得以按照“康奈尔大学华盛顿研究计划”对华盛顿城的中心部分作了实地考察。我终于完成了为中国读者写的论文，题目就是“从北京到华盛顿——城市设计主题思想试探”。

现在回顾过去，正是为了展望未来。今年我已88岁，回顾当年葛德石所用过的讲题“中国的前途”，又有新的景象展现在眼前。我能荣获乔治·戴维森勋章，正是对我极大的鼓励，我将在北京历史地理的研究上继续努力，并和后起之秀携手前进。我非常感谢欧迪安教授代我宣读我的讲话稿，并代替我再一次向美国地理学会理事会表示我的敬意和感激之情。谢谢。

NOTES 注释

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* 中文稿在《历史地理》（第二辑）发表时，作者曾在本文开头简短作注，现照录如下："1980年春，作者应加拿大不列颠哥伦比亚大学的邀请，前往进行短期讲学，曾作公开讲演三次，现在把有关北京历史地理两讲的中文原稿，略加删改合为一篇，重新标题，发表在这里，请国内读者指正。"本版收录的英文即为作者演讲稿原文，由打印稿转录而来。——编者注

1 清建国于1616年，初称后金，1636年始改国号为清，1644年入关。同一问题重复出现不另作说明。各篇文章创作、发表年代不同，人名、地名的拼写、译法或有出入，在单篇文章内保持一致。——编者注

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* 中文稿刊于《城市问题》1984年第6辑，作者曾在本文开头简短作注，现照录如下："美国芝加哥大学地理系为该系著名地理学家C. D.哈瑞斯教授（Chauncy D. Harris）的退休编辑出版了纪念性学术论文集《现代城市变化的世界模式》（*World Patterns of Modern Urban Change* , Michael P. Conzen ed., Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986）。世界各大洲（除南极洲外）都有地理学家应邀撰稿。此文即该论文集21篇论文中的一篇，用英文刊出，这是中文原稿。"——编者注

1 Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971, p. 425.

2 Later the name was changed to Jing Shan (Scenic Mountain) and also Mei Shan(Coal Hill).

2 后来改名景山，俗称煤山。

3 During this period, the canal formerly outside the Royal City's east wall was incorporated into the Royal City, and shipping on the Grand Canal was thus unable to reach Ji-shui Tan. The lower part of Ji-shui Tan was connected with Tai-ye Chi to the south, and the aqueduct which had been specifically created to supply water to Tai-ye Chi was abandoned. Altogether, the city's water system regressed under the Ming Dynasty's management.

3 这时连同原在皇城东墙之外的运河渠道，也被包入城中，从此大运河的船只，再也不能驶入积水潭，积水潭的下游又恢复了南接太液池的故道，而太液池先前专用的引水渠也就日渐湮废。因此从河渠水道的调整来说，明北京城较前是退步了。

4 The name "Shan Chuan Tan" was later changed to "Xian-nong Tan" (Altar of the God of Agriculture).

4 山川坛后来又改称先农坛。

5 During the Ming Dynasty, the Tian-an Men was called the Cheng-tian Men.

5 明曰承天门。

6 Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Towns and Buildings* , paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: First MIT Press, 1969. Preface, p. v.

7 Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities* , revised edition. London: Penguin Books, 1980, p. 244.

8 The actual work, of course, was not without problems. For instance, in the cases of the demolition of the old city wall and most of the old gates and the filling of the moat, there was serious disagreement in the beginning. From today's point of view, these are simply irretrievably lost.

8 自然，在实际工作中，也不是全无问题的。例如旧日城墙和大部分城楼的拆除以及部分护城河的填塞，在最初就是有争议的，现在看来已是无可弥补的损失。

9 See *The Beijing Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*), August 3, 1983, and *The Beijing Evening*

News (*Beijing Wanbao*), August 4, 1983.

9 见1983年8月3日《北京日报》和8月4日《北京晚报》。

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* 英文稿原发表于*China City Planning Review* (Sept. 1995)，文前摘要如下："This article has made comments on the three milestones in the construction of Beijing City: the Forbidden City, the Tian'anmen Square and the Public Building Complex outstandingly embodying the new style and features of the capital of the 21st century, along the northern extension line of the middle axis of the whole city. According to this demonstration, the author has further pointed out that the development of the third milestone is in fact the break-through in Beijing's traditional thought of design and demonstrated the origin of this traditional thought of design in accordance with the discovery in archaeology."
中文稿自北京大学院士文库《侯仁之文集》（1998）选出。——编者注

1 Zhu Wenyi, *Space, Mark, City* , China Building Industry Publishing House, 1993, p. 167.

1 朱文一：《空间·符号·城市》，中国建筑工业出版社，1993年，第167页。

2 Zhu Wenyi has the narration. Please see "On the Discussion of the Theory of City Sketch" in *Space, Mark, City* , 1993, p. 248.

2 朱文一同志有记述，参见朱文一：《空间·符号·城市》，中国建筑工业出版社，1993年，第248页。

3 Hou Renzhi, "On the Remolding of the Old Beijing City," in *City Planning Review* (in Chinese), 1983, No. 1, pp. 20-23.

3 侯仁之：《论北京旧城的改造》，载《城市规划》，1983年，第l期。

4 Hou Renzhi, "The Inheritance and Development of Beijing Forbidden City on Planning and Design," in *National Studies* , 1993, No. 1.

4 侯仁之：《北京紫禁城在规划设计上的继承与发展》，载《国学研究》，

第一卷，1993年。

5 In accordance with the discovery, there are two palace relics. On the northeast, approximately 150 meters from the No. 1 palace relic, there is No. 2 palace relic, which is smaller in scale but much the same of the model. See Erlitou Work Team, Archaeology Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Science, "Brief Report on the Early Shang Dynasty Palace Ruins Excavation in Yanshi County, Henan Province," *Archaeology* , 1972, No. 4.

5 中国科学院考古研究所二里头工作队：《河南偃师二里头早商宫殿遗址发掘简报》，载《考古》，1974年，第4期。按该文所载上述发现共有二处宫殿遗址，另有二号宫殿遗址，在一号宫殿遗址东北约150米，规模较小而形制略同。

6 China Academy of Architectural Sciences, *Ancient Architecture of China* , China Building Industry Publishing House, 1983.

6 中国建筑科学研究院：《中国古建筑》，中国建筑工业出版社，1983年。

7 "Xue Sui Zhai Xuan", *Yu Sui Zhen Jing* , Vol. 19. Block printed at the period of Emperor Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty. Revised version by Li Wentian of the Qing Dynasty.

7 《玉髓真经》卷十九《穴髓摘玄》，明嘉靖刻，清李文田旧校本。

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* 英文稿前原有关于本研究的背景介绍，现照录如下：Comparison between Chinese and foreign municipalities is one of the most important aspects of scientific urban research. Such research has only begun in China. It will help us to improve the process and development of urban construction, to inherit better the wealth of China's culture, to absorb more appropriately the cultural achievements of foreign countries, and thus, to be able to create the kind of Chinese city and urban culture that will bear the special characteristics of the Age of Socialism.

Professor Hou's paper "From Beijing to Washington—A Contemplation on the Concept of Municipal Planning" is a persuasive study based on a comparison between Chinese and foreign municipalities. He discusses the subject in the aspects of historical, cultural and chronological differences. He points out the special features of Beijing and Washington and the development of the basic conceptual theme in their designs and plans. He puts forth a detailed comparison between the two cities and offers ingenious suggestions on the future construction and development of Beijing. Professor Hou made a special study in 1984 at the College of Architecture in Cornell University on the subject of the comparison between Beijing and Washington, the choice of the sites of the capitals and their design and plan. This is the first article of his research.

中文原载《城市问题》1987年第3期，本次自北京大学院士文集《侯仁之文集》选出，较前者略有删改。——编者注

1 Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Towns and Buildings* , paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: First MIT Press, 1969. Preface, p. v.

2 Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities* , revised edition. London: Penguin Books, 1980, p. 244.

3 中国建筑工业出版社，1985年，第55—56页。

4 《城市规划》双月刊，1983年，第1期。

5 河南偃师县二里头夏代遗址的上层，发现迄今所见我国最早的大型宫殿遗基两座，距今至少在三千六七百年以前，其中一座的遗址，略成正方形，中部偏北处，有一长方台基，根据基址上柱穴的排列，可以复原为一座殿堂，东西长30.4米，南北宽11.4米，殿前为广庭，四周为墙基，墙内有廊庑，大门在基址南墙的中间。详见中国科学院考古研究所洛阳发掘队：《河南偃师二里头遗址发掘简报》，载《考古》，1965年，第5期。又湖北黄陂县以盘龙城命名的商代中期都城，距今约三千五百年，城内大型宫殿基址两处，也都是面向正南。详见湖北省博物馆、北京大学考古专业、盘龙城发掘队：

《盘龙城一九七四年度田野考古纪要》，载《文物》，1976年，第2期。

6 详见《盘龙城一九七四年度田野考古纪要》。

7 盘龙城平面略呈方形，中轴线方向为北偏东20度，城垣至1954年仍保存得比较完整。已发现的宫殿基址，在城内东北部，见注5。又郑州所发现的商城中的宫殿基址，也同样是在略呈方形城垣内的东北部，详见河南省博物馆、郑州博物馆：《郑州商代城遗址发掘报告》，《文物资料丛刊》第1辑，文物出版社，1977年。

8 1776年，《独立宣言》发表，宣告美国成立。1783年，英国正式承认美国独立。——编者注

9 朗方设计的城市蓝图的示意图，还镌刻在从白宫到国会大厦的宾夕法尼亚大道中途一个街心广场的石筑台基上，供人鉴赏。1984年8月6日，华盛顿市长正式宣布这一天为“朗方日”，以志纪念。当时作者适在华盛顿的康奈尔大会研究中心工作，因此得到机会参加这次纪念会，进一步体会到朗方在今天美国首都人民心目中的地位。

10 《马克思恩格斯全集》第16卷，人民出版社，1964年，第20页。

11 1787年，制宪会议通过《美利坚合众国宪法》。——编者注

12 《马克思恩格斯全集》第16卷，人民出版社，1964年，第2l页。

13 这是1982年应征入选的设计，当时林樱（Maya Lin）尚在耶鲁大学建筑系学习。

⑤

* 英文稿曾在1964年北京科学讨论会上宣读。中文原载《科学通报》1964年11月刊，本次自《历史地理学的理论与实践》（1979）选出。——编者注

1 J. N. L. Baker, *A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration* , London, 1931, pp. 63–70.

2 Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus* , translated by G. Rawlinson, New York, 1946, pp. 216–217.

3 The account of Herodotus has raised much controversy, but of late there has been a tendency to belief. See J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* , Cambridge, 1948, pp. 71–73. J. N. L. Baker points out that "the geographical conditions do not make such a feat impossible." *Op. cit.* , p. 23.

3 曾有人对此表示怀疑，却无法加以否定，见J. N. L. Baker，前引著作，p. 23。Baker且指出："地理条件使得这样一次航行的完成，并非是不可能的。"关于这一问题讨论的趋势是，越来越认为希罗多德的记述是可信的，详见J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* , Cambridge, 1948, pp. 71–73.

4 *Vsemirnaya Istoriya* , TOM. 4, Str. 88, M. M. Smirin (otechestrennyi redaktor), Moskva, 1958.

World History (in Russian), Vol. 4, p. 88, M. M. Smirin (chief editor), Moscow, 1958.

4 ［苏］斯米林主编：《世界通史》第4卷，三联书店，1962年，上册第104页。又G. Ferrand引D. Couto的考证，谓爪哇人也在很早以前就已远航到非洲大陆的南端，见《昆仑及南海古代航行考》，冯承钧译，中华书局，1957年，第66页。

5 K. G. Jayne, *V asco da Gama and His Successors: 1460–1580* , London, 1910, p. 48. See also J. N. L. Baker, *op. cit* ., pp. 69–70.

6 With reference to the life and work of Ibn Madjid, see article on Shihab al-Din Ahmad Ь Madjid in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* , pp. 362–370, London, 1934.

6 关于伊本·马吉德的身世、著作以及与达·伽马的关系，见*Encyclopaedia of Islam* , Vol. IV, pp. 362–370, "Shihab al-Din Ahmad B. Madjid", London, 1934。伊本·马吉德的著作32篇原稿现藏巴黎国立图书馆阿拉伯部，编号2292、2559。

7 *Han Shu* (Dynastic History of Han), *Chüan* 28, *Ti Li Chih* (Book on Geography).

7 《汉书》卷二八《地理志》。

8 1978年改称斯里兰卡。——编者注

9 For detailed account of Fa Hsien's travel in India and Ceylon, see his own work *Fo Kuo Chi* .

9 法显于公元399年由长安出发，从陆路前往印度，归途泛海，由印度到锡兰，由锡兰回中国，见所著《佛国记》（或称《法显传》）。

10 The Arab Empire is recorded in ancient Chinese works as *Ta Shih* .

11 A distinguished Chinese geographer Chia Tan in the eighth century made a valuable record on the sea-route from Canton to the Gulf of Iran. See *Hsin T'ang Shu* (New Dynastic History of T'ang), *Chüan* 43, *Ti Li Chih Chi* (Book on Geography, 7).

11 8世纪时中国地理学家贾耽（729–805）曾经记述了从广州到今波斯湾的航路，见《新唐书》卷四三《地理志七》所转载。

12 H. Yule and H. Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* , revised 3rd. ed., pp. 234–235, London, 1903.

13 Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* : Texte Arabe, Accompagne D'une Traduction, Beniamino Raffaello Sanguinetti and Charles Defremery ed. and trans., Vol. 4, Paris, 1922, pp. 268–269.

14 Situzo Kuwabara has made an extensive study on the life of P'u Shou-keng and his scholarly work has been translated into Chinese by Chen Yü-ch'ing entitled *P'u Shou-keng K'ao* (2nd print, Shanghai, 1954).

14 日本学者桑原骘藏：《蒲壽庚の事蹟》，东京，1935年。此书对蒲寿庚身世有详细考证，兼及唐宋时代中国与阿拉伯海上通商的情况。有陈裕菁汉文译本，题《蒲寿庚考》，上海，1954年。

15 The dates of the seven voyages of Cheng Ho are as follows:

1．1405—1407,

2．1407—1409,

3．1409—1411,

4．1413—1415,

5．1417—1419,

6．1421—1422,

7．1430—1433.

During the last ninety years various studies on the life of Cheng Ho have been published by European and American scholars. The French Orientalist P. Pelliot has written a comprehensive dissertation, Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle, *Toung Pao* , 1933, pp. 237–452. Owing to the lack of indispensable source materials, mistakes in his conclusions on the dates of the last six voyages of Cheng Ho are unavoidable.

15 七次航行年代：1405—1407，1407—1409，1409—1411，1413—1415，1417—1419，142l—1422，1430—1433。近百年来，欧美学者研究郑和及其事迹者颇不乏人，著述亦多。书较晚出、影响较大的是法人P. Pelliot，所著长文：Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle，发表于*Toung Pao* , 1933, pp. 237–452。但是由于作者所根据的史料不足，对于郑和后六次航行日期的考订，不免有错误。

16 Chu Yün-ming, *Chien Wen Chi*, article on the voyages of Cheng Ho, *Chi Lu Hui Pien* edition, *Chüan* 202, p. 37.

16 祝允明：《前闻记》，“下西洋”条，《纪录汇编》卷二○二，商务印书馆影印明刻本，页三七引。

17 *Ibid* ., and *Cheng Ho Hang Hai T'u* (The Sailing Chart of Cheng Ho), edited by Hsiang Ta, Peking, 1961.

17 航海记录见祝允明：《前闻记》，“下西洋”条。航海图原题《自宝船厂开船从龙江关出水直抵外国诸番图》，近经北京大学向达教授加以考订和说明，作为专书，题为《郑和航海图》，于1961年由中华书局影印出版。书中还另附郑和远航的略图，图上除去第七次航路外，还表示了前六次所曾经航

行过的路线，而且把一些已能确考的现在地名，加注在原地名后面，古今对照，一目了然。这是已发表的有关郑和远航路线图中最好的一幅，本文附图即据此图简化复制。

18 For detailed information, see S. A. Huzayyin, *Arabia and the Far East: Their Commercial Cultural Relations in Graeco-Roman and Irano-Arabian Times* , Cairo, 1942, pp. 112–113, and J. N. L. Baker, *op. cit.* , pp. 19–20.

19 Tu Huan (in *Ching Hsing Chi*) and Tuan Ch'eng-shih (in *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*) of the T'ang Dynasty gave the earliest information in Chinese records about Molin Kingdom. Tuan's work is easily available, while Tu's work is now preserved in the form of citations in other works. A collection of these citations with commentaries has been published recently by Chang Yi-ch'un under the title *Ching Hsing Chi Chien Chu*, Peking, 1963.

19 唐朝杜环所著《经行记》一书中，有关于摩邻国的记载，见杜环著，张一纯笺注：《经行记笺注》，中华书局，1963年，第20页。按摩邻国有的学者认为即是麻林（或麻林地）国。又段成式所著《酉阳杂俎》一书中，有关于拨拔力国的记载，见汲古阁刻本，卷四，“异境”条，页四上。《新唐书》卷二二一下《大食传》引用其文。按拨拔力即Berbera（今译柏培拉）在中国最早之对音。参考冯承钧《诸蕃志校注》，中华书局，1956年，第55页。

20 *Sung Shih* (Dynastic History of Sung), *Chüan* 490, section on *Tsengtan* .

20 《宋史》卷四九○，“层檀”条。

21 Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Chu Fan Chih Chiao Chu* , Shanghai, 1956, pp. 54–55. *Chu Fan Chih* was written by Chau Ju-kua in 1225. It has been translated and annotated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (*Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi.* St. Petersburg, 1911).

21 冯承钧：《诸蕃志校注》，第54—55页。此书有F. Hirth和W. W. Rockhill英译本，并加注释，题曰：*Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab*

Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi , St. Petersburg, 1911.本文所根据的冯承钧校注本采用了Hirth与Rockhill的注译，并作了订正和补充。又元代汪大渊在1329—1339年间，乘海舶远游中国南海及印度洋，就所见闻，著《岛夷志略》一书（约写成于1349年），记有层摇罗，即桑给巴尔。

22 See Feng Ch'eng-chün, *op. cit* ., and Wang Ta-yüan, *Tao Yi Chih Lueh* , written about 1349.

22 例如写成于1225年的赵汝适的《诸蕃志》，就有下列各国的记载：勿斯里国（埃及）、中理国（索马里沿岸，包括Socotra岛，今译索科特拉岛）、弼琶罗国（Berbera）、层拔国等。

23 Hsia Nai, Porcelain Links in Sino-African History, *Wen Wu Monthly* , Peking, 1963, No. 1, pp. 17–19.

23 早在1888年，桑给巴尔就有宋代中国铜钱和瓷器出土，1898年索马里的摩加迪沙，也发现宋代中国铜钱和瓷器。近年以来，在索马里和埃塞俄比亚交界处的三个古城废墟，和在坦噶尼喀（Lake Tanganyika）沿岸40多处古代遗址，以及松哥玛那拉（Songo Mnara）岛上，都有很多中国瓷器瓷片的发现，其中有宋末元初的龙泉窑青瓷片。在肯尼亚的马林迪附近的给地（Gedi）古城中，还有宋代铜钱出土。此外摩加迪沙还曾有唐代铜钱的发现，详见夏鼐：《作为古代中非交通关系证据的瓷器》，载《文物》1963年第l期。按在12世纪时，中国与东非可能已有直接的通商贸易，中国海舶可能已航驶东非。参看张铁生：《从东非史上看中非关系》，载《历史研究》1963年第2期。

24 Chu Yü, *P'ing Chou K'ê T'an* , Shou Shan Kê edition, *Chüan* 2, 1922, p. 3. Hsu Ching, *Hsüan Ho Feng Shih Kao Li T'u Ching* , T'ien Lu Lin Lang edition, *Chüan* 34, p. 12, 1931.

24 朱彧：《萍洲可谈》卷二，博古斋1922年影印守山阁丛书本，页三下；又徐竞：《宣和奉使高丽图经》卷三四，北京故宫博物院1931年影印天禄琳琅

丛书本，页十二上。

25 Situzo Kuwabara, *A Study of P'u Shou-keng* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1935, pp. 92–93.

25 桑原骘藏：《蒲壽庚の事蹟》，第92—93页。

26 Hsiang Ta, *op. cit* ., p. 57.

26 意即从官屿群岛出发，按庚酉方向（约当262度左右）前航到达木骨都束。向达：《郑和航海图》，页五七。

27 Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Hsing Ch'a Sheng Lan Chiao Chu* , Shanghai, 1954, pp. 21, 24. *Hsing Ch'a Sheng Lan* written by Fei Hsin is one of the three important geographical works compiled at the time of Cheng Ho's navigations. The other two works are *Ying Ya Sheng Lan* by Ma Huan and *Hsi Yang Fan Kuo Chih* by Kung Chen. Both Ma and Kung also took part in Cheng Ho's voyages and gave an account of the countries they visited in their works.

27 费信于郑和远航之第三、四、五、七次随同前往，著《星槎胜览》一书，是从行者所著三部重要的地理著作之一。其余两部是马欢的《瀛涯胜览》和巩珍的《西洋番国志》，后者极为罕见，近来向达教授根据一个抄本加以整理注释，于1959年出版。

28 当时交易情况，具见《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》等书，一般都是在中国船到之时，先以明王朝的名义向有关地方或国家行政当局赠送礼品，然后由该地方或国家行政当局传谕人民，进行交易。

⑥

* 1981年2月11日作者根据中加文化交流的协议前往加拿大，2月11日—3月24日在英属哥伦比亚大学（University of British Columbia）讲学。本文英文为1981年2月13日演讲稿。本版收录的中英文文本均自作者手稿转录而来，原稿约作于1980年。——编者注

1 Probably it is interesting to know how Professor J. Needham, the distinguished

author of the voluminous work *Science and Civilisation in China* , writes about HsüXia-Ke, "His notes… read more like those of a 20th-century field surveyor than a 17th-century scholar. He had a wonderful power of analysing topographical detail, and made systematic use of special terms which enlarged the ordinary nomenclature… Everything was noted carefully in feet or *li* , without vague stock phrases." (Vol. 3, London: Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 524) And it is no wonder that the famous Chinese geologist Prof. Ting Wen-Chiang, who made a great contribution on the study of Hsü's life, once said that Hsü "was essentially a geographical explorer. The spirit of inquiry is so startlingly modern, that it alone would have ranked him as the earliest leader of modern geography in China.(Ting, *The New China Review* , III, 5, Oct. 1921, pp. 325–337.)

2 For an English-language edition, see *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966).

⑦

* 英文选自《国际古迹遗址理事会第八届全体大会暨“新世界中的古老文化”国际研讨会论文集》第一部。（*Symposium Papers of 8th General Assembly of International Council on Monuments and Sites, and International Symposium "Old Cultures in New Worlds", October 10-15, 1987* , Vol. 1. Washington D. C.: ICOMOS, 1987. Print.）——编者注

1 对China一词的起源有多种解释。一种说法认为，China是在秦的罗马字拼音Chin后面加上-a表示地域。这一观点在1986年出版的《剑桥中国秦汉史》中被肯定。——编者注

2 There is another version of the legend saying that a section of the wall crumbled, exposing to Meng Jiang the bones of her husband.

3 Zeng Zhaoming and Gu Wei, *An Investigation on the Present Condition of the*

Great Wall in the Beijing District , Remote-sensing Centre of the Ministry of Geology and Mining, 1985.

⑧

* 1981年11月2日至1982年2月，作者应美国国际学者交换委员会（Council for International Exchange of Scholars）的邀请，作为富布莱特学者（Fulbright Scholar in Residence）到美国伊利诺伊大学厄巴那–香槟分校（University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign）地理系讲学，公开演讲六次。12月9日演讲“Outstanding Ancient City Ruins in the Deserts of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China”（《中国内蒙古自治区沙漠中几个重要的古城废墟》）。英文又于1985年发表于《历史地理学刊》（*Journal of Historical Geography* , Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 241–252），附题注“This article is a revised version of a lecture presented at several universities in Canada and the United States during recent visits.”本版英文即摘自《历史地理学刊》，中文自作者手稿转录而来。中英文文本的创作时间均应在1980—1981年间，英文再次发表时对文中提及具体事件距当时的时间跨度有相应更改，故与中文有所出入，在本版中保留这几种不对应之处。——编者注

1 A review of major areas of research and recent progress in historical geography in China has been published by the author in English in *Geography in China* (Beijing: Science Press, 1984, pp. 133–146).

2 The help of Mr. Alick Newman at University College London in redrawing the maps is gratefully acknowledged.

⑨

* 本文为作者1996年在美国克莱蒙·麦肯纳学院（Claremont McKenna College）举行的“燕京大学的经验与中国的高等教育学术研究会”上的发言，演讲为英文。中英文皆为作者所著。——编者注

1 Jeffrey William Cody, *Henry K. Murphy: An American Architect in China, 1914–1935* , Chapter 5 "Old Wine in a New Bottle: Yenching University, 1918-1927."A Dissertation of Cornell University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell University, 1989.

2 Reference: Hou Renzhi, *Anecdotes about Yanyuan* (in Chinese,《燕园史话》), Beijing: Peking University Press, 1988, pp. 74–75.

Susan Chan Egan, *A Latter-day Confucian, Reminiscences of William Hung (1893-1980)* , Cambridge: Harvard University, 1987, pp. 81–85.

3 Recently, with the aid of some newly discovered finds and new investigations in historical geography, I wrote, with William Hung's research as base, the paper "On Mi Wanzhong's 'Map of the Rebuilt Shaoyuan'", published in 1993 in Vol. 1 of *Guo Xue Yan Jiu* (National Studies) by the Research Centre of Traditional Chinese Culture of Peking University.

3 最近，我又借助于一些新发现和历史地理的考察，在煨莲师研究的基础上，写了一篇《记米万钟〈勺园修禊图〉》，刊于北京大学中国传统文化研究中心的《国学研究》第l卷，1993年。

4 See The Research Committee on Historical Materials of the Peking Committee of the Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic (ed.), *Peking under the Japanese Puppet Regime* , Beijing Publishing House, 1987.

4 中国人民政治协商会议北京市委员会文史资料研究委员会：《日伪统治下的北平》，北京出版社，1987年。

5 On 19 August 1945, William Hung wrote to inform me that I had been chosen as one of the members of the Yenching University Committee, and urged me to return to Peking to attend the conference. I have added the original letter here, with a translation in English:

Dr. Leighton Stuart has been released on Friday and we talked for days,

which was extremely nice. The new university committee has held its first meeting yesterday. Tomorrow (Monday) early in the morning at nine we will have our second meeting. If you, my young friend, would like to be one of the committee members, you will have to return tonight. I tried to phone you several times but couldn't get through, so had no other way than to ask mister Guo to go to Tientsin to invite you. We will talk later. Hastily I remain, wishing you,… Renzhi, good health.

Written on the 19th.

⑩

* 本文中文曾发表于《益世报》副刊《史地周刊》1947年3月18日版，英文自作者打印稿转录而来。——编者注

⑪

* 英文为侯仁之于1984年7月4日在英国利物浦大学毕业典礼上的讲话，原文无标题，本版标题为编辑后加。——编者注

⑫

* 中英文均为侯仁之原作。英文于1999年11月11日由欧迪安博士（Dr. Diane Obenchain）代为在纽约美国地理学会上宣读。中文稿中原有少数英文夹杂，已由编辑译为中文。——编者注

燕園文物

CULTURAL RELICS OF THE YAN GARDEN

郝平……主编
北京大学政策法规研究室 编写

外语教学与研究出版社
北京

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序

文物是历史的记忆，是民族文化的重要凭证。2014年3月27日，习近平主席访问联合国教科文组织总部并发表重要演讲。他强调，要让收藏在博物馆里的文物、陈列在广阔大地上的遗产、书写在古籍里的文字都活起来，让中华文明同世界各国人民创造的丰富多彩的文明一道，为人类提供正确的精神指引和强大的精神动力。

当时，我还在联合国教科文组织第37届大会主席任上，有幸于现场聆听了习主席的讲话，很受触动和启发。中国是一个拥有五千多年辉煌历史的文明古国，同时也是文物大国。文物不可再生，弥足珍贵，保护好、利用好文物，是全人类的责任，也是大学的责任。

2018年，北京大学将隆重庆祝120周年校庆。自京师大学堂创办以来，一代又一代北大人接力奋斗，形成了爱国、进步、民主、科学的传统，为国家的发展、民族的复兴作出了卓越的贡献。

走过两个甲子风雨历程的北大，不仅形成了自己独特的精神魅力，也保存了大量珍贵的文物。这些有形的文化遗产，承载着大学的光荣传统、核心价值与使命担当。著名历史地理学家、北京大学教授侯仁之先生曾经说过："我们之所以有今天，正是过去的人们世世代代辛勤创造的结果。是值得我们非常珍惜和爱护的。话不必说得太远，我们这座校园，就是一个很好的见证。"

北大上承太学传统，是中国几千年文脉延续并不断与时俱进的象征。今日北大的主校区位于燕园，这里有着久远的历史记忆，珍藏着数不胜数的历史文物。我们热爱北大，就必然热爱燕园，热爱燕园文物。

早在金代，这里就是京郊著名的风景区，明清时期，又成为皇家的“赐园”，近代以来则发生了重大历史性变化。1920年，司徒雷登在这里为燕京大学新校园选址，看中了这片“废园”，并与陕西督军陈树藩签署用地契约，此后在周边陆续扩增。燕大聘请了毕业于耶鲁大学的亨利·墨菲进行规划设计，1922—1929年，用了整整七年的时间，在这里建成了非常美丽的校园，而这一地区也从此被冠以“燕园”的美称。墨菲是美国的建筑设计师，但却是当时中国建筑古典复兴思潮的代表性人物，他所设计的燕园，古色古香、典雅端庄，也为今日北大核心校区奠定了基础。（可参见拙著《无奈的结局——司徒雷登与中国》）

经过几百年的沧桑，燕园已经囊括了勺园、静园、燕南园、朗润园、鸣鹤园、淑春园、镜春园、未名湖、悠哉湖、红湖、后湖等名胜古迹。这里自成一格，集北方园林的宏伟气度与江南园林的精致秀丽于一体，亭台楼阁遍布，假山怪石俯拾皆是。2001年，“未名湖燕园建筑”被列入全国重点文物保护单位。目前，燕园共有国家级文物建筑、北京市级文物建筑、海淀区级文物建筑及具有保护价值的建筑近百座，有石碑、石雕及石构件等文物42件，赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆藏品两万余件，图书馆中文古籍150万册，档案馆和校史馆等也保存着大量的珍稀资料。

这些文物，既记录了繁荣、强盛与辉煌，也反映了近代中国落后挨打的屈辱，更昭示着这个古老民族走向复兴的光明前景。

北京大学是可以触摸到历史的地方。保护好燕园的文物，就是存续北大的历史，就是守护北大人的精神传统、守护中华民族的文脉。在保护与传承的过程中，我们也要落实新的发展理念，注意发挥文物在立德树人方面的作用，让古与今、旧与新在这里交相辉映，让北大的文物成为桥梁，推动中国文化走向世界、走向未来。

现在，我们编成了这本《燕园文物》，是对燕园历史和先贤的纪念，也

是向120周年校庆的献礼。希望读者能够由此更加了解和爱护燕园文物，并对燕园悠长的历史和北大厚重的人文积淀有新的发现，形成新的认知与记忆。

是为序。

北京大学党委书记、校务委员会主任
联合国教科文组织第37届大会主席
郝平
2017年10月1日

Preface

Cultural relics are the memories of history and important evidences of national culture. In his speech delivered at UNESCO headquarters on March 27, 2014, President Xi Jinping reiterated that we need to bring all collections in our museums, all heritage structures across our lands and all records in our classics to life. In this way, the Chinese civilization, together with the rich and colorful civilizations created by the people of other countries, will provide mankind with the right mental guidance and strong motivation.

As president of the 37th UNESCO General Conference, I was lucky enough to attend the speech, which stirred and inspired me immensely. China is a country blessed with a splendid history spanning over 5,000 years, and a repository of precious cultural relics. It is the responsibility of universities and all mankind to protect and make the best use of cultural relics, as they cannot be reproduced and therefore are even more valuable.

Peking University will celebrate its 120th anniversary in 2018. Ever since the establishment of the Imperial University of Peking in 1898, teachers and students of Peking University have, in their unremitting effort one generation after another, formed a tradition featuring patriotism, progressiveness, democracy and science, and made an outstanding contribution to national development and revitalization.

Going through two cycles of sixty years' vicissitudes, Peking University has not only formed a spiritual charisma of its own, but also a large quantity of precious cultural relics loaded with the glorious tradition, core value and

consistent responsibility of the University. Hou Renzhi, Peking University professor and famed historical geographer, once remarked: "We owe what we have today to the strenuous efforts of generations of people in the past. It merits our utmost appreciation and good care. Our campus itself, not to mention others, is a good testimony."

Following the tradition of the Imperial College, Peking University symbolizes the continuity and evolution of the vein of Chinese culture over the centuries. The main campus of today's Peking University is in the Yan Garden, which boasts a long history and numerous cultural relics. Our love for Peking University cannot be complete without the love for the Yan Garden and its cultural relics.

As early as in the Jin dynasty, this place was already a famous suburban scenic spot. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, it became the "granted garden" of the imperial family. Since modern times, it has experienced tremendous historical changes. Virtually a wasteland though, it was selected by John Leighton Stuart as the new site of Yenching University in 1920. When a land agreement was signed with the military governor of Shaanxi, Chen Shufan, also the land owner, expansion in the surrounding areas ensued. Yenching University invited Henry Murphy, who was graduated from Yale University, to design for the new campus and he spent the whole seven years from 1922 to 1929 making the wasteland into an attractive landscape, and the area has since been entitled the "Yan Garden". An American architect though, Murphy stood first in the revival of classical Chinese architecture. The Yan Garden of his design had an antique flavor, elegant and dignified, and laid the foundation for the core campus of today's Peking University. (Hao Ping, *Helpless Ending—John Leighton Stuart and*

China)

After centuries' ups and downs, the Yan Garden has now formed a brand of landscape integrating the majesty and grandiosity of the northern gardens and refinement and delicacy of their southern counterparts. These include the Shaoyuan Garden, Jingyuan Garden, Yannan Garden, Langrun Garden, Minghe Garden, Shuchun Garden, Jingchun Garden, Weiming Lake, Youzai Lake, Honghu Lake, Houhu Lake and others. Pavilions, terraces and multi-storied buildings scatter all over, and rockwork can be found everywhere. In 2001, the "Architecture centering around the Weiming Lake of the Yan Garden" was listed as a key cultural relics site under state protection. At present, the Yan Garden has about 100 state-level, municipal-level and district-level ancient constructions and architectures meriting protection; 42 stone tablets, stone sculptures and stone constructions; over 20,000 collections in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology; 1,500,000 Chinese classics in the Library, and a good quantity of precious documents in its Archives and Museum of History.

These cultural relics are recorders of not only glory, prosperity and power, but also humiliation and disgrace of backward China in modern times. More than these, they hail a bright prospect of this ancient nation heading towards brilliance.

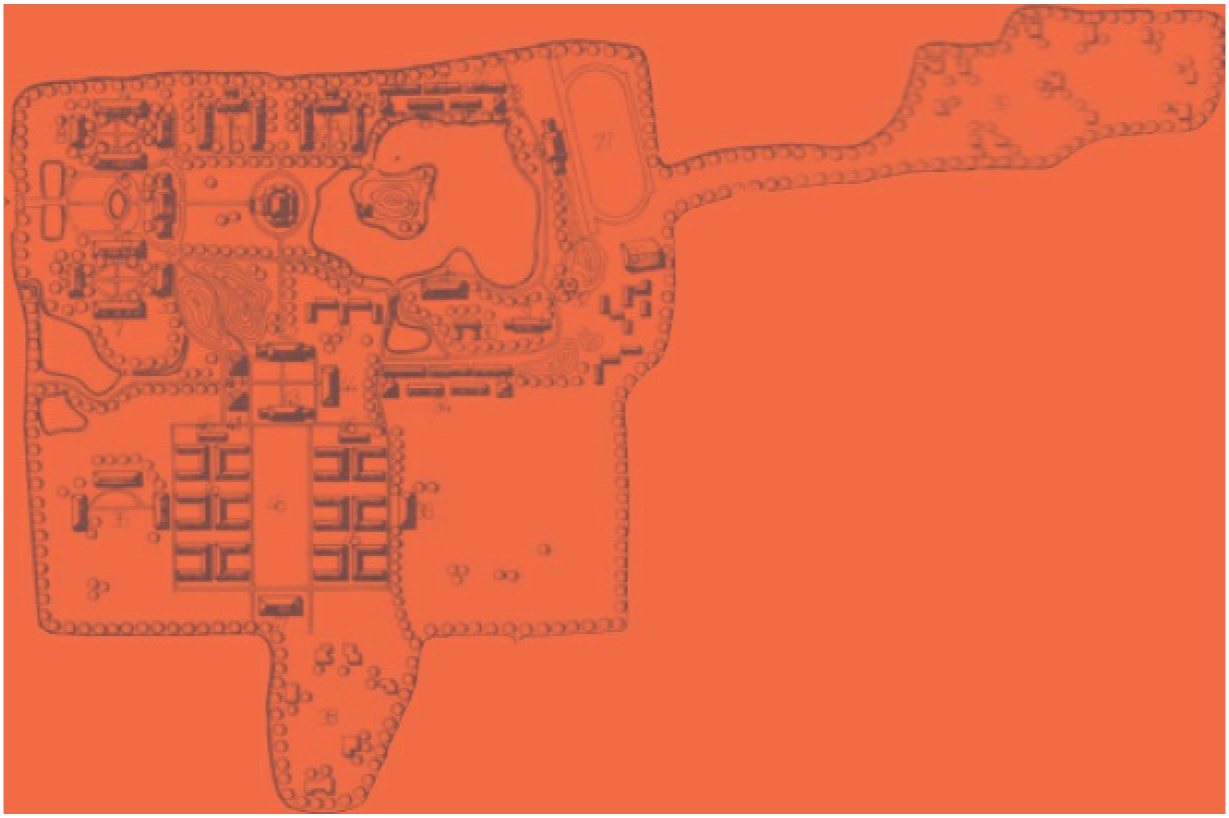
Peking University is a place where one can actually touch and feel history. The protection of cultural relics of the Yan Garden is the preservation of the history of Peking University, the spiritual tradition of its students and teachers, and the vein of Chinese culture. In the course of protection and inheritance, we should pay equal attention to the new concepts of

development, bringing into play the role of cultural relics in the cultivation of morals and talents. We should make every effort to blend the old and the new together, turning the cultural relics of Peking University into a bridge so as to promote Chinese culture into the world and future.

Cultural Relics of the Yan Garden is a commemoration of the history of the Yan Garden and its forerunners. It is also a present to Peking University's 120th anniversary. It is our hope that readers can achieve a better knowledge of the cultural relics of the Yan Garden and thus value them more, and gain new insights into the age-long history of the Yan Garden and deep humanist deposit of Peking University, thereby updating their perceptions and memories about them.

Secretary of the Party Committee of Peking University
Dean of School Affairs Committee
President of the 37th UNESCO General Conference
Hao Ping
October 1, 2017

壹　历史追溯
I. Back Tracing



20世纪初，北京地区有三所主要的教会学校——汇文大学堂、华北协和大学、华北协和女子大学，前两所大学自1916年就开始酝酿合并，但新校名和校长人选到1918年尚未确定，只挂出了“Peking University”的英文牌子。1918年12月3日，设在美国的董事会决定聘请司徒雷登任正在合并的新校校长。 [1] 为了不与当时国立北京大学混淆，经过多番争论，1919年，包括蔡元培、吴雷川、胡适等在内的校名决议委员会在诚静诒的建议下，决定将这所学校命名为“燕京大学”。当时的校部设在北京城东南角盔甲厂一带，校舍简陋，经费短缺，环境十分窘迫。至1920年华北协和女子大学并入时，燕大仍只能使用佟府夹道旧址。重新选择一处新校址，是司徒雷登在答应就任燕京大学校长职务时提出的条件之一， [2] 因此，为燕京大学寻找一个新的地块建设校园成了他上任后的重要工作，他多方联络、四处寻觅，“燕园”这个传世之作正在孕育待生。

In the early 20th century, there were three major missionary schools in Beijing, i.e., Peking Huiwen University, North China Union College and North China Union Women's College. The merger of the former two had been on the cards since 1916, but the name and the president of the new school had not been determined by 1918, with only a sign of "Peking University" in English in use. On December 3, 1918, the Board of Directors based in the United States appointed John Leighton Stuart president of the new school in merge. [1] In order to distinguish it from National Peking University at the time, the university name resolution committee, which included Cai Yuanpei, Wu Leichuan and Hu Shih, after rounds of discussion and upon the suggestion by Cheng Jingyi, finally reached a consensus on "Yenching University". At that time, the college was located near Kuijia

Chang, southeast of Beijing. Due to the shortage of funding, the college buildings were shabby and the general situation was miserable. By the time the North China Union Women's College was incorporated in 1920, Yenching University could only use the old site of Tongfu Jiadao for teaching. A precondition of John Leighton Stuart's consent to the position of president was a new site for the university. 【2】 Therefore, choosing a location for the newborn university was among the top of his agenda after installation. He went hither and thither, and contacted as many people as possible. The legendary "Yan Garden" was in gestation.

坐标的锁定

1919年，中国局势飘摇动荡，当时政府领导者大总统徐世昌、国务总理钱能训，以及“安福国会”幕后领袖段祺瑞等多方势力激烈斗争、鱼龙混杂。第一次世界大战战胜国在法国巴黎召开所谓的“和平会议”，拒绝了中国代表提出的要求，激起了中国人民的强烈反对，五四运动爆发。政治局势的混乱、土地产权的变更反而使得燕京大学购买校址有了更多的可能和选择。1912年溥仪退位，民国政府按照优待皇室条例保全了一部分皇家地产，但是还有很多地产要么被收归民国政府而维护不力，要么属于落魄贵族等待被出手，这为燕大的校址选择提供了有利条件。

燕大先后找到了约十处可能的选址地块，在锁定燕园之前，大概还有两处较为中意。

一是“月坛庙地产”。1919年初，燕大看中了一块叫“月坛庙地产”的地块，大概就在今天的月坛公园附近，离今天的教育部也不太远。司徒雷登一度认为这块地与他心目中的校址接近，并且认为政府会帮助他们说服地块中的农民卖掉土地。然而，燕大很快发现：一方面，政府的法律程序没完没了，各个机构之间互相推诿不作为；另一方面，外国人在华的活动变得越发敏感，无论是政府还是农民，把土地卖给外国人是一件需要慎之又慎的事情。虽然司徒雷登已经向远在大洋彼岸的美国董事会汇报了这块地并得到了认可和授权，但是一段时间过去，购地仍无丝毫进展，司徒雷登也几近绝望，不得不放弃。

二是“动物园地产”。1920年初，冯玉祥的客卿王铁珊与基督教会走得较近，他为燕大找了一块新地，位于西直门外，在当时的农事试验场西侧，大概就是当初傅恒三子福康安贝子的私人园邸“三贝子花园”的继

园，【3】也就是现在动物园的位置。在司徒雷登眼中，这块地的位置和景观都是很动人的，这至少一百亩的土地，索价15,000墨西哥鹰洋，他已决定并托付王铁珊帮助办理这块地的购买事宜。然而，五四运动之后民族主义情绪高涨，将一块具有历史意义的地皮公然卖给外国人，这可能被扣上“卖国贼”的帽子，也可能引发一场动乱。在这种情况下，“动物园地产”的购买计划又夭折了。

在城里的购地计划已经接连挫败，燕大的眼光也开始投向城外更远的地方，司徒雷登曾在回忆录中感慨：“几个世纪以来，京城的外省官吏需要为他们的家族成员准备墓地，便从城外购买地皮。北京的近郊到处都是这类互不相关的私人坟地，很多都破败失修，找不到原地主。”【4】在近郊买不到土地，就不得不扩大寻找范围，说起来，司徒雷登注意到海淀的睿王园还是因为用庚子赔款建的清华学校（1928年更名为国立清华大学）：

> 一天，我应几个朋友之邀到清华园做客。有个朋友对我说：“你为什么不买我们对面的那片地？”我朝那边看了看。那块地正好在去颐和园的马路边上，离城有五英里；因为交通便利，所以比原先看好的几处地点离城更近一些，而且景色也十分迷人，不远处就是著名的西山，那里到处都是中国古代遗留下来的宏伟庙宇和宫殿。这个地方原先是清朝一个亲王废弃的花园，现在是陕西督军陈树藩的避暑山庄和祠堂。我们认识的一名中国官员说他可以帮我们设法买下这块地。不久后，燕大董事会和托事部批准了我们选的这个新校址。第二年夏天，我特地去陕西见了陈督军。他对此非常有兴趣，以六万银元的售价把这块地产卖给了我们，并捐出卖地的三分之一钱款作为奖学金。起初买的一片地有四十英亩，以后我们又逐渐买下了附近几个荒废的花园和空地，使总面积扩大到原来的四倍多。”【5】

事实上早在1918年，就有商人给燕大董事会写信，建议新校址考虑城外的北郊或者西郊。此外，就在目标聚焦在睿王园之前，燕大还曾考虑过“治贝子园地块”，据高厚德【6】先生所述，这块地是“紧靠海淀东北面的一座清朝亲王的园地，距北京西北五英里，外国人叫朝鲜园的，因其曾出租一部分给朝鲜人做养牛场。它虽归属于一位清朝亲王，在北

京外国银行中却有很沉重的抵押。这块地不足大学所需，并且要价过高，校董事会遂放弃了这个计划，希望要价低些或者地界扩大再议。后来这块地还是到了学校手中，用于农学系的实验地。”【7】

位于治贝子园西北方不到一百码的地方，便是睿王园。其实，当时不仅西山已经成为一个很吸引人的旅游之地，而且还有传言说国立北京大学有意迁往玉泉山，这样北大、清华再加上燕大就形成了集聚，更有利于促进燕大的发展和知名度的提升。

这块地的获得还颇费了一番周折。1920年夏天，有了中意的目标，司徒雷登很快便动身前往陕西，与这块地的主人谈购买事宜。睿王园就是之前的淑春园（十笏园），后来燕大的主校区。此地本是陕西督军陈树藩此前以两万银元购得给父亲养老的，当时陈已经把地委托给了一位北京居民邓孝科。邓孝科曾与燕大进行洽谈，并于1920年10月15日与燕大签订契约，作价六万银元。后来，陈树藩不满邓越过他们向燕大索价，经协议把这块地向邓要了回来，而后由陈父将之改为转让给校方的永久性租地契约，以半卖半送的方式作价四万银元给了燕京大学，便宜出的三分之一款项被捐出做奖学金和襄助陕西教育等。

关于燕大购买新校址的过程，1988年12月21日的《文汇报》上曾经刊登过一篇董健吾先生的遗作，记述了司徒雷登如何专程到陕西找陈树藩为燕大买地的经过——司徒雷登准备了20万美金的巨款，到陕西找陈树藩决心买到这块地，在董健吾和李同契等的引荐下，司徒雷登到督军府见陈树藩：

> （陈树藩说：）“我遵照家父宏愿，不是卖给燕大，而是送给燕大。”司徒雷登听的这里，真是出乎意外的高兴透了。但陈话锋一转，接着说：“不过，我要求司徒雷登博士答应我三个条件：（1）在燕京大学内要立碑纪念捐献勺园的家严；（2）要承认我在西安所创办的成德中学为燕大的附属中学；（3）成德中学有权每年保送50名毕业生到燕大上学，一律享受免费待遇。”司徒雷登迅速站起来，向督军和到席的诸位行了一个旋转式

鞠躬礼，然后开始演讲，说他们的业绩，值得他不但在中国赞扬，而且他回到美国的时候，也要广为宣传。陈督军和尊翁将可爱的“勺园”赐给燕大为校址，此举意义极大：一来纪念了尊翁，二来提高了成德中学地位，三是使寒苦学生得以深造，四是促进了燕大的发展。“为善最乐”，今天督军和其尊翁所行的善举，一举而有四得，其乐无穷。【8】

据郝平同志考证，在陈树藩与燕大签订的租地合同中，该园被称为“中诠园”。“中诠”来源于最后一代和硕睿亲王的名字，附近的居民一般称此园为睿亲王花园。而“勺园”则是燕大继睿亲王花园后，购买的与该园相毗连的另一片园地。可能是因为“勺园”是这一带自明代便知名的花园，所以容易错将两园混为一谈。【9】

有了这个完美的邂逅，燕园的坐标就被锁定了。从1919年春季燕京大学成立到1920年11月燕大正式与陕西督军陈树藩签署契约，司徒雷登整整用了一年半的时间。这个约40英亩的地块成了燕园最初的核心区，此后燕大在周边不断扩增。这块土地承载着中国厚重的历史，也传承着中国大学的未来。

Securing the coordinates

The year 1919 saw China stumbling amidst political turmoil. Drastic combats among President Xu Shichang, Prime Minister Qian Nengxun, backstage leader of "Anfu Congress" Duan Qirui and many other forces, were underway. The political scene was a mixture of good and evil. The winning countries of WWI had a so-called "Peace Conference" in Paris and refused the demands raised by the Chinese delegation, which aroused strong oppositions among Chinese people and triggered off the May Fourth Movement. Chaotic political situation and change of land property rights, however, presented more possibilities and choices for Yenching University. When Puyi abdicated in 1912, the government of the Republic of China

maintained some imperial real estate in accordance with the preferential treatment for the imperial. But a great deal of real estate was either taken over by the government who, however, was incapable of proper maintenance, or owned by sorehead nobles, waiting to be sold. This provided a most favorable condition for Yenching University's site selection.

Yenching University had investigated about ten places in succession. Before the final choice was made on the Yan Garden, there were two other places to its liking.

One was the "Temple of Moon property", presumably near the presentday Temple of Moon Park and not far from the Ministry of Education. Yenching University took a fancy to this place in early 1919. For a time Stuart thought it quite close to his desire, and that the government would help to persuade the peasants into selling their lands. Much to its disappointment, however, Yenching University soon found that, on the one hand, there was no end in governmental legal procedures, aggravated by buck passing among administrations; on the other, foreigners' activities in China became a more and more sensitive issue. When selling a piece of land to a foreigner, the seller, be it the government or the peasant, would exercise extreme prudence. Although Stuart had already informed the Board of Directors far back across the ocean and obtained recognition and authorization, there was no trace of progress in land purchase after a period of time. In near despair, Stuart could not but give up.

The other was the "Zoo property" in the present-day Beijing Zoo. In early 1920, Wang Tieshan, a familiar of Feng Yuxiang, who had a close relationship with the Christian church, found a place for Yenching University

in Xizhimenwai, west of the Experimental Farms at the time. It is presumably the Jiyuan Garden of Fukang'an, a prince of the fourth degree and third son of Fuheng. 【3】 The land no less than 100 *mu* charged at 15,000 Mexican silver dollars was, as Stuart saw it, agreeable in both location and view. He then entrusted Wang Tieshan with the transaction. Unfortunately, however, at a time when nationalism ran high as a result of the May Fourth Movement, to sell barefaced a piece of land of historical significance to a foreigner may result in the label of a "traitor", or cause chaos. In consequence, the purchase of the "Zoo property" miscarried as well.

Repeated setbacks in land purchases inside the city caused Yenching University to set its eyes on the suburbs. In his memoirs Stuart so wrote:"For many centuries officials from other provinces residing in the capital had needed a burial site for members of their families and had purchased plots adjacent to the city. The environs of Peking are full of these unrelated private cemeteries, many of them in disrepair and belonging to owners who cannot be traced." 【4】 Unable to buy a land on the outskirts, Yenching University had to broaden its scope of search still further. It is possible that Yenching University's first knowledge about the Garden of Prince Rui in Haidian started from Tsinghua College (renamed National Tsinghua University in 1928), partly funded by the Boxer Indemnity.

> One day I was invited to Tsinghua College by some friends, and one of them said, "Why don't you buy that property across from ours?" I looked at it, on the main highway to the Summer Palace—five miles out, but really nearer to Peking because of a good road than many other nearer places already considered, and quite attractive. The location was toward the celebrated Western Hills upon the slopes of which cluster some of the loveliest temples and palaces of China's great past. It had been the ruined garden of a Manchu prince but was now used by Governor Ch'en Shu-fan of Shensi as a summer villa and ancestral hall. An official we knew said he would try to secure it for us. The Managers and Trustees

> approved the proposed site and the next summer I went to the capital of Shensi to see Governor Ch'en. The Governor showed great interest, sold us the property for $60,000 in Chinese currency, and contributed one-third of the purchase price for scholarships. The original purchase was forty acres in a solid piece. In course of time, we bought adjoining gardens also in ruins or open land amounting in all to more than four times the original tract. 【5】

As a matter of fact, Yenching University Board of Directors had received letters from businessmen as early as in 1918, suggesting the northern or western suburbs as the site of the new campus. Moreover, before attention was focused on the Garden of Prince Rui, the University had considered "Zhibeizi Garden property". According to Howard S. Galt 【6】 , this land "was the garden of a Qing-dynasty prince closely adjacent to northeast of Haidian. It was five miles to northwest of Beijing, and called by foreigners a 'Korean garden' because part of it had been rented out to Koreans for cow breeding. Although it belonged to a Qing-dynasty prince, it had already been heavily mortgaged to a foreign bank in Beijing. As the land was insufficient for university needs and the price too high, the Board decided to drop it unless the price could be lowered down or the area expanded. Anyhow it went to the hands of the University at last, as experimental fields for the Department of Agriculture." 【7】

No more than 100 yards to the northwest of the Zhibeizi Garden was the Garden of Prince Rui. As a matter of fact, the Western Hills at the time had already become an attractive tourist destination, and rumors had it that National Peking University had intended to move to the Jade Spring Hill. If that really was the case, National Peking University, Tsinghua College and Yenching University would form a cluster conducive to Yenching University's development and reputation.

The acquisition of this land was not without difficulties. Now that a target was set, Stuart soon went to Shaanxi to negotiate with the land owner in the summer of 1920. The Garden of Prince Rui was the former Shuchun Garden and became the main campus of Yenching University later. Governor Chen Shufan had bought it at 20,000 silver dollars for his father to live in retirement, and then entrusted it to a Beijing resident by the name of Deng Xiaoke. Deng Xiaoke had negotiations with Yenching University and signed the contract on October 15, 1920 at the price of 60,000 silver dollars. Afterwards, Governor Chen disapproved of Deng's overstepping and took back the land from Deng by an agreement. Then Chen's father rented the land to Yenching University permanently at 40,000 silver dollars only. The 20,000 silver dollars thus saved were donated as scholarship funds and used to develop the education in Shaanxi province.

About the details of this purchase, an article by Dong Jianwu on *Wenhui Bao* of December 21, 1988 recorded how Stuart went out of his way to Shaanxi to purchase the land from Chen Shufan. Stuart went with 200,000 US dollars, determined to get this land from Governor Chen. By the introduction of Dong Jianwu and Li Tongqi, Stuart arrived at Chen's residence:

> (Governor Chen said:) "I will act as my father wished. I would not sell it to Yenching University, but give it to you as a present." That was too much beyond Stuart's expectation, and he was overjoyed. But Chen went on: "I do have three conditions. (1) A memorial should be established for my respected father who has donated this Shaoyuan Garden. (2) Chengde Middle School, which I have founded in Xi'an, should be recognized as the attached school to Yenching University. (3) Chengde Middle School is entitled to send 50 graduates to Yenching University every year, free of charge." At these words, Stuart stood on his feet at once, and bowed around to the governor and others present. He said that what they had done was not only worthy to be praised in China, but in America as well, after he went back. It is of great significance that Governor Chen and his respected father donate the lovely Shaoyuan Garden to Yenching

> University: First, it is a remembrance of the respected father. Second, it upgrades the status of Chengde Middle School. Third, it enables poor students to continue their study. Fourth, it promotes the development of Yenching University. Doing good is the happiest thing. The governor and his respected father have done four good things in one deed. That happiness is unbounded. 【8】

According to Hao Ping, in the land lease contract between Chen Shufan and Yenching University, the garden was called the "Zhongquan Garden" named after Zhongquan, the last-generation descendent of Prince Rui. Residents in the neighborhood generally called it the Garden of Prince Rui. The Shaoyuan Garden, however, was an adjacent garden bought by Yenching University later. As the Shaoyuan Garden had long been well known ever since the Ming dynasty, it was most likely that people often confused the two. 【9】

With this almost perfect meeting, the coordinates of the Yan Garden were secured. From the spring of 1919 when Yenching University was established to November 1920 when Yenching University formally signed the contract with Governor Chen Shufan of Shaanxi, it took Stuart one and a half years. In the days to come, the Yan Garden would gradually expand around this 40-acre core area, heavily loaded with the history of China and the future of Chinese universities.

历史的承载

虽然燕大得到这块地时它几近废墟，但这块地可谓历经了沧桑，见证过兴亡。

燕大从陈树藩手中得到的土地主要是睿王园，又叫墨尔根园（“睿”字满语为“墨尔根”），是清初摄政王多尔衮的后代睿亲王仁寿的居所。1860年，英法联军入侵北京，火烧圆明园，睿王园也遭到了破坏，之后同治年间重修圆明园时还曾从这里拆过建筑材料。大概到1881年，睿王园就只有“临风待月楼”一座较大建筑物了，侯仁之先生认为，当时这个建筑便处于现在的临湖轩位置，临湖轩前面的一对白皮松，也应该是在临风待月楼初建时就已经栽植下来的。【10】 后来，又发生了1900年八国联军再次火烧圆明园事件，到1922年燕园开始建设时，原来的临风待月楼应该已经不见了，园中的慈济寺也只剩下一座山门。庆幸的是这个山门被保留了下来，这也是追溯历史的又一坐标。

睿王园再往前追溯，便是淑春园。在乾隆把淑春园赐给和珅之后，该园的大规模建设便开始了，水田被改造为湖泊水系，园林建设也颇为用心。但也正是淑春园，成了和珅大罪二十款中的第十三款：“其园寓点缀，竟与圆明园蓬岛瑶台无异，不知是何肺肠？”【11】 据奉命查抄和珅家产的永锡等人奏折称：“全园房屋1003间，游廊楼亭357间。”【12】 可想当年淑春园的亭台楼榭、湖光山色是何等奢华。直至嘉庆四年（1799），淑春园被分为东西两部分，东部较大、西部较小，东部赐给了乾隆第十一子永瑆，丰绅殷德和十公主留住在西部。1823年，在永瑆和十公主相继去世之后，按惯例淑春园被收归内务府所有，之后才赐给了睿亲王。

其实，燕园里的古园最早可以追溯到的是明代米万钟的“勺园”，勺

园不仅是燕园中开辟最早的一块园林，也是海淀园林开辟的先驱。相对于睿王园来说，勺园的名气要大得多，难怪很多人认为燕大最先买的校址是勺园。关于勺园的历史，曾任燕京大学教务长的洪业作过考证。洪业又叫洪煨莲（英文名：William），是侯仁之先生的老师，[【13】] 他23岁赴美留学，五年内拿了三个学位，他言辞流利、文采斐然，英文好到足以让大多数美国人羡慕，且兼通中西、风度翩翩。洪业1921年接受了燕京大学聘约，并在回校任教之前被邀与燕大副校长亨利·W．鲁斯（又名路思义）在美国为燕京大学筹款一年。[【14】] 回到北京后，历史学出身的洪业开始搜集关于燕大新校址一带的书籍、手稿、诗词、绘画。他于1928年写作的第一篇考证文章便是关于两块在燕大校址出土的明朝墓志铭——《明吕乾斋吕宇衡祖孙二墓志铭考》，由出土的墓志铭也可确认，燕大校址的一部分原是明朝米万钟画过的勺园，洪业还买到了这幅画，而且把画及关于勺园的文件收集在一起出版了。[【15】]

据考证，勺园是米万钟在1612年开始构筑的。米万钟作为万历年间著名书画家，与董其昌号称“南董北米”。他虽是北方人，但十余年的南方宦游经历对他的园林建造影响至深，他巧妙地运用了水，并且园林的设计体现着他的性格和处世之道。这个园子竣工后，其盛名已经超过了米万钟的书画，园林的名字也与它的设计一样呈现美感：

> 因为园中只取了海淀一勺之水，也因为他认为“勺”是形容米氏家族的一种合适的容器，他把新园命名为勺园。之后不久，李伟在勺园西侧建立了一个远近闻名的园子……两个园子都很漂亮。据说明朝的一个内阁大学士曾这样赞扬他们高雅的品位：“米园不俗，李园不酸”。明朝灭亡以后很久，李园早已成为皇家园林[【16】]，而米家依旧其乐融融地居住在勺园。[【17】]

历史上关于勺园的记载甚多，康熙年间还曾在勺园的旧址上重建了弘雅园，根据洪业的《勺园图录考》记载，这里曾做过贵族积哈纳（郑恭亲王）的府邸，之后便以“群贤毕至、少长咸集”之意改作“集贤院”，

供从城里赶来的文武官员上朝前后落脚。关于这片园子的历史，有一个很值得回忆的事件，在乾隆五十八年（1793），英王乔治三世第一次派遣特使马嘎尔尼出使中国，企图修改通商章程和在北京派驻公使。为了便于马嘎尔尼在圆明园朝觐，清廷特地为使团在海淀预留了一处住所，这处住所就是弘雅园。【18】

虽然在1920年燕京大学最先获得的校址以睿王园为主，并不包含勺园旧址，但是勺园很快也被购入，并且一直是燕园中不可或缺的一部分，这个名称也一直保留至今。现在，北大图书馆中还藏有米万钟于万历四十五年（1617）手绘的《勺园修禊图》。

Load of history

Though almost in ruins when rented, the land has weathered through ups and downs in history.

The land Yenching University rented from Chen Shufan was chiefly the Garden of Prince Rui, also called Moergen Garden (for "rui" in Manchu is "oergen"), which was the residence of Prince Rui (Renshou), posterity of Prince Regent Dorgon of the early Qing dynasty. In 1860, when the AngloFrench Allied Forces invaded Beijing and set the Yuanming Yuan on fire, the Garden of Prince Rui was destroyed as well, and, to make matters worse, when the Yuanming Yuan was rebuilt during the reign of Emperor Tongzhi, building materials were taken from here. Thus by 1881 or so, the Garden of Prince Rui was reduced to one larger structure, i.e., the Linfeng Daiyue Building only. According to Hou Renzhi, the building was located at the very place of the present-day Linhu House, and the couple of lacebark pines in front of the Linhu House must have been planted when the building

was first built. [10] Later in 1900, the Yuanming Yuan was burnt for good by the forces of the Eight-Nation Alliance. By the construction of the Yan Garden in 1922, the original Linfeng Daiyue Building must have gone, and the Ciji Temple had only a gate to mourn, which was quite a relief though, for it became another coordinate when we go back in history.

Tracing still further, the predecessor of the Garden of Prince Rui was the Shuchun Garden. After Emperor Qianlong bestowed it to Heshen, a most powerful official at the time, there ensued a big-scale construction. Paddy fields were changed into rivers and lakes, and the garden construction was all too meticulous. However, it was this very Shuchun Garden that became the thirteenth charge against Heshen among the twenty ones: "The decorations in his garden are very much the same as the Immortal Abode on Penglai Island (Pengdao Yaotai) in the Yuanming Yuan. What does he mean by that?" [11] According to the memorials to the throne submitted by Yongxi and others who were ordered to confiscate the family property of Heshen: "There are 1,003 rooms altogether, and 357 porches, chambers and pavilions." [12] Just imagine the luxury of the pavilions, terraces, chambers and gazebos, and the landscape! Until the fourth year of Emperor Jiaqing's reign (1799), the Shuchun Garden was divided into the eastern and western parts. The bigger eastern part was given to Yongxing, the eleventh son of Emperor Qianlong, while Fengshen Yinde and the Tenth Princess resided in the western part. In 1823, after Yongxing and the Tenth Princess died successively, the Shuchun Garden was, by customary rule, confiscated by the Imperial Household Department. It was given to Prince Rui in later years.

In fact, the history of the Yan Garden can be traced back to the Shaoyuan Garden of Mi Wanzhong, a famed painter-calligrapher of the Ming dynasty.

It was the oldest garden in the Yan Garden and Haidian district as well. In reputation it far exceeded the Garden of Prince Rui. No wonder most people believed that it was the earliest garden bought by Yenching University. Hong Ye (also known as William Hung), former Dean of Yenching University and tutor of Hou Renzhi, 【13】 made a specific research on the history of the Shaoyuan Garden. William went to study in America at the age of 23 and obtained three academic degrees within five years. His fluency and literacy in English was the envy of even most natives. Well versed in both Western and Chinese cultures, the graceful young man accepted Yenching University's offer in 1921, and before taking office, was invited to raise funds for Yenching University in the US together with Yenching University's Vice President Henry W. Luce for one year. 【14】 Back to Beijing, William the historian began to collect books, manuscripts, poems and paintings about Yenching University's new site. His first textual research in 1928 was on two epitaphs unearthed on the site—"Research on the Epitaphs of Lü Qianzhai and Lü Yuheng, Grandfather and Grandson, of the Ming Dynasty". It can be confirmed from the epitaphs per se that part of Yenching University's new site was the Shaoyuan Garden depicted in Mi Wanzhong's painting. William even bought the painting and published it together with other documents about the Shaoyuan Garden. 【15】

According to research, the construction of the Shaoyuan Garden began in 1612. A famous painter-calligrapher during the reign of Emperor Wanli, Mi Wanzhong was often referred to together with Dong Qichang as the "southern Dong and northern Mi". Though a northerner, Mi's over ten years of official travels in the south exerted a deep influence on his garden. Water was ingeniously applied in its design, which represented the personality and

philosophy of life of its owner. When the garden was completed, its fame exceeded that of his calligraphy and painting. The name of the garden, likewise, presented no less beauty than the garden itself:

> As the garden had only taken a ladleful of water from Haidian, and as Mi believed the "ladle" (*shao* in Chinese) was a suitable container for the description of his family, the new garden was named the "Shaoyuan Garden" accordingly. Before long, Li Wei built a renowned garden in the west of the Shaoyuan Garden … the two gardens were both attractive. A member of the Grand Secretariat of the Ming dynasty was reported to praise the cultivated taste of the two: "Mi's garden is not vulgar; Li's garden is not shabby." Long after the ending of the Ming dynasty, Li's garden had become an imperial garden 【16】, while the Mi family still lived happily in the Shaoyuan Garden. 【17】

There is no lack of records about the Shaoyuan Garden in history. During the reign of Emperor Kangxi, the Hongya Garden was rebuilt on its former site. According to William Hung's *An Illustrative Catalogue of the Shaoyuan Garden* , it used to be the residence of Jihana (Prince Zhenggong), and was then renamed Jixian Garden (Garden of Worthy Scholars) for civil and military officials to take a rest on their way to the court. There was a memorable incident about this garden: In the 58th year of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1793), King George III of the Great Britain sent Envoy George Macartney to China, in a mission to open new ports for British trade in China and establish a permanent embassy in Beijing. For the convenience of Macartney's audience with the Emperor in the Yuanming Yuan, a residence was reserved for the corps in Haidian—that was the Hongya Garden. 【18】

Although the Shaoyuan Garden was not included in Yenching University's 1920 lease contract, which featured the Garden of Prince Rui, it was soon acquired and became an inseparable part of the Yan Garden, retaining its

original name. The Peking University Library now boasts Mi Wanzhong's painting about a literati gathering in the Shaoyuan Garden drawn in the 45th year of Emperor Wanli's reign (1617).

校园的诞生

在司徒雷登将燕园坐标锁定之后不久，受高厚德邀请，美国建筑设计师亨利·墨菲和斯塔奇博士就来到了这块燕京大学新校址进行勘测。在细致测绘并拍摄了一组照片之后，墨菲开始真正将这块西望玉泉山、东临刚刚建成大礼堂和图书馆的清华学校（墨菲设计）、北靠圆明园、南对海淀稻田荒地的基地纳入到自己先前的设计图纸上来。那个时候他不会想到，从绘制第一张设计图（1919年底）、开始施工（1922年春）到校园全部建设竣工（1929年10月）竟花费了十年时间。他也不会想到，自己建立在紫禁城及其西郊园林之上的对中国古代建筑的想象会与这块穿越古今中外、连接天地人物的土地发生怎样的化学反应，最终造就了这座“世界最美丽的大学校园”，并引起后来每一个踏进这座园子的人对于燕园的无限遐想与美好回忆。

事实上，司徒雷登早已找到墨菲，邀请其担任燕京大学新校园的设计师，并在不考虑校址的具体情况下，提前设计校园建筑，所以1919年底燕京大学校园规划的第一张鸟瞰图就已经诞生了。尽管它与后来实际勘察之后的设计方案相去甚远，但仍可让我们对这位美国建筑师的设计理念有一个直观印象。



【墨菲最初的设计方案（1919年12月）】
（图片来源：《从废园到燕园》，第15页）

墨菲何许人也？为何司徒雷登在校址尚未确定、建校资金毫无着落的情况下就开始新学校的规划呢？为何一所由传教士合办的教会大学在一开始就采取了一种非常具有中国特点的建筑样式呢？

这些都需要从墨菲的个人经历讲起。他1877年出生在美国纽黑文，1899年毕业于耶鲁大学，在大学二年级时就对建筑产生兴趣，毕业后在纽约的数家事务所先后担任画图员。1906年墨菲结束欧洲旅行回美国后，即和朋友达纳挂牌成立自己的事务所，开始了独立从业的道路。1914年初春，受在华传教组织雅礼会（成员以耶鲁大学师生为主）邀请，墨菲带着妻子从西雅图出发乘船前往中国，为当时在湖南长沙新建立的雅礼大学设计一座教学楼——这是墨菲在中国的第一个作品。那时他还没有看过真正的中国古代建筑，却在这个方案中采用了中国式的屋顶，同时在屋顶上又开了五扇老虎窗，从而使整栋建筑的风格介于中西之间。之后他乘火车前往北京，第一件事便是去参观紫禁城。四天之后，同为耶鲁大学校友、时任清华学校校长的周诒春便邀请他尽可能快地为其建造一所留美预备学校的主要建筑，于是墨菲很快在上海成立了

纽约事务所远东分部——茂旦洋行，并开始了清华学校的设计方案。1918年墨菲再次来到中国，没多久，亚洲就成为其事务所的重要项目来源地。后来他不但在南京指导吕彦直[19]共同设计了金陵女子大学，也正式接受了燕京大学的业务委托。





整块地产含有人工小山、水道和岛屿，有溪流由西注入，源头与玉泉





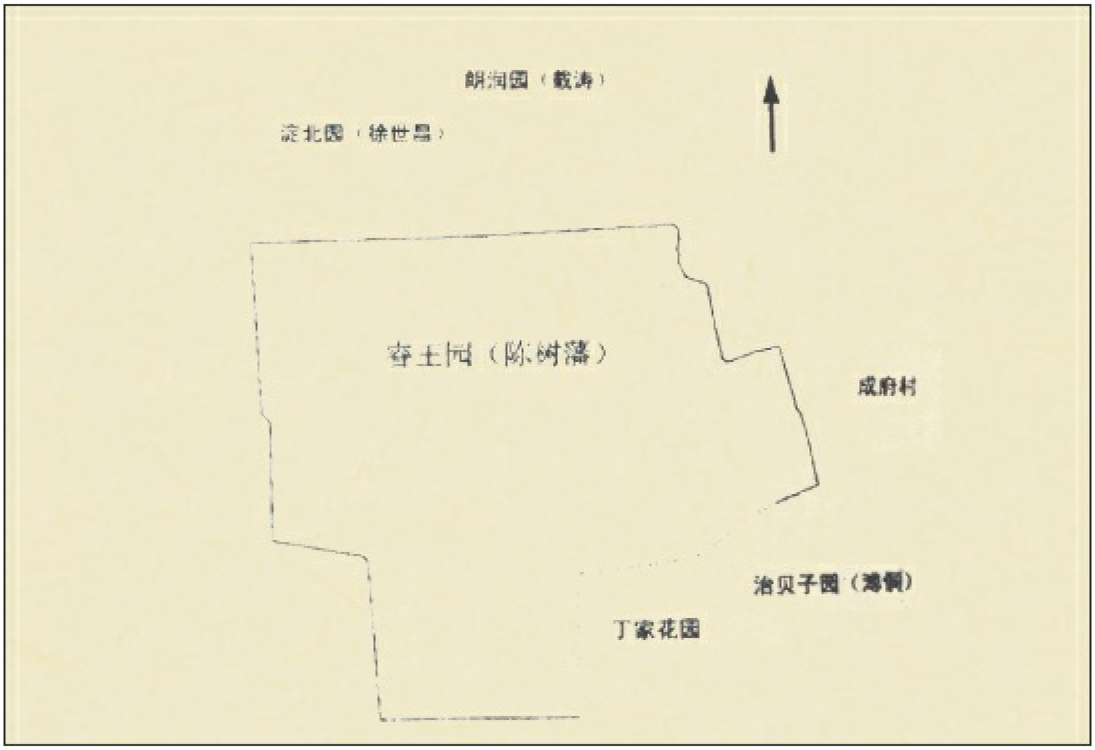
【一墨菲设计的雅礼大学教学楼】
【二清华学校大礼堂】
【三金陵女子大学主楼】
【四金陵女子大学鸟瞰图】
（图片来源：方拥主编：《藏山蕴海：北大建筑与园林》，北京大学出版社2013年版，第98页、第99页、第100页）

第一次勘察燕大新址的报告这样写道：

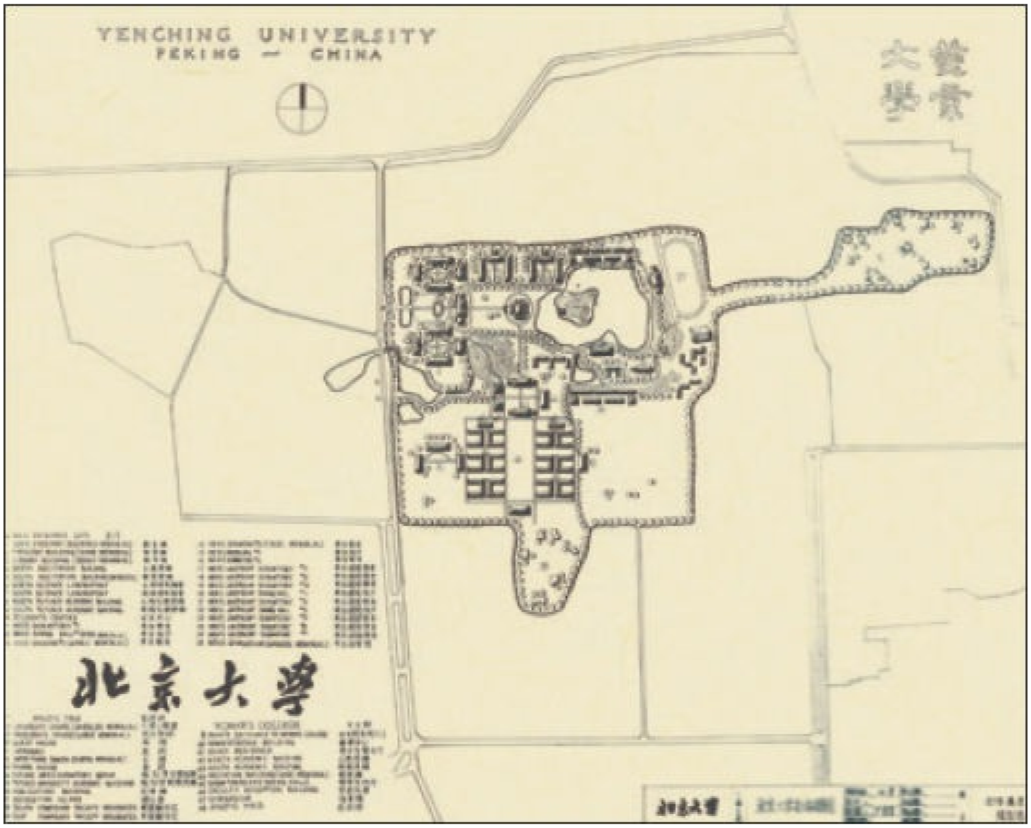
整块地产含有人工小山、水道和岛屿，有溪流由西注入，源头与玉泉

山和颐和园的相同。巨大杉树和松树、人工岩穴和石窟加强了此处的自然美，从地产的最高点可以看见周遭的乡野景色。

总体状况：遵高厚德先生之嘱，我们对地产和附近地方的状况进行了测绘，也进行了地势测绘，估计附近建筑石头的数量，因为附近有许多大量花岗岩石头，状况适足满足建筑新房子的需要。地势测绘可能是最重要的，因为这对利用地面上不规则性的自然艺术的潜质最有好处，从而可以让建筑师墨菲先生着手安排他的大学建筑的群组。[20]



【墨菲在1920年底第一次实测燕京大学新校址的形状】
（图片来源：《从废园到燕园》，第42页）



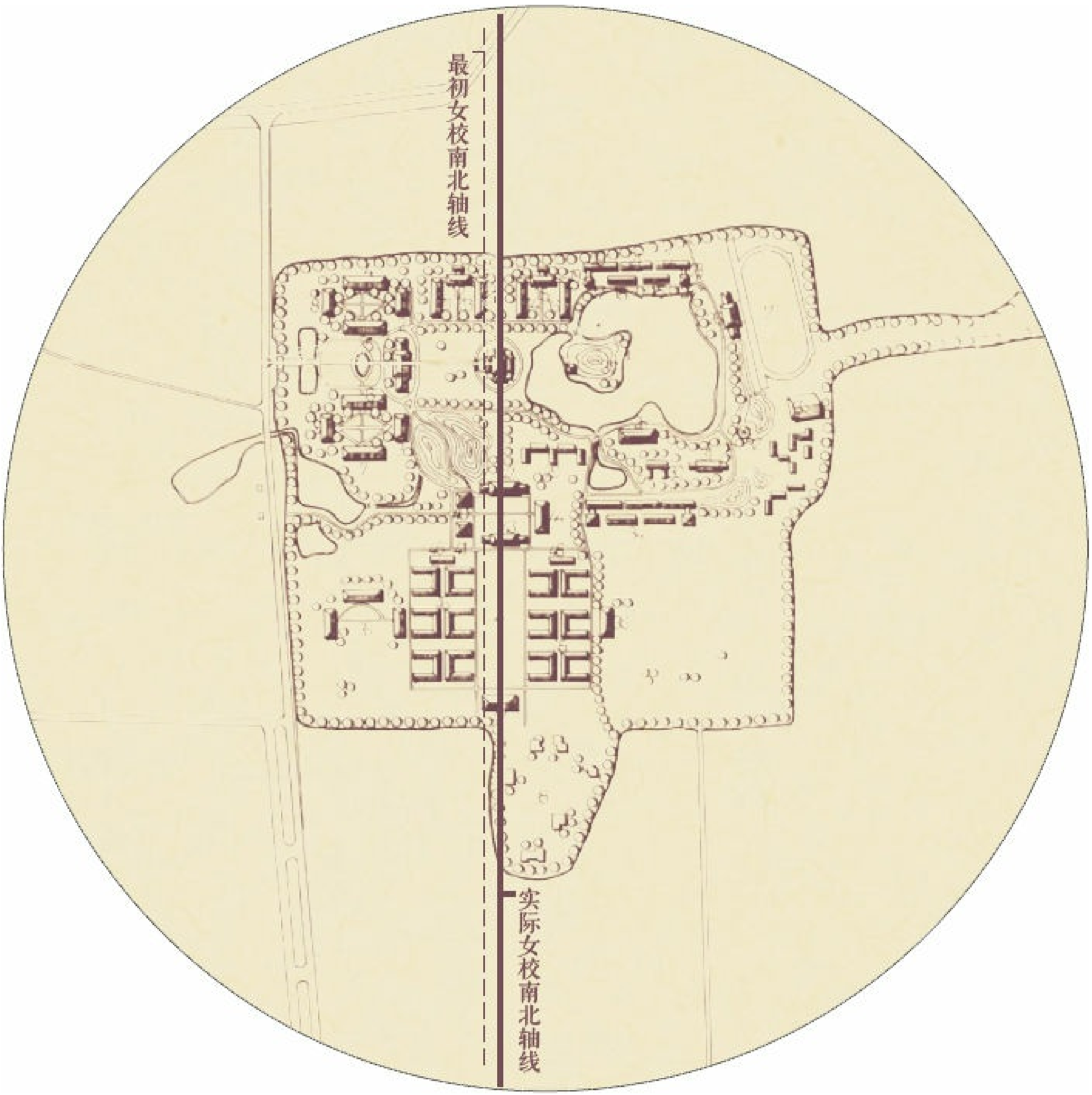
【1921年燕京大学规划总平面图】
（图片来源：《北京大学海淀校区总体改扩建规划》，1991）

所以墨菲带着自己原先的设计图来到实地进行勘测后，不得不作出调整，因为他必须考虑到两方面的因素：一是基地形状不规则，原先的严格对称、近乎方形的布局已经不合实际；二是基地地势虽然起伏不大，但山水高低错落【21】。第二个问题某种程度上和第一个问题相关，如果把这些沟沟壑壑都填平，无疑会增加有效的建筑面积，但后果则可能是我们今天看到的未名湖区将失去其特有的山水地貌，未名湖本身也将不存。因此需要在山水之间寻找新的规划思路，才能将湖区如画的自然风光和规整的轴线对称建筑群落相匹配。而墨菲的解决办法似乎也很简单，既然形状不规则，那就把原先的方案进行删减，使之在保留一定程度对称性的前提下符合现有的地形条件。为此需要首先确定的是两条轴线，这样才能保证其他建筑的合适位置。



【燕园的东西轴线】
（图片来源：截取自网络地图）

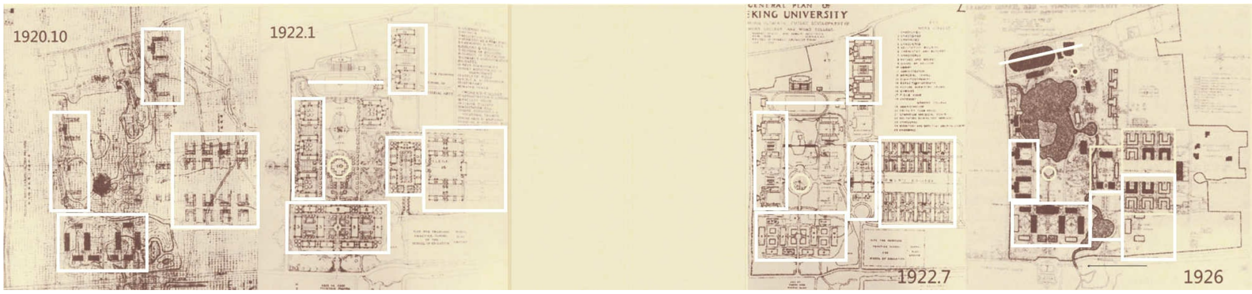
长期以来，一直流传着这样一个故事，当时墨菲站在一座小山上极力寻找地形与中轴线之间的内在联系，他突然望见玉泉山，很高兴地说：“那边就是我想找的端点，我们的轴线应指向玉泉山上的那座塔。”今天看来，沿着玉泉山、西校门、办公楼、湖心岛，的确存在一条轴线。整个校园主体坐东朝西，接下来只需要找到合适的南北轴线即可。然而这个转了90°的“紫禁城”和中国建筑坐北朝南的传统并不合，因为传统的建筑朝向以南面为尊，如果南面不可，则东向也可以，很少有将正门朝西开的。即使从采光的角度来讲，西向也不合适，因为东向可以带来清晨的阳光，南向有利于采光朝阳，而西向会带来下午的日晒，通常应该避免。对此有一种解释是西方教堂入口多设在西侧[22]。



【燕园的南北轴线】
（图片来源：《北京大学海淀校区总体改扩建规划》， 1991）

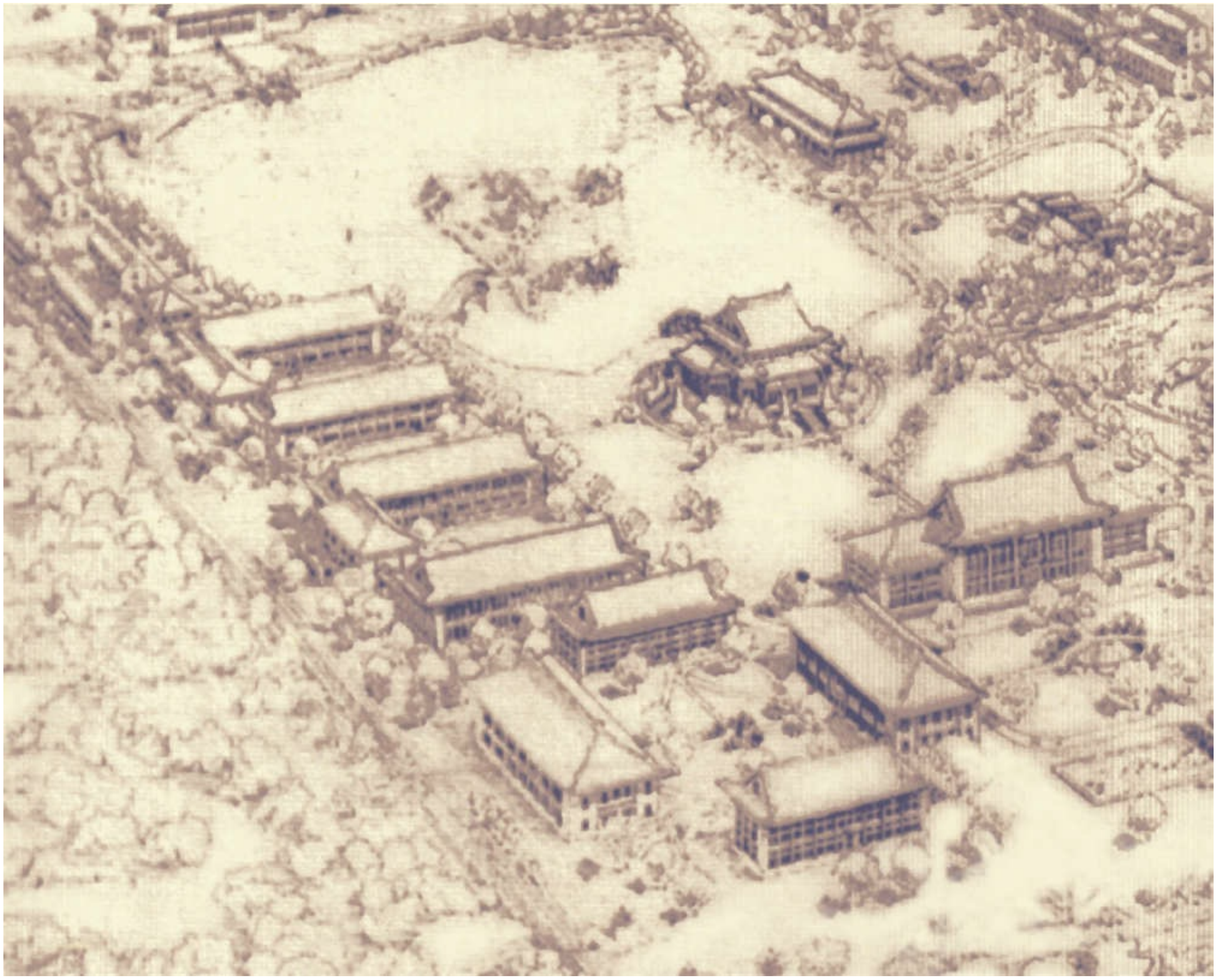
在确定东西主轴线之后，接下来就需要确定南北次轴线来安排女校的教学和生活设施。在原始测绘中墨菲把石舫作为基准点，但在施工过程中不知石舫被谁移动过，导致实际上女校的轴线向东偏离了很小一段距离。在完成确定轴线的基础工作之后，墨菲开始更具体的单体建筑设计，因为学校最初希望在1924年9月以前能迁到新校址，而迁校的最基

本条件是：建设起用于大学管理的行政楼一座，用于上课和研究的科学楼两座，两个宿舍区的建筑合院和27处教工住宅。[23]



【从1920年10月到1926年间墨菲完成的四张燕京大学校园规划平面图】（图片来源：按时间顺序分别取自《从废园到燕园》第43页、《藏山蕴海：北大建筑与园林》第113页、《从废园到燕园》第85页和第78页）

从仅有的四张墨菲在不同时间完成的校园规划平面图中可以发现，包括男女生宿舍、教学和行政楼群在内的几个核心区域的设计方案并没有发生太大变化，唯一的问题在于规划房屋建筑太多，1929年最终建成时这些规划都不同程度缩了水。这是因为燕京大学在最初就希望“是为了十年，十五年甚至二十年的需要而规划的，因此规划必须预期五千至一万学生的居住需要”[24]，这导致墨菲在增大单体建筑尺度的同时又增加了数量。而等到真正开始施工时，墨菲却发现燕京大学所在的地质构造不适于大规模营建，后来为了稳固地基需要购买额外的卵石、沙子进行加固，单体建筑的成本大幅增加，墨菲不得不适当削减整体建筑规模。





【1926年燕京大学校园规划鸟瞰图】

事实上，设计师的方案必须考虑学校两种不同的需要：一套是校方

真正亟需建设的可以使学校早日开始运作的建筑，包括行政楼、教学楼和宿舍楼等等；另一套是供校方说服美国的捐款人参与进来、愿意掏钱的校园假想设计方案。而两种方案之间互相拉扯，所以在最初的几年里，尽管墨菲作为设计师对于整个规划方案最有发言权，但捐助人的潜在意见、学校对于师生需求的考量、施工中遇到的实际困难甚至燕京大学在纽约的托事部都不同程度地影响了每一次修改，当然每次修改都让燕京大学不得不支付给墨菲额外的设计费用。

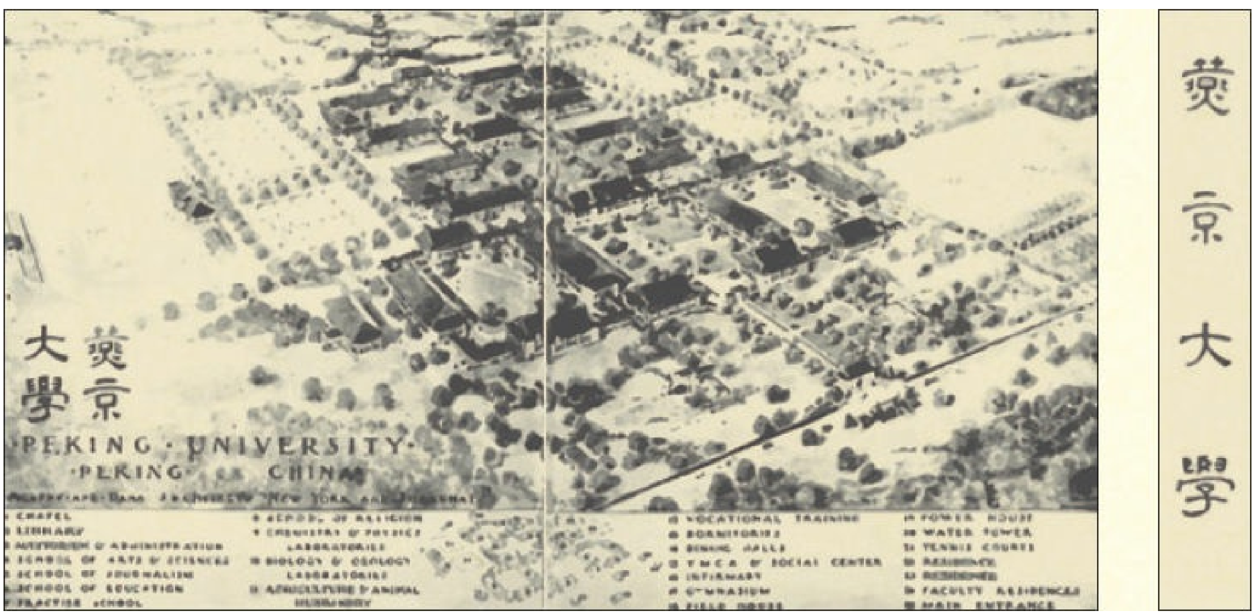
1922年对于燕京大学来说是一个不同寻常的年份。这一年春天，新校址终于破土动工。1923年4月，两组四座男生宿舍（现“德才均备”斋）、女校的讲堂、教工宿舍、食堂，都已经开始兴建。在最初的校址上已经可以预见到一幢幢拔地而起的新校舍，这座沉寂了多年的古老园林终于迎来新的生命，燕园的轮廓也逐渐勾勒形成。到1929年，经过整整7年的建设，一座耗资360万元建成的燕京大学新校园才在北京城西郊的海淀正式落成，并从此被冠以“燕园”的美称。

Birth of the campus

Not long after the coordinates were secured, Galt invited the American architects Henry Murphy and Dr. Stuckey to investigate the site Stuart had chosen. After careful survey and photographing, Murphy began in real earnest to take this land into his design drawing: in the west was the Jade Spring Hill, in the east was Tsinghua College of his own design, with a freshly completed auditorium and library, in the north was the Yuanming Yuan, and in the south, a stretch of paddy fields. At the time, he could not have imagined that it would take him ten years from the first design drawing in the end of 1919, to real construction in the spring of 1922, and to final completion in October 1929. Nor could he have imagined that the chemical

reactions between his imagination of ancient Chinese architecture based upon the Forbidden City and gardens on the western outskirts and this piece of land, which traversed space and time and connected heaven and earth, would eventually engender "the most beautiful university campus in the world", arousing infinite reveries and pleasant memories in everyone stepping in.

The fact is, Stuart had long ago invited Henry Murphy to design the new campus, without consideration of the concrete conditions of the site. Therefore, the first bird's-eye view of the campus plan had been born by the end of 1919. Although it was world apart from the design plan after Murphy's site inspection, we can still have a direct impression of the design concept of this American architect.



The original plan of Murphy (December 1919)
(Source: *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 15)

Who on earth was this Murphy? How come Stuart began the school planning when neither the site was settled nor the construction fund secured? Why did a church university jointly established by missionaries adopt a typical

Chinese architectural style from the very start?

The answers lie in Murphy's personal experience. Born in New Haven, US in 1877, Murphy was graduated from Yale in 1899. He began to be interested in architecture when a sophomore, and worked consecutively as a draftsman for several offices in New York after graduation. Back from his European travel in 1906, Murphy started his own office with his friend Richard Henry Dana Jr. Upon invitation of the Yale-in-China, chiefly composed of teachers and students of Yale University, Murphy and his wife embarked on the ship for China from Seattle in the early spring of 1914. His task was to design a teaching building for the newly established College of Yale-in-China in Changsha, Hunan province. As it turned out, that building became Murphy's first work in China. By then, he had not seen a real ancient Chinese architecture, but he adopted Chinese roof in his plan, and opened five dormant windows on the roof, making the whole building a compound of Chinese and Western styles. After that, he went by train to Beijing and visited the Forbidden City right away. Four days later, Zhou Yichun, then President of Tsinghua College and his schoolmate at Yale, invited him to build a main building for the preparatory school as soon as possible, whereupon Murphy soon set up a Far East branch in Shanghai—Murphy & Dana Architects, and set about his design for Tsinghua College. In 1918 Murphy came to China again. Before long, most of his important projects were carried out in Asia. He then directed the design of Ginling College together with Lü Yanzhi【19】 in Nanjing, and formally accepted Yenching University's commission.







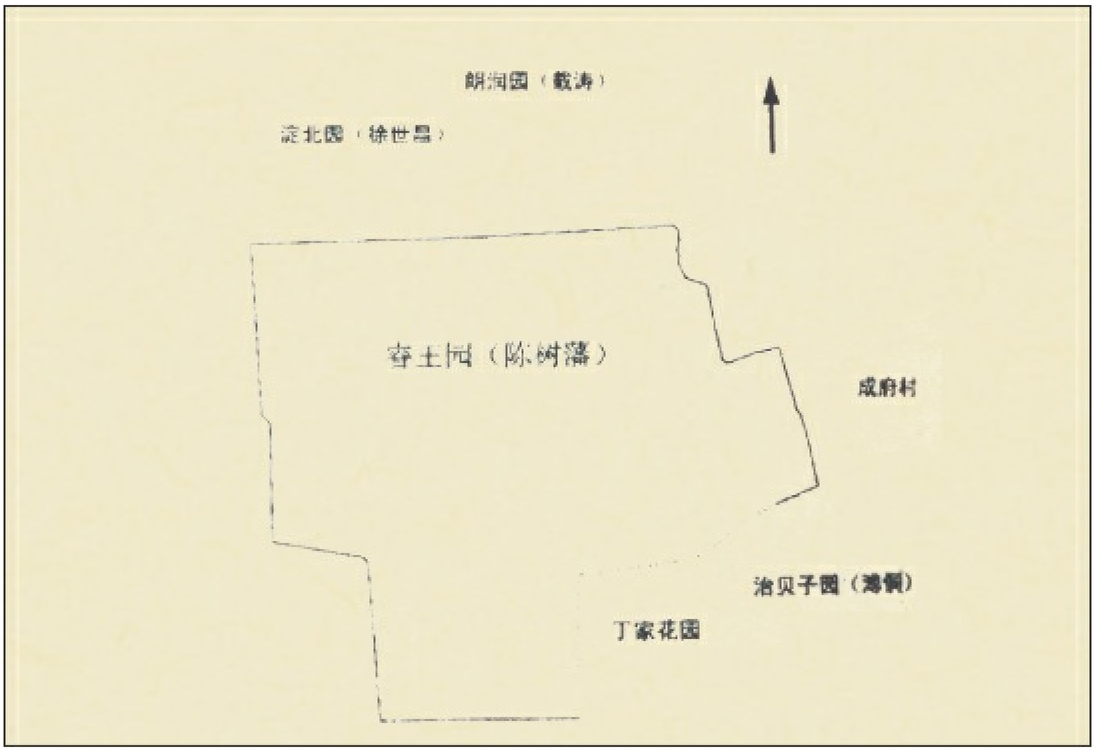

1. Teaching building of College of Yale-in-China designed by Murphy
2. Auditorium of Tsinghua College
3. Main building of Ginling College
4. A bird's-eye view of Ginling College
(Sources: *Crouching Mountains, Hidden Sea: Architecture and Gardens of Peking University* , Fang Yong ed., Peking University Press, 2013, p. 98, p. 99, p. 100)

The report on the first survey of Yenching University's new site so wrote:

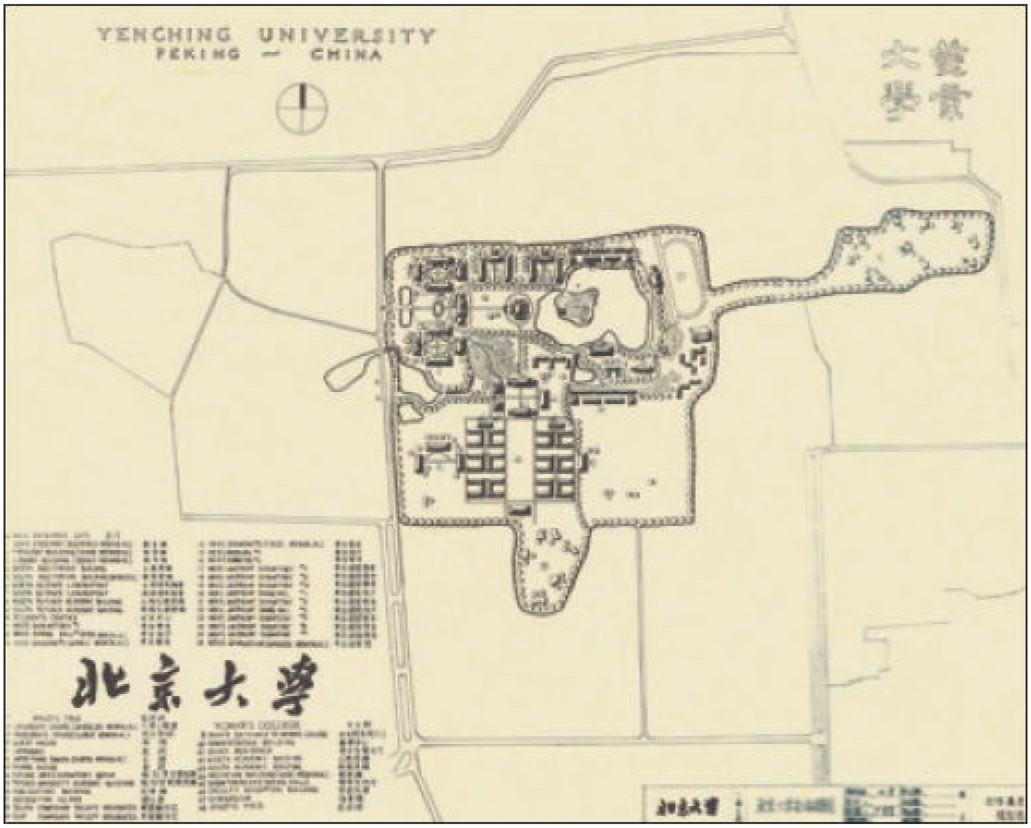
The whole property includes artificial hills, waterways and islands. There is a

stream flowing from the west, which shares the same origin with the Jade Spring Hill and the Summer Palace. The huge cedars, pine trees, artificial grottos and rock caves gild the natural beauty of the place, and from the highest point one can have a glimpse of the countryside scenery that surrounds it.

General condition: Upon Galt's entrustment, we have made a survey of the conditions of the property and its surroundings, including terrain mapping and calculation of building stones. The huge quantity of granite stones meets the need for new houses. Terrain mapping is perhaps the most important, as it helps most to make the best of irregular nature's art, so that Murphy can set about his grouping of university architecture. 【20】



Murphy's first survey of the shape of Yenching University's new site, at the end of 1920
(Source: *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 42)



General layout of Yenching University, 1921
(Source: General Expansion and Reconstruction Plan of Haidian Campus, Peking University, 1991)

Therefore after his on-the-spot investigation, Murphy had to adjust his original plan for two reasons: first, the irregular shape of the base made strict symmetric and almost quadrate layout unrealistic; second, although the terrain of the base had no sudden rise and fall, the waters and hills scattered high and low 【21】. The second problem was more or less related to the first. To fill and level up the gullies and ravines would have undoubtedly increased effective construction area, but consequently, the Weiming Lake area would have lost its uniqueness, and the lake itself would have been no longer in existence either. A new plan should be sought so that the picturesque landscape and symmetric construction groups could coexist in harmony. Murphy's solution seemed quite simple: now that the shape was irregular, the

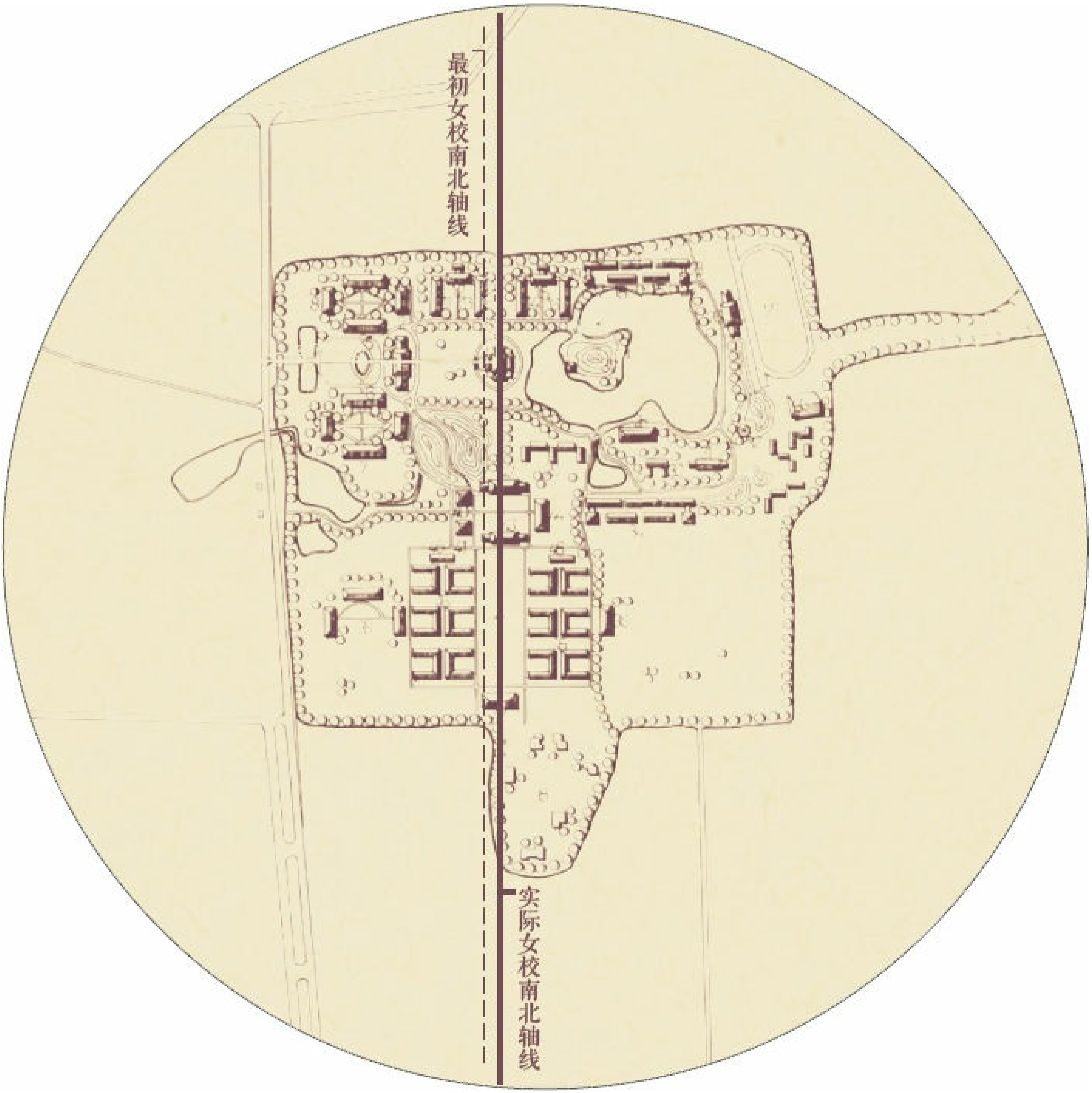
original plan could be cut down in order to match the actual terrain with the symmetry kept to some extent. For this purpose, two axes should be determined to secure the proper position of other constructions.



The east-west axis of the Yan Garden
(Source: the Internet)

The story had long gone that, when Murphy stood on a hill thirsting for an inner connection between the terrain and central axis, the Jade Spring Hill all of a sudden came into his sight. He said in excitement: "That's the point! Our central axis should fall on the pagoda on the Jade Spring Hill." It turns out there indeed is an axis along the Jade Spring Hill, West Gate, Bashford Hall and the Center Island. Now that the main body of the campus faced west, everything would be settled so long as a suitable north-south axis was found. But this "Forbidden City"turned by 90 degrees did not conform to Chinese architecture tradition, which took the south as the most respected position. If the south were impossible, east would do as well. But rarely was a building facing west. In terms of daylighting, to have a construction facing west was inappropriate as well, for the east would bring morning sunshine, the south was convenient for daylighting, while the west meant exposure to sunshine in

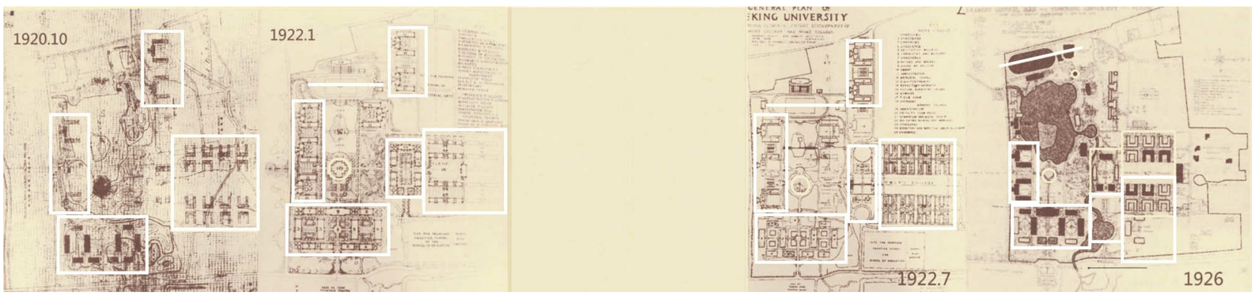
the afternoon, which should be avoided in general. There was one positive case though: churches in the Western countries more often than not faced west. 【22】



The south-north axis of the Yan Garden
(Source: General Expansion and Reconstruction Plan of Haidian Campus, Peking University, 1991)

When the east-west axis was fixed, it was time to fix the south-north axis so

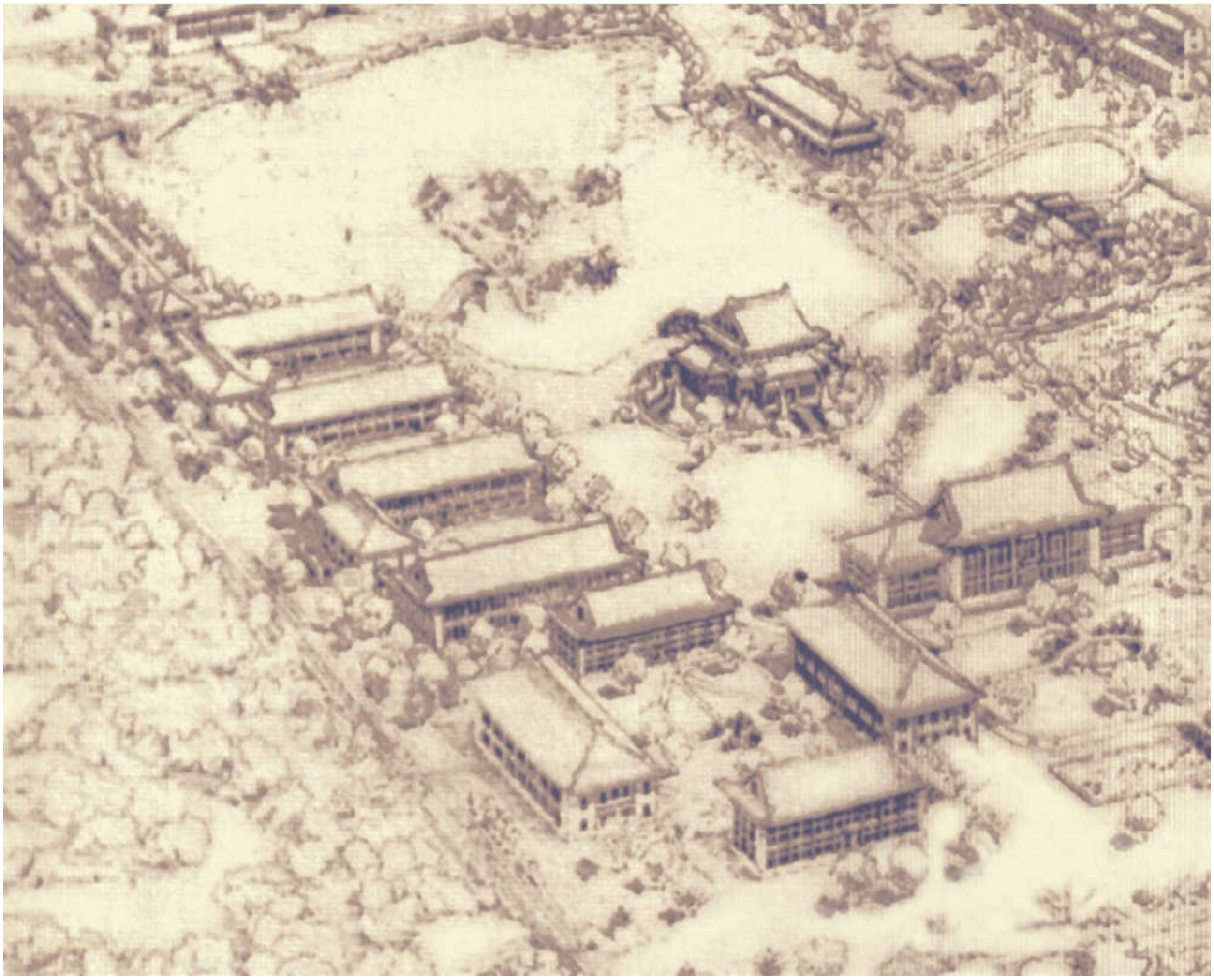
that teaching and living facilities of the girls' school could be arranged accordingly. In the original mapping, Murphy took the Marble Boat as the reference, but in the course of construction the boat was moved somehow. As a result, the actual axis of the girls' school diverged to the east a bit. After the axes were fixed, Murphy began his more concrete design for individual buildings. The school had hoped to move to its new site before September 1924 under the precondition that there were one building for university administration, two buildings for teaching and research, two quadrangles for dormitories, and 27 dwellings for the teaching staff. 【23】

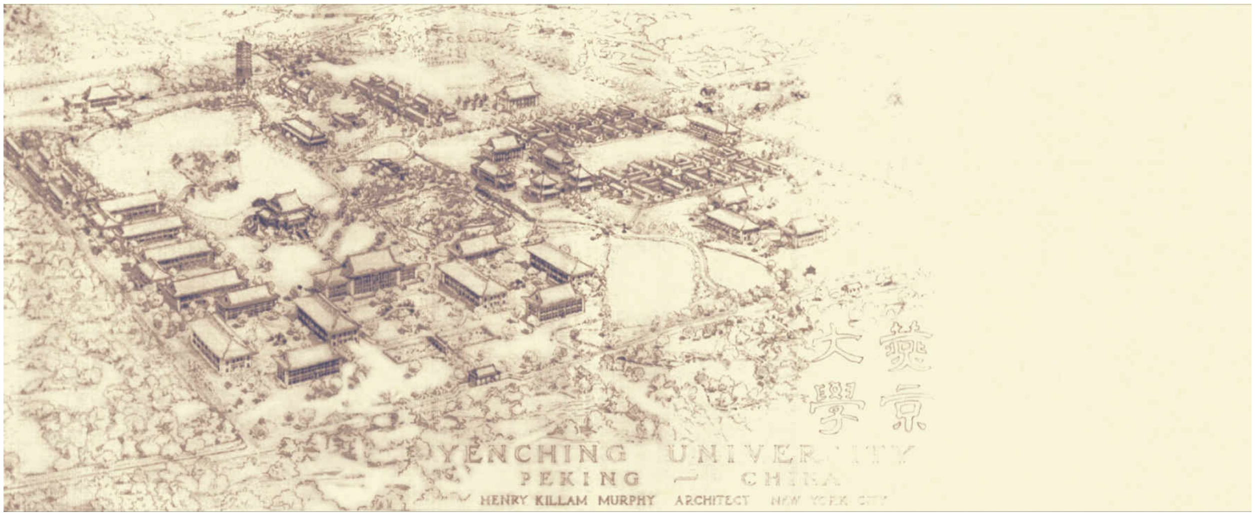


Four plane graphs of Yenching University by Murphy, from October 1920 to 1926 (Sources: in order of time, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 43; *Crouching Mountains and Hidden Sea: Architecture and Gardens of Peking University* , p. 113; *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 85 and p. 78)

From the only four plane graphs drawn by Murphy at different times we can find no big changes in the designs of core areas, including boys' and girls' dormitories, teaching and administrative buildings. The only problem was that there were too many buildings, in consequence of which they were more or less trimmed when completed in 1929. The reason was that Yenching University was "planning for ten, fifteen and even twenty years; hence, it must look forward to furnishing accommodation for from five to ten thousand students" 【24】 . As a result, Murphy had to expand both the size and quantity of individual constructions. In real practice, however, he found the geological

structure of the site unfit for large-scale construction. Extra sand and pebbles were purchased to fortify the base, which greatly increased the cost of individual constructions and led to proper cuts in overall scale.





A bird's-eye view of the planned Yenching University, 1926
(Source: Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* , Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2001)

As a matter of fact, the designer had to consider two different demands of the University: one was a practical plan which involved an administrative building, teaching buildings and dormitories so that the University could operate at the earliest time possible; the other was a hypothetical plan to attract potential American donators. This back-and-forth between the two plans caused several changes in the design, considering potential opinions of the donators, teachers' and students' needs, actual difficulties in the construction, and even opinions of the University's Board of Trustees in New York. Of course, for each revision Yenching University had to pay extra money to Murphy, who had the last say in the whole design.

The year 1922 was unusual for Yenching University. In the spring of this year, the new site broke ground at last. Until April 1923, the construction of four boys' dormitories placed in two groups (present-day "De, Cai, Jun, Bei" Buildings), the lecture room of the girls' school, teaching and administrative staff's dormitories and a dining hall were all under way. On the original site

could be foreseen new school buildings rising straight one after another. This ancient garden dormant for years at last met its new life, and the outline of the Yan Garden gradually took shape. After seven full years' construction, by 1929, the new campus of Yenching University costing 3,600,000 yuan formally set foot in Haidian, west of Beijing, and was known as the "Yan Garden" ever since.

时空的拓展

1920年确定选址时的燕大校园只是今天燕园的一小部分，起初墨菲的设计也主要基于睿王园地块及勺园。但燕大一直没有放弃过对周边土地的拓展，希望能够为学校的未来发展置办更多的土地。在时机和价格合适的时候，燕大总会出手买下周边的土地，燕大以睿王园为中心又陆陆续续购买或者租赁了周围的镜春园大部、鸣鹤园、朗润园、蔚秀园，后又增建了农园、燕南园、燕东园等，使燕京大学的新校园在开始的380余亩的基础上有了大幅扩增。【25】周边的很多土地所有者也想把土地卖个好价钱给燕大，燕大土地储备较为充足之后，便也有了和他们讨价还价的余地。

然而，一方面，燕园建设开工后，耗资巨大，主要依靠捐赠筹资的学校财政也是捉襟见肘，另一方面，每一次拓展校园空间也不都是尽如人意，特别是紧邻北面的徐世昌总统花园地块。北面这块地虽然面积不大，但狭长的一条横在了校园中间，牢牢地卡死了北面的发展空间，尤其是在后来燕大租赁了朗润园之后，这块地严重破坏了校园的完整性，给校园整体规划带来了很多麻烦。朗润园曾是宿舍区，但是从校园到宿舍需要从东边绕行，非常不便。燕大也希望徐大总统能将土地转让给燕园，但是徐家丝毫没有此意，直至抗战爆发燕大都未能如愿。【26】

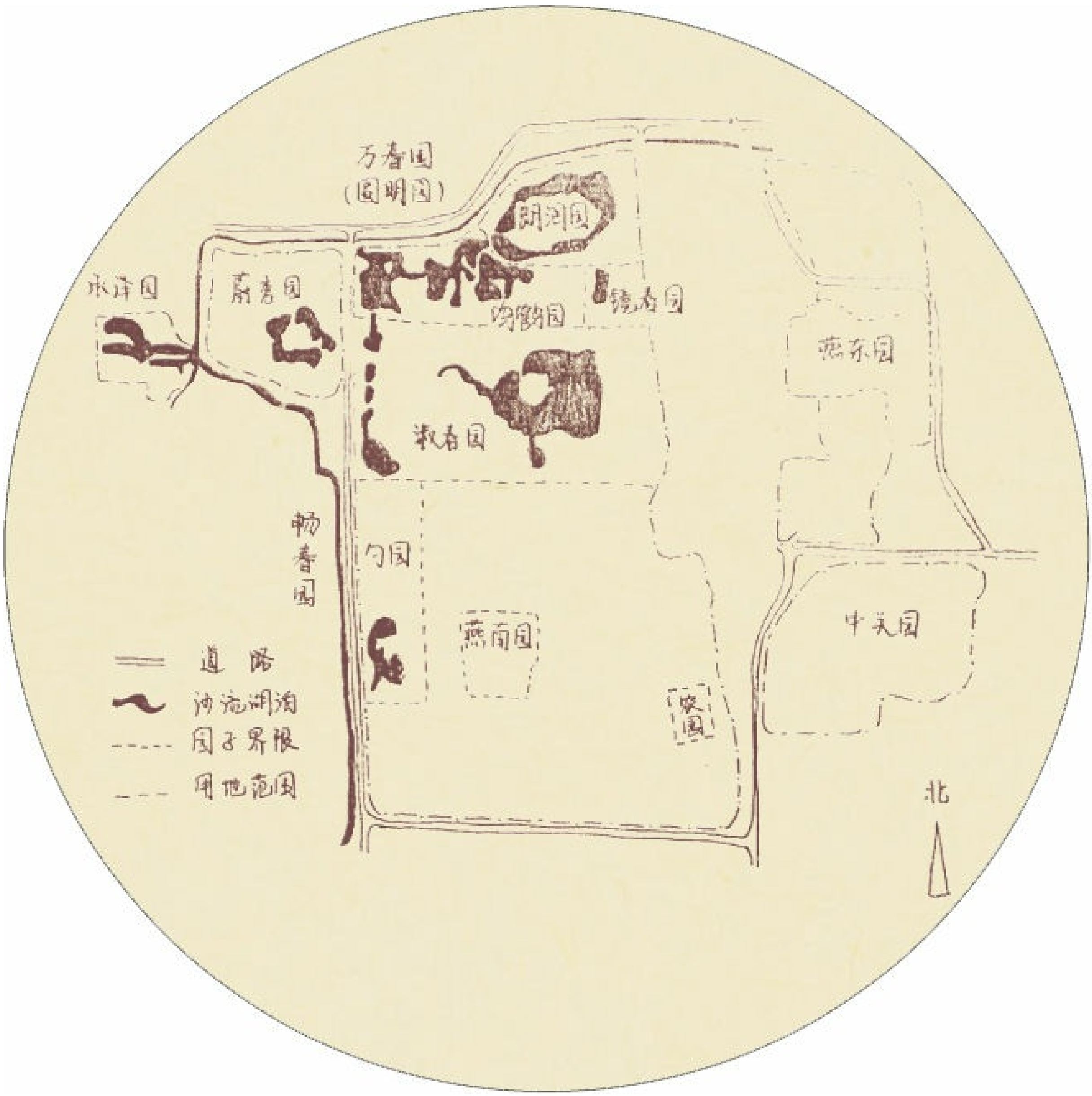
1952年，全国院系调整，原北京大学部分院系和清华大学、燕京大学的文、理、法科，以及辅仁大学、浙江大学、中法大学等高校的有关系科并入新的北京大学，燕京大学撤销。北京大学迁至燕京大学校址，并对校园进行了扩展，1953年，北大以20.5亿元（旧币）购买承泽园、朗润园【27】，主要作为住宅区。由于燕园未名湖区域的规划用地已基本建设完成，加之校园北部为圆明园遗址，西部以西校门为界，规划者

建议在原燕园内不塞建新建筑，学校重点向东、向南寻求发展空间，于是北大向东扩建了教学区，向南新建了学生宿舍区，在中关园建造了一批临时性平房。工程完成时，校园扩建600亩，总占地面积达到了2175亩，至今北大校本部占地面积已达到2700亩，【28】燕园的空间得到了进一步拓展，相信未来的燕园必将世代传承、越发珍贵。

燕园部分园林征地年表[1]

名称	租借 / 购入年代	备注	曾经主人
淑春园	1920 年	燕京大学从陈树藩手中永久性租赁	清和珅
勺园	1921 年左右		明末米万钟（清康熙、嘉庆时相继改为“弘雅园”“集贤院”）
燕南园、燕东园地块	1921 年	作为教工住宅	
鸣鹤园	1928 年左右		清嘉庆第五子惠亲王
治贝子园（农园）	1928 年	燕京大学以 45,200 银元购入	清末溥侗
蔚秀园	1931 年	燕京大学购入作为教工住宅	清奕譞
镜春园	1952 年后	北京大学购入	清庄静公主
朗润园	1953 年	1923 年燕京大学向载涛租借作为教师住宅，1953 年北京大学购入	清奕䜣
承泽园	1953 年	北京大学购入	清寿恩公主

［1］参见《北京大学海淀校区文物保护规划——未名湖燕园建筑文物保护总体规划说明》，引自杨开忠主编：《向上的精神——北京大学规划文选（1914—2013）》，北京大学出版社2014年版，第555页。



【燕园古园林分布示意图】
（图片来源：《燕园景观》，第5页）

Expansion in space and time

The campus of Yenching University in 1920 was only a small part of today's Yan Garden, and Murphy's design was primarily centered on the Garden of Prince Rui and the Shaoyuan Garden. Yenching University had never given up its efforts in further expansion, hoping to purchase more land for further

development. When both the time and price were favorable, Yenching University would buy a land nearby. One after another, it either bought or rented a big part of the Jingchun Garden, and the Minghe Garden, Langrun Garden and Weixiu Garden, in addition to the newly built Nongyuan Garden, Yannan Garden, Yandong Garden and others, enlarging the new campus from the original 380-odd *mu* by a big margin. 【25】 Most landowners in the neighborhood also wanted to sell their lands to Yenching University at a good price. When it had sufficient land reserves, the University had more leeway when it came to bargain.

However, after the construction began, the huge cost incurred left the university finance, which chiefly depended on donation, in straitened circumstances. To make matters worse, expansions of campus space were not entirely satisfactory, especially when it came to the property of President Xu Shichang's garden adjacent in the north. Although not large, it traversed in the middle of the campus like a narrow band and solidly closed the door on further expansion in the north. The situation became worse when the Langrun Garden was rented: at the time the Langrun Garden was where the dormitories stood, and one had to wind all his way in the east to reach there, which was extremely inconvenient. The President's garden had become a serious trouble to the completeness and overall plan of the campus. Yenching University hoped that President Xu could sell his land to the Yan Garden, but in vain. By the breakout of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Xu family had been in no such mood. 【26】

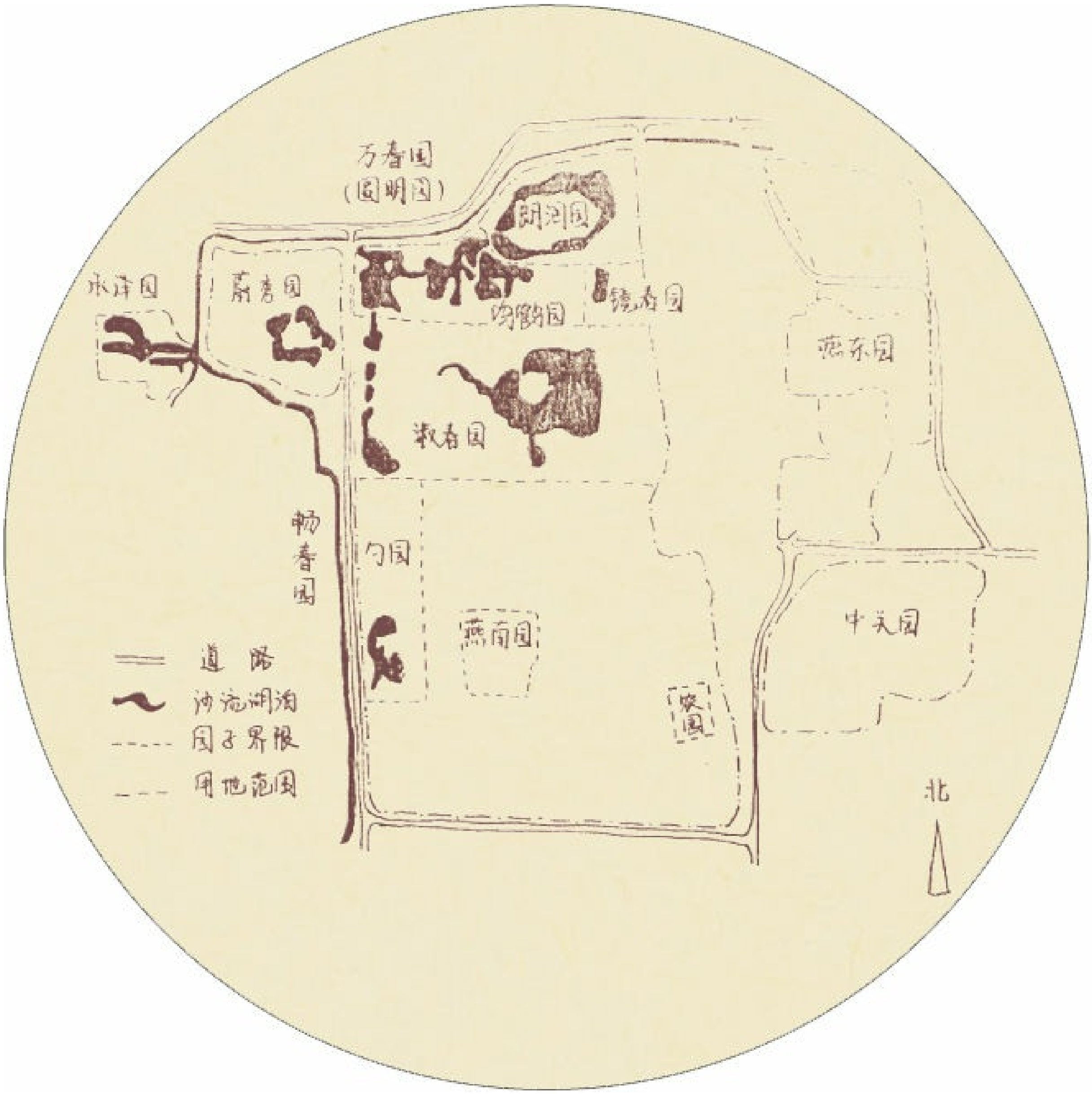
In the 1952 national adjustment of colleges and departments, some departments and colleges of the former National Peking University, along with those of liberal arts, science and law of Tsinghua University and

Yenching University, and related departments of Fu Jen Catholic University, Zhejiang University and Sino-French University, were merged into the new Peking University. Yenching University ceased to exist. The new Peking University moved to the site of Yenching University and expanded the campus. In 1953, it purchased the Chengze Garden and Langrun Garden at 2.05 billion yuan (in old currency) 【27】 , chiefly used as residences. The land development around the Weiming Lake area was basically completed; the north of the campus was the remains of the Yuanming Yuan and the west ended at the West Gate; the designer suggested that no new buildings be constructed in the former Yan Garden. Given these circumstances, the University turned to the east and south for further expansion. New teaching facilities were added in the east, dormitories sprang up in the south, and a group of temporary bungalows were constructed in the Zhongguan Garden. By the time all was completed, with an extension of 600 *mu* , the total space amounted to 2,175 *mu* . Today the main campus of Peking University has reached 2,700 *mu* . 【28】 The Yan Garden has been further expanded in space, and is expected to be inherited and more cherished for generations to come.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE YAN GARDEN'S LAND EXPROPRIATION[1]

Name	Time of Lease/Purchase	Remarks	Original Owner
Shuchun Garden	1920	Permanently rented from Chen Shufan by Yenching University	Heshen, Qing dynasty
Shaoyuan Garden	Around 1921		Mi Wanzhong, late Ming dynasty (renamed as Hongya Garden and Jixian Garden during the reigns of Kangxi and Jiaqing respectively)
Yannan Garden, Yandong Garden property	1921	As residences for the teaching and administrative staff	
Minghe Garden	Around 1928		Prince Hui, fifth son of Jiaqing, Qing dynasty
Zhibeizi Garden (Nongyuan Garden)	1928	Purchased at 45,200 silver dollars by Yenching University	Putong, late Qing dynasty
Weixiu Garden	1931	Purchased and used as residences for the teaching and administrative staff by Yenching University	Yixuan, Qing dynasty
Jingchun Garden	After 1952	Purchased by Peking University	Princess Zhuangjing, Qing dynasty
Langrun Garden	1953	Rented from Zaitao in 1923 as residences for the teaching staff by Yenching University; purchased in 1953 by Peking University	Yixin, Qing dynasty
Chengze Garden	1953	Purchased by Peking University	Princess Shou'en, Qing dynasty

[1] "Cultural Relics Protection Plan of Haidian Campus, Peking University—Master Plan Description of the Weiming Lake Heritage Buildings", *The Spirit of Striving for Progress: Selected Articles on the Plan of Peking University (1914–2013)* , Yang Kaizhong ed., Peking University Press, 2014, p. 555.



Sketch map of ancient gardens in the Yan Garden
(Source: The *Landscape of the Yan Garden* , p. 5)

注释

【1】 参见燕京大学校友校史编写委员会编，张玮瑛、王百强、钱辛波主编：《燕京大学史稿》，人民中国出版社1999年版，第1—6页。*A*

Draft of Yenching University History , Zhang Weiying, Wang Baiqiang and Qian Xinbo eds., Renmin Zhongguo Press, 1999, pp. 1–6.

【2】 参见郝平：《无奈的结局——司徒雷登与中国》，北京大学出版社2011年版，第53页。Hao Ping, *Helpless Ending —John Leighton Stuart and China* , Peking University Press, 2011, p. 53.

【3】 参见唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，生活·读书·新知三联书店2009年版，第16页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , SDX Joint Publishing, 2009, p. 16.

【4】 John Leighton Stuart, *Fifty Years in China—The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart , Missionary and Ambassador* , Random House, 1954, pp. 55–56.

【5】 John Leighton Stuart, *Fifty Years in China—The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart, Missionary and Ambassador* , p. 56.

【6】 高厚德（1872—1948），1899年义和团运动前夕来华，燕京大学合并前的华北协和大学校长，后来长期主持燕大教育系。1943年，高厚德被日军遣送回美国，不幸多次中风。1948年冬，高厚德在美国病逝。Howard Spilman Galt (1872–1948) came to China before the Boxer Rebellion. He was president of the former North China Union College, and long-term Dean of the Education Department of Yenching University. In 1943, he was sent back to the United States by the Japanese. He suffered from apoplexy repeatedly, and died in the United States.

【7】 郝平：《无奈的结局——司徒雷登与中国》，第55页。Hao Ping, *Helpless Ending—John Leighton Stuart and China* , p. 55.

【8】 郝平：《无奈的结局——司徒雷登与中国》，第57页。Hao Ping, *Helpless Ending—John Leighton Stuart and China* , p. 57.

【9】 参见同上书，末代和硕睿亲王名“中铨”，而陈树藩与燕京大学签订的合同书中，基地名为“中诠园”。Ibid. The name of the last-generation descendent of Prince Rui is "中铨", while the name of the garden is "中诠" in the contract signed by Chen Shufan and Yenching University.

【10】 参见侯仁之：《燕园史话》，北京大学出版社2008年版，第54页。Hou Renzhi, *A History of the Yan Garden* , Peking University Press, 2008, p. 54.

【11】 侯仁之：《燕园史话》，第40页。Hou Renzhi, *A History of the Yan Garden* , p. 40.

【12】 故宫博物院：《史料旬刊》第十四期，第490页。The Palace Museum, *Historical Review* , No. 14, p. 490.

【13】 参见［美］舒衡哲：《鸣鹤园》（张宏杰译），北京大学出版社2009年版，第143页。Vera Schwarcz, *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane*

Garden , trans. by Zhang Hongjie, Peking University Press, 2009, p. 143.

【14】 参见唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，第70页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 70.

【15】 参见陈毓贤：《洪业传》，商务印书馆2013年版，第127页。Chen Yuxian, *A Biography of William Hung* , Commercial Press, 2013, p. 127.

【16】 据储兆文《中国园林史》，清康熙时在李伟所建清华园的故址上修建畅春园。According to *The History of Chinese Garden* by Chu Zhaowen, the construction of the Changchun Garden (Joyful Spring Garden) on the old site of the Tsinghua Garden built by Li Wei began during the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing dynasty.

【17】 ［美］舒衡哲：《鸣鹤园》（张宏杰译），第46页。Vera Schwarcz, *Place and Memory in the Singing Crane Garden* , trans. by Zhang Hongjie, p. 46. (Back translation due to lack of the original English quotation)

【18】 参见侯仁之：《燕园史话》，第18页。Hou Renzhi, *A History of the Yan Garden* , p. 18.

【19】 中山陵的设计者。Designer of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum.

【20】 唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，第27页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 27. (Back translation due to lack of the original English quotation)

【21】 据谢凝高等在《燕园景观》（北京大学出版社1988年版）中统计，未名湖区的山地、水面、平地分别占湖区总面积的21％、23％和56％。According to Xie Ninggao's calculation in *The Landscape of the Yan Garden* (Peking University Press, 1988), hills, waters and flat grounds in the Weiming Lake area take up 21％, 23％ and 56％ of the whole area respectively.

【22】 墨菲在设计金陵女子大学的主体建筑时也是沿东西轴线对称布置的，并以西面丘陵为对景。The main building of Ginling College designed by Murphy was also symmetrical along the east-west axis, with hills in the west as the focal point.

【23】 参见唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，第72页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 72. (Back translation due to lack of the original English quotation)

【24】 唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，第223页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 223. Also see Julean Arnold to Reinsch, 7 November 1918, Yenching University Papers, Record Group II, Box 304, Folder 4719.

【25】 参见郝平：《无奈的结局——司徒雷登与中国》，第57页。Hao Ping,

Helpless Ending—John Leighton Stuart and China , p. 57.

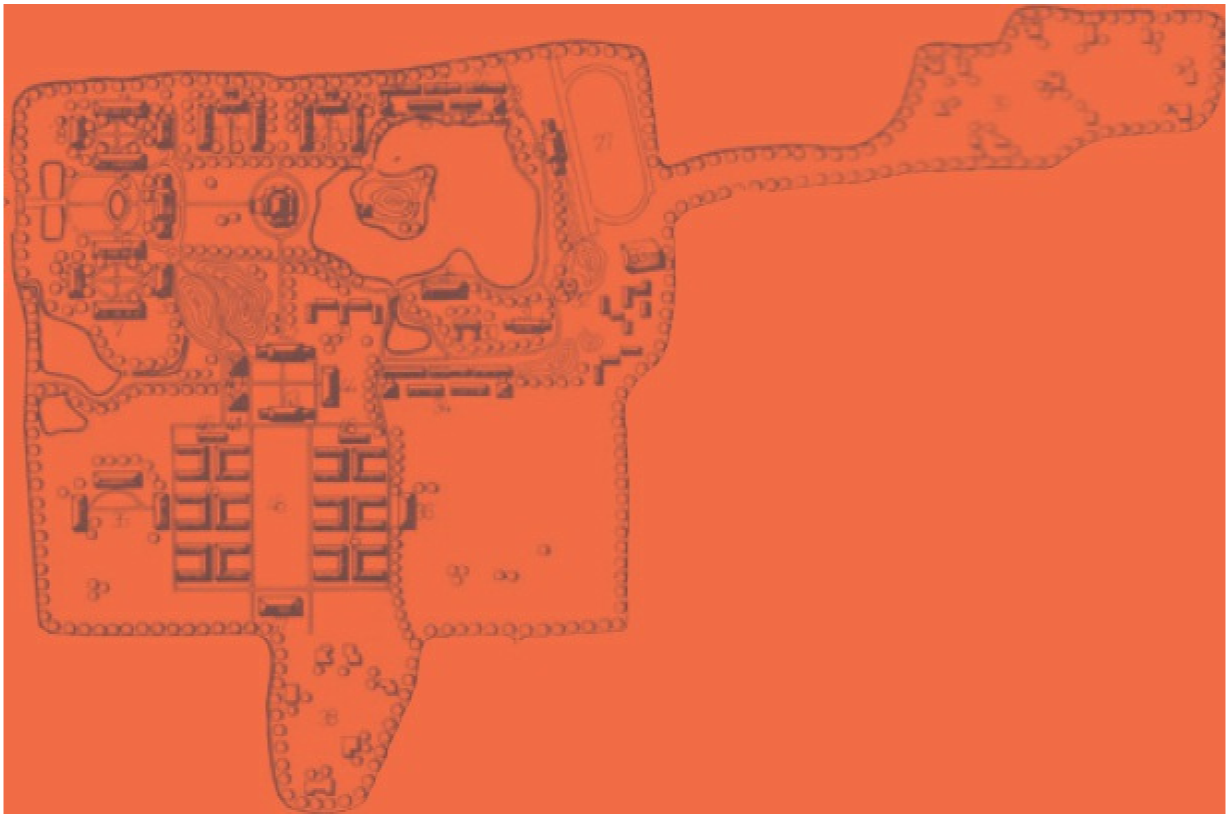
【26】 参见唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》，第42页。Tang Keyang, *From a Wasteland to the Yan Garden* , p. 42.

【27】 参见王学珍：《北京大学纪事（1898—1997）》，北京大学出版社2008年版，第573页。Wang Xuezhen, *Records of Peking University (1898–1997)* , Peking University Press, 2008, p. 573.

【28】 参见《北京大学海淀校区文物保护规划——未名湖燕园建筑文物保护总体规划说明》，引自杨开忠主编：《向上的精神——北京大学规划文选（1914—2013）》，第552—557页。"Cultural Relics Protection Plan of Haidian Campus, Peking University—Master Plan Description of the Weiming Lake Heritage Buildings", *The Spirit of Striving for Progress: Selected Articles on the Plan of Peking University (1914–2013)* , Yang Kaizhong ed., pp. 552–557.

贰　文物掠影

II. A Sketch of Cultural Relics



【一】西校门区域

West Gate Area

办公楼

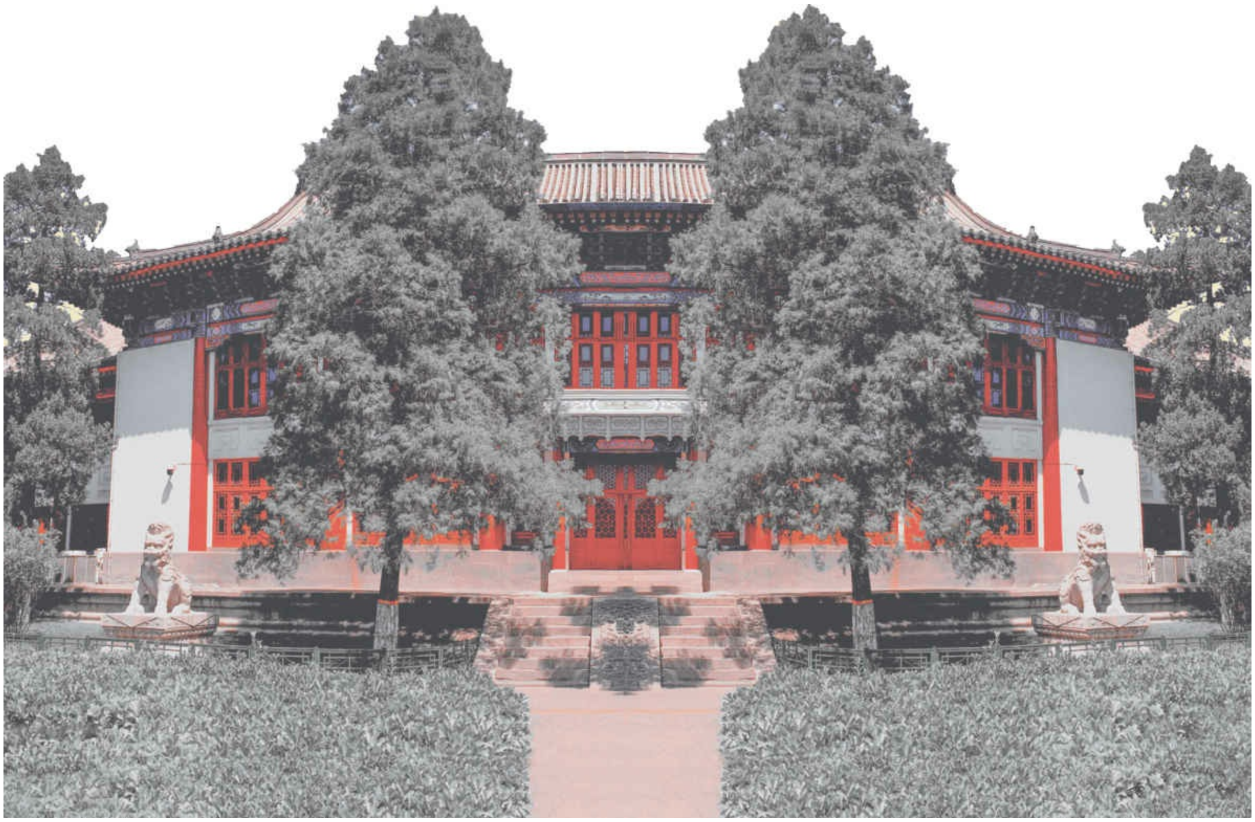
北京大学办公楼，建于1926年，原名“施德楼”，1931年曾被燕京大学校楼命名委员会定名为“贝公楼”，是燕京大学早期主体建筑之一。楼内保存有当代著名书法家沈尹默先生所书写的“贝公楼”几个字，为1931年燕大毕业生所赠。“施德”与“贝公”之名均为纪念同一个人，即燕京大学前身之一的汇文大学堂第二任校长贝施德（又译贝施福）。

办公楼是一座宫殿式建筑，位于原燕京大学校园东西向中轴线上，坐东面西，气势宏伟。主楼屋顶为歇山顶，两翼配有副楼，红柱白墙，斗拱彩画，色调古朴高雅。楼前有麒麟、丹墀。两翼配楼为庑殿顶，坐落于高大的花岗岩台基上。

在燕京大学时代，办公楼是校园中的“主楼”，燕大第一任校长司徒雷登就在此办公。现在办公楼的一楼是北京大学党委和校长办公室各个下属单位的办公室，二楼为办公楼礼堂。礼堂内设有942个坐席，以宫灯、彩绘装饰，色调以红色为主，风格古朴典雅。办公楼礼堂见证了从燕京大学到北京大学期间的许多重要事件，在1935年的“一二·九”运动前夜，燕京大学的学生会就是聚集在这里商讨和策划了这次著名的爱国运动。新中国成立后，周恩来总理、江泽民主席、美国总统克林顿、俄罗斯总统普京、德国总理施罗德、哈佛大学校长劳伦斯·萨默斯、剑桥大学校长布鲁斯爵士、中国国民党主席连战以及许多著名的科学家都曾在这里演讲。时至今日，能够在办公楼礼堂演讲已经成为一种荣誉。

> 对着西校门的那座楼，原来名叫“贝公楼”，据说是有个叫Baker的人捐建的，这座楼的规模比较大，是燕京的主楼。

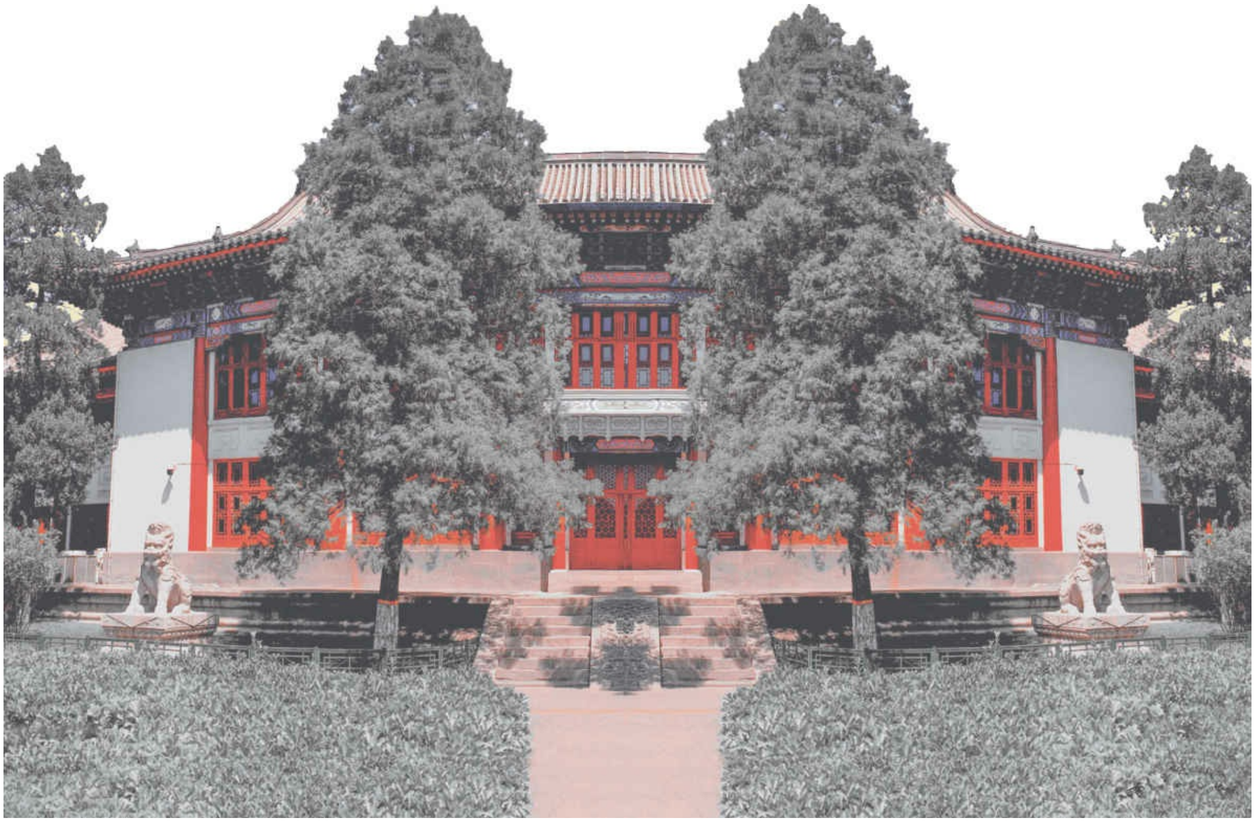
冯友兰：《三松堂自序》



【办公楼】——夏昕鸣　摄

The Bashford Hall was built in 1926 in commemoration of James White Bashford, the second president of the Methodist Peking University (one of the predecessors of Yenching University). It is now known as PKU Administrative Building, which once was the office of Yenching's first president John Leighton Stuart.

The auditorium of the Bashford Hall has a long history and has witnessed numerous major events in the history of both Yenching University and Peking University. World-famous celebrities including Bill Clinton, Vladimir Putin, Gerhard Schröder, Lawrence Summers, Sir Alec Broers, and other famous scientists have all delivered a speech in the auditorium of the Bashford Hall.



Bashford Hall (photo by Xia Xinming)



西校门

西校门原为燕京大学的主校门，坐东朝西，面阔五间，是一座古典三开朱漆宫门建筑，庄严典雅。这座校门是由燕京大学校友于1926年捐资修建，故又称“校友门”。

西校门位于亨利·墨菲所设计的燕京大学校园东西向主轴线的起始点，进门后经过校友桥、华表就可到达办公楼。门正中悬挂的“北京大学”匾额，为曾在北大图书馆工作过的毛泽东主席亲自题写，字体苍劲有力，气势雄浑。校门左右两侧有一对石狮，为燕京大学于1924年从民间购得，石狮鬓发虬卷，目光炯炯有神，为西校门更增添了几分庄严。今天西校门不仅是北大师生进出校园的重要通道之一，更早已成为北大校园的标志性建筑之一和北大的象征。

> 西校门和校友桥留下了许多北大校友的记忆。对于已故的侯仁之先生来说，人生的许多良辰美景，似乎都比不上八十多年前他初入燕园的那个秋天，他动情地写道：
>
> 一进西校门，半亩方塘，一个石桥。我来的时候还有水，从（桥）底下冒出来，那个时候看见真是心里高兴啊，一进来以后想起一首朱熹的诗：半亩方塘一鉴开，天光云影共徘徊，问渠哪得清如许，为有源头活水来。
>
> 肖东发：《风物：燕园景观及人文底蕴》



【西校门】——殷帆　摄

The West Gate used to be the main gate of Yenching University. It is also called the "Alumni Gate", which was donated by Yenching University alumni in 1926.

Among PKU's many gates, the West Gate is the most famous due to both its age and its design. This exquisitely painted gate is dignified and solemn and follows classic Chinese style.



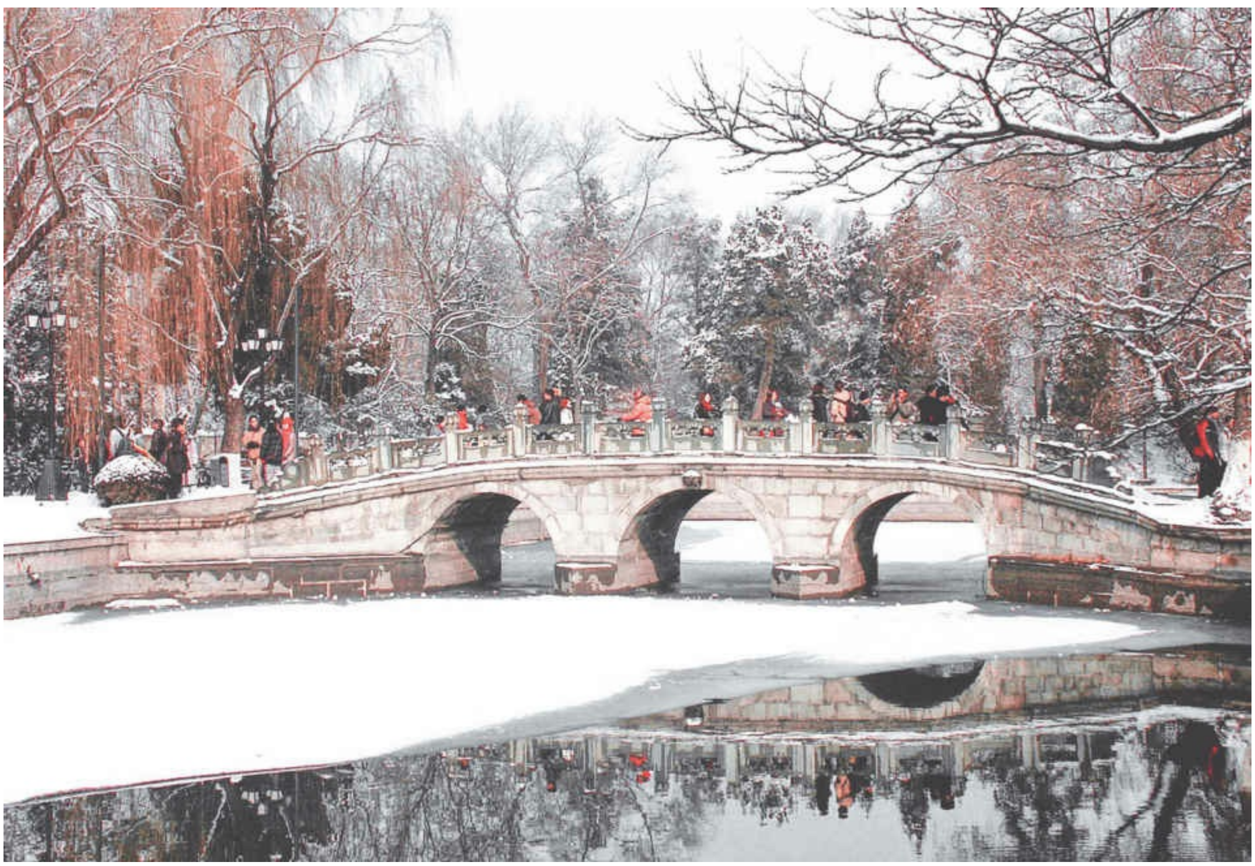
West Gate (photo by Yin Fan)



校友桥

校友桥位于西校门内，由燕京大学校友于1926年捐建，因此而得名。桥长15米、宽4米，样式为三孔圆券石拱桥，中券券心上有石雕吸水兽。栏板为清式做法，望柱断面为正方形，柱头方形印刻如意纹，桥端以抱鼓石收束。

据统计，校园内共有24座桥，既能提供方便的交通，又可点缀校园景致。除校友桥外，较为著名的桥还有：未名湖东北出水口的单孔尖拱桥、通向湖心岛的西洋式平桥、湖南岸的单孔圆券石拱桥等。

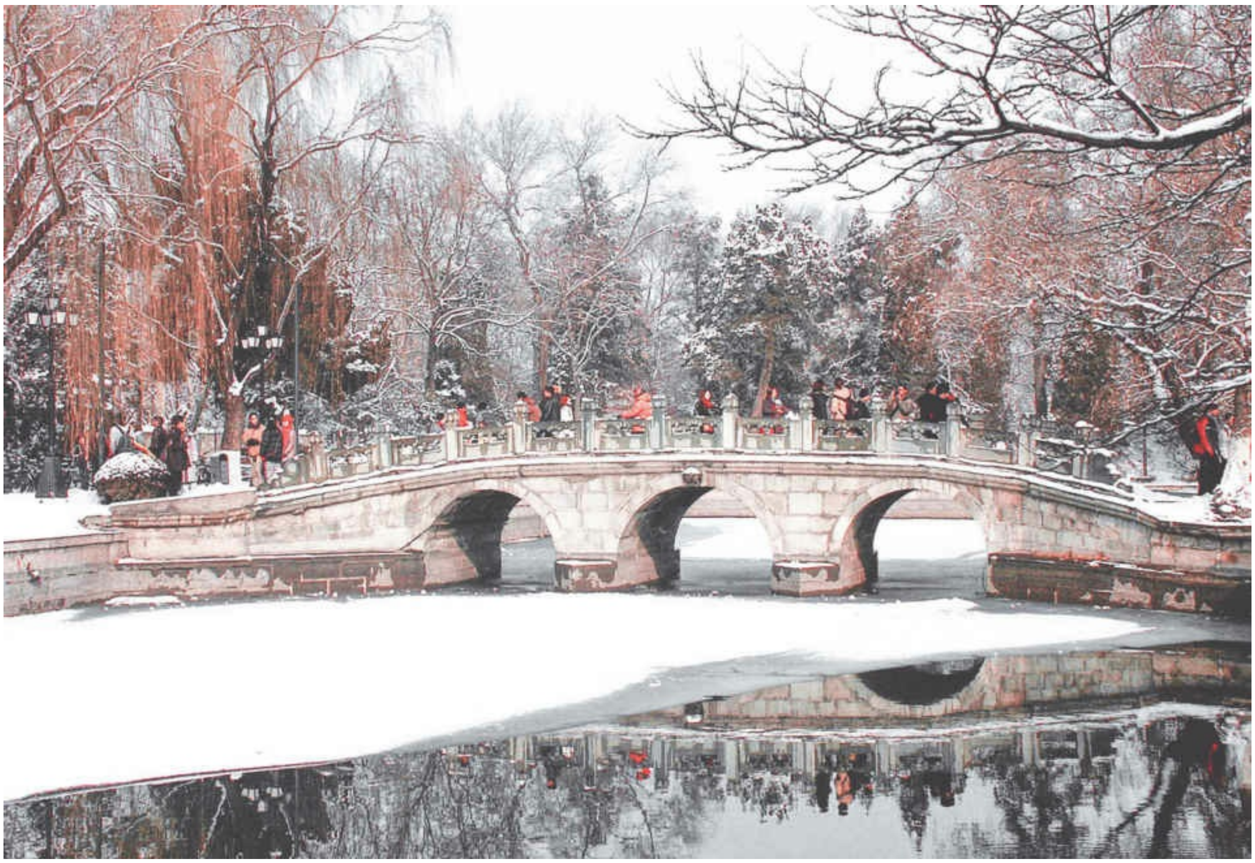


【校友桥】——何晋　摄

The Alumni Bridge is very close to the West Gate, visible to visitors who

walk into the campus through the West Gate. Built in 1926 thanks to the donations of Yenching University alumni, it was called the Alumni Bridge. Fifteen meters long and four meters wide, it is adorned with decorative patterns in the style of the Qing dynasty.

In total, there are 24 bridges on campus which not only offer much convenience but also help decorate the campus.



Alumni Bridge (photo by He Jin)

南北阁

南北阁建于1924年，位于俄文楼草坪以西，与俄文楼构成“品”字形结构。不同于大部分呈长方形的庭院式燕园建筑，南北两阁是一对孪生的方形建筑。两阁之间有一椭圆状小花坛，内有汉白玉石香炉一尊。

南北阁又称“姊妹阁”，据说是司徒雷登因思念远在大洋彼岸的两个女儿而修建，也有一种说法是司徒雷登的两个女儿曾经分别居住在两阁之中，故有此称。实际上南北阁原名分别为甘德阁、麦风阁，英文名统称为Miner Hall，其得名与麦美德女士（S. Luella Miner）有关。麦美德原为华北协和女子大学校长兼创始人，华北协和女子大学并入燕京大学后成为燕大女部，她成为燕大首任女部主任。麦美德在任仅三年，却为燕大作出了历史性的贡献，因而这两座阁楼以麦美德来命名。其中南阁是由甘伯尔夫人（Mrs. Gamble）捐款建造，因此命名为“甘德阁”。当时北面的麦风阁是学生活动室与音乐教室，南阁为女部办公楼；现在北阁为北京大学国际战略研究院所在地，南阁则是北京大学国际合作部所在地。



【南阁】——胡财华　摄

The South and North Pavilions were built in 1924. Unlike most of PKU's rectangular buildings, these two pavilions are square, like twins, also called the Sister Pavilions. During the time of Yenching University, the North Pavilion used to be the student activity room and music room while the South Pavilion was the office building of Women's College. Today, the former is the Institute of International and Strategic Studies while the latter is used as the Office of International Relations.

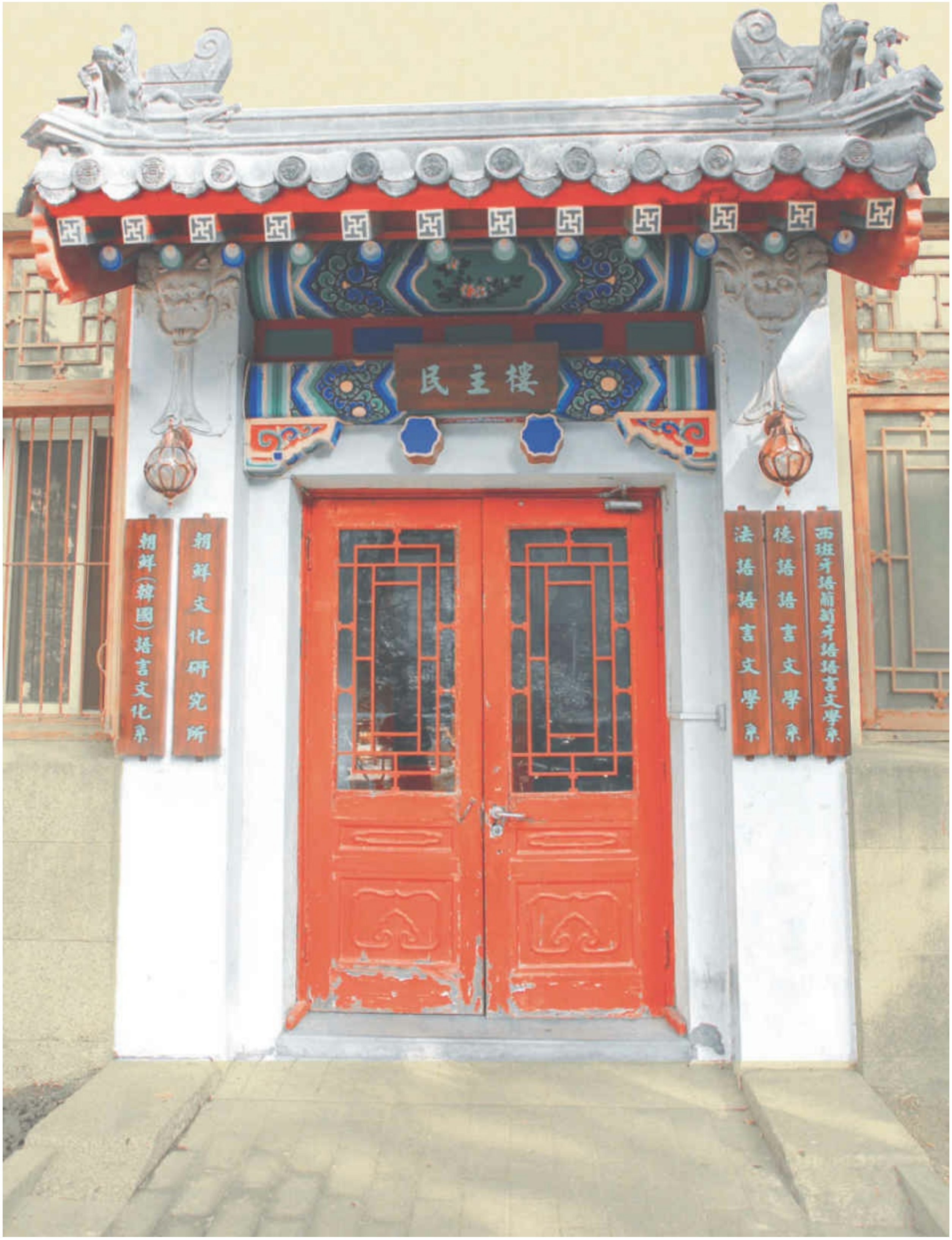


South Pavilion (photo by Hu Caihua)

民主楼

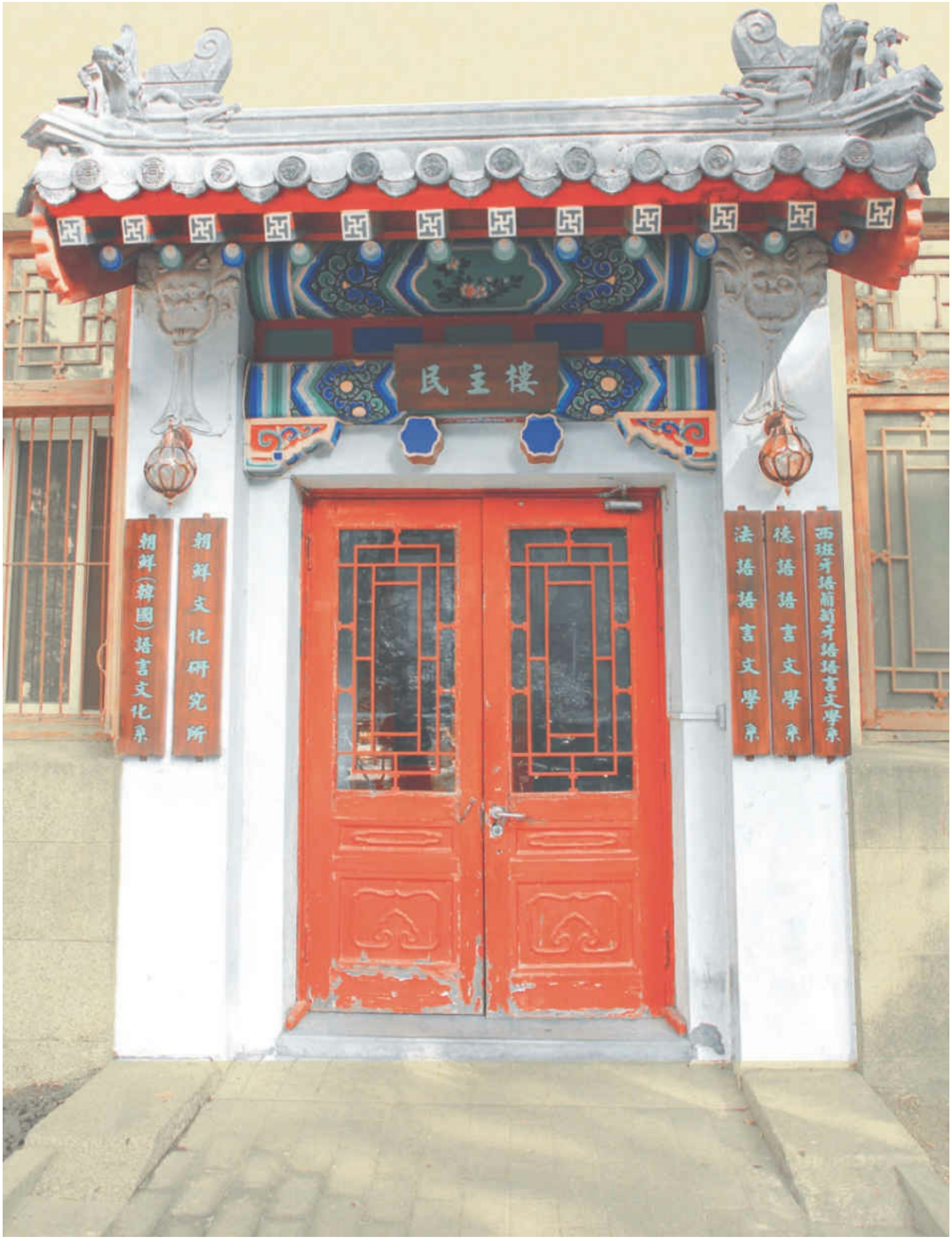
民主楼，原名宁德楼，又称宗教楼，始建于1922年，是燕京大学在燕园校址的第一所建筑。宁德楼由在上海的甘维尔夫妇捐赠，以纪念前美以美会会督威廉·宁德牧师（Bishop William X. Ninde），并以此得名。

民主楼坐落在办公楼北侧，靠近鸣鹤园。建筑采用中国古典样式，歇山顶，素墙灰瓦，红色柱子，斗拱彩画。这里原为燕京大学宗教学院所在地，现在是北京大学外国语学院西方语言文学系及朝鲜文化研究所的办公场所。



【民主楼】

The Minzhu Building, also known as the Zongjiao Building, was originally called the Ninde Building. Built in 1922, it was the first building after Yenching University moved to the Yan Garden. The School of Theology of Yenching University was situated here. It is currently the office for the Institute of Korean Cultural Studies and the Department of Western Languages.



Minzhu Building

外文楼

外文楼，原称穆楼，由穆拜亚先生所捐，建成于1925年，燕大时期作为教室使用。建筑坐北朝南，位于原燕京大学东西中轴线北侧，与办公楼、化学北楼构成一个“品”字形的院落。建筑形制采用了中国古建筑式样，庑殿顶，素色墙体，深红柱子与格栅窗以及条石基座。如今外文楼作为北京大学外国语学院的教学办公场所。

> 司徒雷登问诸人到校印象。余直答：“初闻燕大乃中国教会大学中之最中国化者，心窃慕之。及来，乃感大不然。入校门即见‘M’楼，‘S’楼，此何义，所谓中国化者又何在？此宜与以中国名称始是。”一座默然。后燕大特为此开校务会议，遂改“M”楼为“穆”楼，“S”楼为“适”楼，“贝公”楼为“办公”楼，其他建筑一律赋以中国名称。
>
> 钱穆：《师友杂忆》

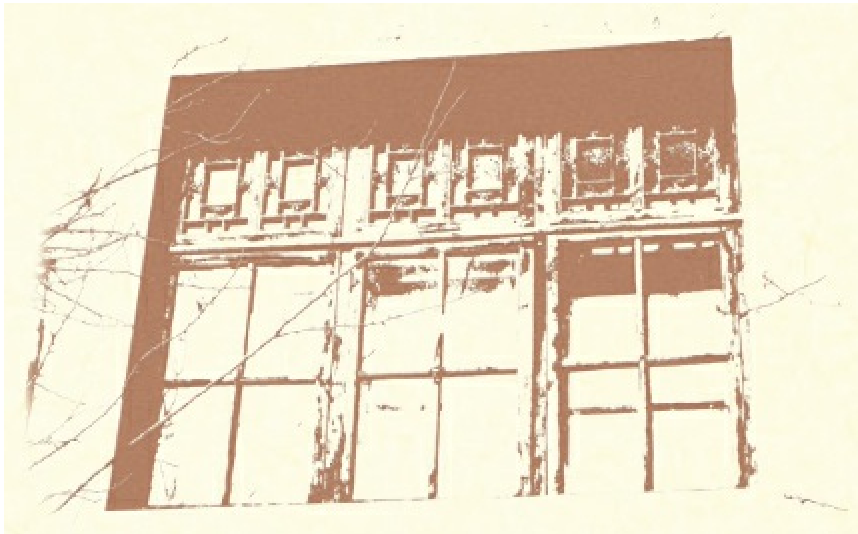


【外文楼】——刘继伟　摄

The Waiwen Building was donated by the banker Mr. McBrier in 1925 and it was originally known as the Building Mu. During the time of Yenching University, it was used as classrooms. It is a typical Chinese style building, decorated with dark red pillars and grilles. The Waiwen Building is currently the office for the School of Foreign Languages.



Waiwen Building (photo by Liu Jiwei)



档案馆

北京大学档案馆位于西校门内，办公楼南侧，坐东朝西，与化学南北楼构成一个“品”字形的院落。建筑形式采用了中国古建筑式样，歇山顶，素色墙体，深红柱子与格栅窗以及条石基座。

档案馆建成于1925年，原为燕京大学图书馆馆舍，是贝瑞姐妹（Berry Sisters）为纪念父母而捐资建成，为燕京大学早期主体建筑之一。1952年院系调整后档案馆成为北京大学图书馆，1974年学校新图书馆建成后，原有的图书馆阅览室陆续迁出。在这之后，由王选教授领导的汉字激光照排工程工作组，即“七四八”研究所和北京大学档案馆先后迁入，如今整栋楼都已作为北京大学档案馆的办公场地。馆内的档案记录着百年以来燕园的沧桑变化，再现了百年来北京大学教与学的发展历程。



【北京大学档案馆】——吴淑颖　摄

Built in 1925, the Peking University Archives used to be the library of Yenching University. In 1952 it was turned into Peking University's library, and after the new library was built in 1974, it was used as archives. The Peking University Archives adopts a beautiful antique style. The building follows the traditional style of Chinese architecture, with boulder strips as foundation and plain colored walls.



Peking University Archives (photo by Wu Shuying)

俄文楼

俄文楼建于1924年，原名圣人楼，又称适楼，是墨菲主持规划设计的燕京大学主教学区的主体建筑之一。俄文楼坐落于南北阁东侧，坐东朝西。楼高两层，歇山顶，檐下饰以斗拱，形制与外文楼相似，只不过体量小得多。

俄文楼由罗素·塞奇基金会捐资兴建，时为燕京大学女子学院教学楼。现为北京大学元培学院的办公场所。

> 在女校建设的过程中，关于圣人楼与南北阁之间如何形成过渡的问题，墨菲和翟伯产生了有趣的争执——墨菲强调“中国风格”中群体的重要性，主张在圣人楼南侧修建两组主轴长132英尺的建筑，而代表校方的翟伯则主张每边一个主轴长165英尺的歇山顶建筑。而这一争端的缘起，在于已经落成的圣人楼设计得体量过小，难以承担轴线上“贯穿景深末端”的重任。
>
> 唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》

The Russian Building was designed by Henry Murphy and built in 1924. Since the whole construction was sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation, it was also named the Sage Hall.

化学南北楼

北京大学化学南北楼，最早名为科学楼，建成于1925年，资金来源于洛克菲勒基金会用于建设北京协和医学院预科资金中的一部分。这两栋对称的建筑原为燕京大学的教学办公场所，由墨菲设计。两栋建筑均坐南朝北，位于原燕京大学东西中轴线南侧，与档案馆构成一个“品”字形的院落；其中化学北楼还与外文楼和办公楼构成了中轴线上的视觉焦点。两栋建筑形式上采用了中国古建筑式样，庑殿顶，素色墙体，深红柱子与格栅窗以及条石基座。如今化学北楼作为北京大学国学研究院、国际汉学家研修基地的教学科研楼（“大雅堂”），而化学南楼成为北京大学财务部的办公场所。虽然历经百年的沧桑，但化学南北楼仍是北京大学的标志性建筑。



【化学南楼】——吴淑颖　摄



【化学北楼】——唐伽拉　摄

If you ever pay a visit to the Peking University Archives, you will inevitably find two symmetrical buildings standing next to it. These buildings were designed by Henry Murphy in an ancient style and built in 1925. They are now called the North and South Chemistry Buildings. These days the North Chemistry Building is used as the teaching and research building for the Institute of Chinese Studies, while the South Chemistry Building serves as the Office of Financial Affairs.


South Chemistry Building (photo by Wu Shuying)



North Chemistry Building (photo by Tang Jiala)

西门石狮

在北京大学西门外，左右各立有一只石狮，与毛泽东主席题写的“北京大学”匾额相映生辉。石狮为汉白玉雕刻而成，传统造型，鬈发虬卷，威严而不狰狞，庄重而不死板。双眼向上斜吊，目光炯炯有神，眉弓上卷云眉舒展，狮口大开，方鼻微翘，器宇轩昂。石狮身披雕花绶带，背盘钮花结，前胸有一小狮头，狮口含铃，雕工精细，与大狮相互呼应，设计巧妙。左边雄狮右前爪玩一绣球，右边雌狮左前爪抚一小狮，趾上关节特别突出。须弥座上浮雕花型图案，纹饰类型多样，几乎布满了整个底座，给人以浓厚的喜庆吉祥之感。两只石狮整体相似而细节之处又略有变化，展现了高超的雕刻技术和传统的对称美。

> 关于这一对石狮的来历，有人以为取自圆明园，其实不然，它们乃是原燕京大学于1924年从民间购得的，在北大文书档案馆里，还存有当时购买这对石狮的契据，全文是：“立字人文翰章，兹因祖遗有石狮一对齐整无损。今因合族生计艰难，商同合族允可出售。今经介绍人贞德元等说合，卖与燕京大学使用。三面言明议价现洋柒佰元，先付定洋壹佰元，俟起运时全行付清。再者起运经工人手重损坏，并连脚有失，本卖主概不负责。本买主按约履行付钱呈数。以此立字为证。”
>
> 肖东发：《风物：燕园景观及人文底蕴》



【西门石狮】——张博言　摄

Outside the West Gate, there are a pair of stone guardian lions, which were bought in 1924 by Yenching University. You can see the male lion resting his right front paw upon an embroidered ball and the female restraining a playful cub under her left front paw.



Stone Guardian Lion (photo by Zhang Boyan)

华表

西校门内办公楼前草坪上立有两根高大精美的华表，历经百年沧桑，给园子增添了几分典雅与庄重。这一对华表是圆明园安佑宫遗物，至迟当造于乾隆七年（1742），原本一共有四根，另一对在国家图书馆文津街分馆院内。

华表为汉白玉石雕，刻蟠龙云气，通高约8米，下为八角形须弥座，座高1.24米，每一面都刻有一条正面龙，周身饰有各种寓意吉祥的花纹图案，雕刻精细。柱身主体为一条蟠龙，龙身盘曲遒劲，每一片龙鳞都清晰而富有张力，龙爪刚劲有力，充满力量美和动态美。云纹线条舒展而柔美，进一步衬托了龙的形象。顶部有中国传统瑞兽“犼”，雕刻技法娴熟，线条流畅优美，又使华表的造型有了一定的变化。两根华表充分展现了中国传统石刻高超的雕刻技术和独特的审美价值。

但是仔细观察一下这对华表，会发现一粗一细，并不是一对。原来1925年燕京大学建校舍时，只从圆明园运来了三根，第四根却被运到城里，1931年曾横卧在天安门前道南。当北京图书馆建文津阁新馆时，欲将燕大多余的一根华表搬走与天安门前的另一根合成一对，不料搬运时阴差阳错，结果燕大和北图的华表皆不成对，成就了这一桩趣事。

肖东发：《风物：燕园景观及人文底蕴》

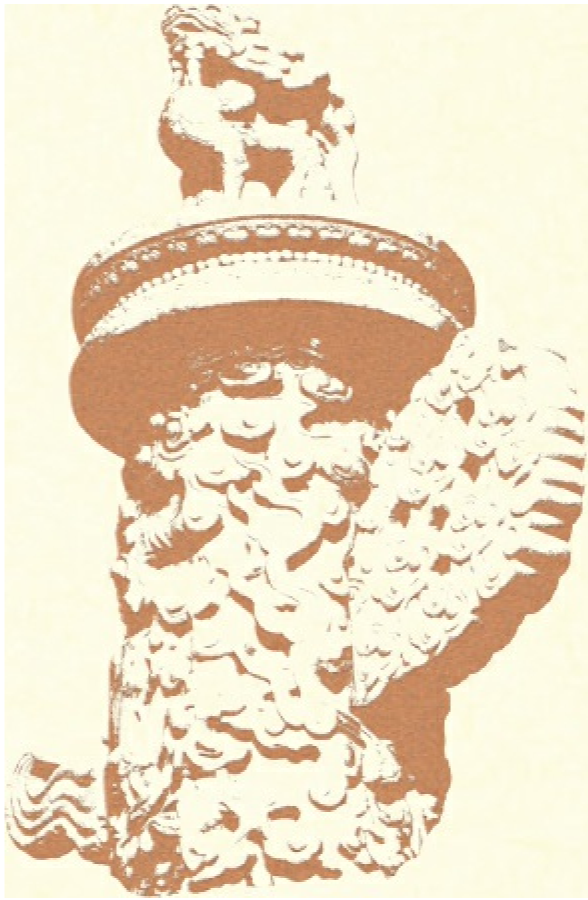


【华表】——陈燕军　摄

On the lawn outside the Bashford Hall stand a pair of exquisite ornamental columns. They were built no later than 1742 and used to belong to the Yuanming Yuan. There were originally four of them but the other two were moved to the National Library.



Ornamental Column (photo by Chen Yanjun)



石麒麟

办公楼前立有两尊石麒麟，原为圆明园遗物。石麒麟刻成时间不晚于雍正三年（1725），最初立于圆明园大宫门前，乾隆六年（1741）修建安佑宫时，被移至安佑宫。圆明园被英法联军在第二次鸦片战争中焚毁后，安佑宫旧日景象荡然无存，这对麒麟却基本完好地保存了下来，后由载涛购得，置于朗润园中，后又随朗润园一起归燕京大学所有。麒麟高1.74米，须弥座高0.98米，正面宽1.41米，侧面宽1.95米，刻工细腻，巧夺天工，线条纹样流畅清晰。但其实，每尊石麒麟与其基座是由两块石头刻成后拼接而成的，由于接缝断面向里收缩，接缝很难被发现，足见制造者的灵巧与用心。

麒麟在中国传统文化当中是“圣兽”，两尊石麒麟像两位勇敢刚强的守护神一般，雄伟刚健的身姿与秀美和善之风度点缀着周围的环境。



【石麒麟】——刘继伟　摄

In front of the Bashford Hall is a pair of stone *qilin* . They used to belong to the Yuanming Yuan. They were then bought and put in the Langrun Garden by Zaitao, and later sold to Yenching University.

In fact, each *qilin* was jointed together with its base seat after it was carved. The seams were unnoticeable because of the inward shrinking of the fracture

surface, enough to show the craftsmen's ingenuity and thoughtfulness. Deemed as a sacred animal in traditional Chinese culture, the two *qilin* stand there like two brave and unyielding guardians, embellishing their surroundings with the majesty of their posture and geniality of their manners.



Stone *Qilin* (photo by Liu Jiwei)

丹墀

办公楼前两麒麟中间的丹墀又称“龙云石”，和石麒麟同属圆明园安佑宫遗物，原有两块，另一块保存在颐和园。丹墀所雕图案为二龙戏珠，形态逼真，石长3.15米，宽1.3米，其中龙云浮雕宽1米。丹墀与石麒麟同系载涛购得，一起存放在朗润园，多年以后被迁置办公楼前。



【丹墀】——吴淑颖　摄

In between the stone *qilin* , there is a *Danchi* , also called Dragon Cloud Marble. It is carved with dragons playing with a pearl, 3.15 meters long and 1.3 meters wide. The *Danchi* was moved to the present place after Yenching University bought the Langrun Garden form Zaitao.



Danchi (photo by Wu Shuying)

海晏堂引水槽

从西校门南行不远，在柏油路两侧，摆放着两块汉白玉长条石刻。石刻呈须弥座形，略有弧度。上层饰莲瓣纹，束腰饰S形纹，底部正中饰蝠形纹，四角饰卷草纹。这块石刻原为圆明园西洋楼建筑群中海晏堂门前的引水石槽。

西洋楼位于圆明园中的长春园北界，是我国最早的欧式巴洛克风格园林建筑群；清乾隆十二年（1747）开始筹划建设，四十八年（1783）最终完工。海晏堂位于西洋楼园区中部，主楼前广场上建有大名鼎鼎的十二生肖铜像喷泉，而海晏堂正门两侧，连接喷泉雕像与储水池“锡海”的则是叠落式的引水石槽。根据传世的海晏堂铜版画来看，引水石槽的位置应位于生肖铜像上方。

清末圆明园罹难，西洋楼损毁殆尽。引水石槽从圆明园流出后，曾作为燕园西墙外万泉河上篓斗桥的桥栏。后万泉河改道，不再流经西门外，篓斗桥也随之废弃，而引水石槽被摆放在西门内直到如今。



【海晏堂引水槽】——王春茵　摄

Not far from south of the West Gate stand two white marble stone strips. The slightly curved strips have lotus petal patterns on the upper layer, S patterns in the middle, and bat patterns on the bottom. They used to be the gutter in front of the Haiyan Tang (Hall of Calm Sea) in the middle of the Xiyang Lou area. In the plaza in front of the Haiyan Tang was the celebrated Twelve Bronze Animal Heads Fountain. According to the extant copperplate etching of the Haiyan Tang, the gutter must have been located on top of the bronze animal heads.



Haiyan Tang Gutter (photo by Wang Chunyin)

旗杆座（**1924**）

在西校门内的外文楼西南侧草地上，有一个小型石质旗杆座。该旗杆座为三块方形石块堆叠而成，上、中、下三块边长分别约0.62米、0.47米、0.32米，顶部有一圆洞。最上层的石块有所残缺，它的一侧刻有铭文“CONSERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION”，背面刻有年代“1924”。其来源与用途尚不清楚。

Within the West Gate and on the lawn southwest of the Waiwen Building stands a small flagpole seat. It is made of a stack of three square stones, whose sides measure 0.62, 0.47 and 0.32 meter respectively. The one on the top is damaged, with the inscription "CONSERVATION AND RECONSTRUCTION" on one side and the year "1924" on the back. Its source and usage are not clear yet.

旗杆座（**1952**）

在西校门内东南侧，化学北楼南面的草坪上，也有一个旗杆座，体型稍大，为一六面体石柱，其中一面刻有“献给母校　北京大学一九五二年全体毕业生”字样。旗杆座筹建于1952年，当时1952届的毕业生作为新中国成立后北京大学正式毕业的第一届学生，在毕业前集体作出决定：每人从离校后的第一次工资中寄出五毛钱，给新校址建一个旗杆。目的是希望北京大学迁入燕园后的第一面五星红旗从这个旗杆上升起，以此作为给母校的礼物。毕业典礼上，当时的学生代表乐黛云将旗杆模型郑重交给了时任校务委员会主席的汤用彤先生。

The larger flagpole located southeast within the West Gate was set up in 1952. It was donated by the alumni of that year as a gift to the University.

葛利普教授墓

葛利普教授墓位于校友桥南，西南联大纪念碑北侧。墓碑为汉白玉材质，洁白的碑身正面刻有葛利普教授的头像、生卒年及“葛利普教授之墓 In Memory of Professor AMADEUS WILLIAM GRABAU”等几个大字，背面刻有葛利普教授的生平简介。

葛利普（1870—1946），德裔美国地质学家、古生物学家、地层学家，近代地层学的创建人之一，一生发表近300种学术著作。1905年受聘为哥伦比亚大学教授，并当选纽约科学院院士。1920年应丁文江邀请来华担任中国农商部地质调查所顾问、北京大学地质系教授。1934年任北京大学地质学系系主任。葛利普在中国从事地质、古生物研究和教学26年，对中国地质事业的发展作出了重大贡献。

葛利普教授是中国地质学会的创建会员之一，曾任学会理事和副会长。他十分热爱中国，抗日时期曾致书美国总统，要求支持中国人民的斗争。他曾站在中国地质调查所门口，阻挡日本兵接收，并始终不同侵略者合作。太平洋战争爆发后，72岁高龄的葛利普被关进集中营长达四年之久，倍受折磨，但仍孜孜不倦地著述。1946年3月26日，葛利普教授于北平逝世。北京大学教授会遵照他的遗愿，决定将他的骨灰葬于北大沙滩红楼旁的地质馆前。1982年7月，在中国地质学会的倡议下，其墓被移入燕园之中。

葛利普教授是中国人民的好朋友，是北大历史上杰出的教授，为中国的教育和科学事业奉献了一生，最终也长眠于这片他深爱的土地上。



【葛利普教授之墓】——张夏妍　摄

The Tomb of Professor Grabau is located to the south of the Alumni Bridge, north of the Memorial of National Southwestern Associated University. The gravestone is a square white marble. Inscribed on the front is the head portrait of Professor Grabau, with years of birth and death, and the inscription "In Memory of Professor AMADEUS WILLIAM GRABAU".

Amadeus William Grabau (1870–1946) was a German-born American geologist, paleontologist, and stratigrapher. He had worked and taught in

China for 26 years, making a great contribution to the development of Chinese geology.



Tomb of Professor Grabau (photo by Zhang Xiayan)

国立西南联合大学纪念碑

国立西南联合大学纪念碑位于西校门内南侧，化学南楼西侧草坪上。纪念碑高约5米，宽约2.7米，面西而立。碑的正面为闻一多篆额、冯友兰撰文、罗庸书丹的碑文，碑文记述了西南联大的建校始末、特点及历史意义；碑的背面是由唐兰篆额、刘晋年书丹的“联大抗战以来从军学生名单”，共计834名。原碑建于1946年5月，彼时正当抗战胜利、联大北返之际，现立于西南联大旧址（今云南师范大学）。此碑为北大于1989年5月4日照原碑复制所得。正如宗璞先生在《燕园碑寻》一文中所说，这是“一座极有意义的碑，它不评风花雪月，不记君恩臣功，而是概括了一段历史”。如今，国立西南联合大学早已成为历史，但她的历史、学风、胸怀、精神、成果滋养着一代又一代学人。燕园里的纪念碑让一代又一代北大人感受到温暖深情、厚重精神。



【国立西南联合大学纪念碑】——靳戈　摄

The Memorial of National Southwestern Associated University stands on the lawn south of the West Gate, west of the South Chemistry Building. The inscriptions on the front were jointly made by Wen Yiduo, Feng Youlan and Luo Yong, recording the history, characteristics and significance of the University. Inscribed on the back was a list of students who joined the army

after the war broke out. The original memorial was constructed in May 1946 when the University was on its northbound journey. It is now on the former site of National Southwestern Associated University (present-day Yunnan Normal University). PKU's memorial was a copy of the original made on May 4, 1989.



Memorial of National Southwestern Associated University (photo by Jin Ge)

国立西南联合大学纪念碑碑文

国立西南联合大学纪念碑　文学院院长冯友兰撰文　中国文学系教授闻一多篆额　中国文学系主任罗庸书丹

中华民国三十四年九月九日，我国家受日本之降于南京，上距二十六年七月七日卢沟桥之变为时八年，再上距二十年九月十八日沈阳之变为时十四年，再上距清甲午之役为时五十一年。举凡五十年间，日本所鲸吞蚕食于我国家者，至是悉备图籍献还。全胜之局，秦汉以来所未有也。

国立北京大学、国立清华大学原设北平，私立南开大学原设天津。自沈阳之变，我国家之威权逐渐南移，惟以文化力量与日本争持于平津，此三校实为其中坚。二十六年平津失守，三校奉命迁于湖南，合组为国立长沙临时大学，以三校校长蒋梦麟、梅贻琦、张伯苓为常务委员主持校务，设法、理、工学院于长沙，文学院于南岳，于十一月一日开始上课。迨京沪失守，武汉震动，临时大学又奉命迁云南。师生徒步经贵州，于二十七年四月二十六日抵昆明。旋奉命改名为国立西南联合大学，设理、工学院于昆明，文、法学院于蒙自，于五月四日开始上课。一学期后，文、法学院亦迁昆明。二十七年，增设师范学校。二十九年，设分校于四川叙永，一学年后并于本校。昆明本为后方名城，自日军入安南，陷缅甸，乃成后方重镇。联合大学支持其间，先后毕业学生二千余人，从军旅者八百余人。

河山既复，日月重光，联合大学之战时使命既成，奉命于三十五年五月四日结束。原有三校，即将返故居，复旧业。缅维八年支持之苦辛，与夫三校合作之协和，可纪念者，盖有四焉：我国家以世界之古国，居东亚之天府，本应绍汉唐之遗烈，作并世之先进，将来建国完成，必于世界历史居独特之地位。盖并世列强，虽新而不古；希腊罗

马，有古而无今。惟我国家，亘古亘今，亦新亦旧，斯所谓『周虽旧邦，其命维新』者也！旷代之伟业，八年之抗战，已开其规模、立其基础。今日之胜利，于我国家有旋乾转坤之功，而联合大学之使命，与抗战相终始，此其可纪念者一也。文人相轻，自古而然，昔人所言，今有同慨。三校有不同之历史，各异之学风，八年之久，合作无间，同无妨异，异不害同，五色交辉，相得益彰，八音合奏，终和且平，此其可纪念者二也。万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖，小德川流，大德敦化，此天地之所以为大。斯虽先民之恒言，实为民主之真谛。联合大学以其兼容并包之精神，转移社会一时之风气，内树学术自由之规模，外来民主堡垒之称号，违千夫之诺诺，作一士之谔谔，此其可纪念者三也。稽之往史，我民族若不能立足于中原，偏安江表，称曰南渡。南渡之人，未有能北返者。晋人南渡，其例一也；宋人南渡，其例二也；明人南渡，其例三也。风景不殊，晋人之深悲；还我河山，宋人之虚愿。吾人为第四次之南渡，乃能于不十年间，收恢复之全功。庾信不哀江南，杜甫喜收蓟北，此其可纪念者四也。联合大学初定校歌，其辞始叹南迁流难之苦辛，中颂师生不屈之壮志，终寄最后胜利之期望。校以今日之成功，历历不爽，若合符契。联合大学之终始，岂非一代之盛事、旷百世而难遇者哉！爰就歌辞，勒为碑铭。铭曰：

痛南渡，辞宫阙。驻衡湘，又离别。更长征，经峣嵲。望中原，遍洒血。抵绝徼，继讲说。诗书弃，犹有舌。尽笳吹，情弥切。千秋耻，终已雪。见仇寇，如烟灭。起朔北，迄南越。视金瓯，已无缺。大一统，无倾折。中兴业，继往烈。维三校，兄弟列。为一体，如胶结。同艰难，共欢悦。联合竟，使命彻。神京复，还燕碣。以此石，象坚节。纪嘉庆，告来哲。

“三·一八”遇难烈士纪念碑

“三·一八”遇难烈士纪念碑位于校史馆东侧的小路上，共有两座，均为汉白玉材质、方锥形，是为纪念“三·一八”惨案中为国殉身的年轻烈士们而立，其中南侧的碑为燕京大学魏士毅烈士纪念碑，北侧的碑为北京大学黄克仁、李家珍、张仲超烈士纪念碑。

魏士毅纪念碑由燕京大学学生会于1927年3月建立。碑身正面镌刻有“魏士毅女士纪念碑”八个大字。碑座上层四面有浅浮雕纹饰，主体为铃兰花环，外侧衬以三角形；下层刻有“魏士毅女士纪念碑铭”。

黄克仁、李家珍、张仲超烈士纪念碑乃1929年5月30日北京大学师生为三人合立。碑座高三尺、腰高一尺、身高八尺，取纪念“三·一八”之意。石碑北、南、西三面碑身分别镌有“三·一八遇难烈士黄君克仁纪念碑”“三·一八遇难烈士李君家珍纪念碑”“三·一八遇难烈士张君仲超纪念碑”字样，碑座相应地刻有三位烈士的生平略历；东面刻有立碑时间“中华民国十有八年五月三十日立石”，碑座为北大教授黄右昌所撰铭文（以上碑身文字均为篆书）。该碑原立于北大三院（北河沿54号），1982年3月北大团委将其迁到燕园现址。

两座纪念碑肃然挺拔的身躯傲视苍穹，透露着一股中国青年为了国家、民族奋起抗争，甚至不惜牺牲的崇高精神，以及反抗强暴、视死如归的凛然正气，强烈地震撼着每一位瞻仰者的心灵。那段离乱存亡的岁月或已远去，但其代表的北大、燕大学子的爱国精神将一直在燕园里传承发扬。



【“三·一八”遇难烈士纪念碑】——邹程浩　摄

The Memorials of the Martyrs in the "March 18 Massacre" are on the road east of the Museum of Peking University History. The two memorials are made of white marble, in the shape of square cone. The one on the south is the memorial of Wei Shiyi of Yenching University; the one on the north is that of Huang Keren, Li Jiazhen and Zhang Zhongchao of Peking University.

Tall and straight in a highly respectful manner, the memorials radiate Chinese young people's dedication and devotion to their nation and country. Their patriotism will be carried forward in the Yan Garden forever.



Memorials of the Martyrs in the "March 18 Massacre" (photo by Zou Chenghao)

魏士毅女士纪念碑铭

魏士毅女士，直隶天津县人，燕京大学本科二年级生。劬学励志，性不容恶，尝慨然以改革习俗为己任。民国十五年三月十八日，北京各学校学生为八国通牒事参加国民大会，至国务院请愿。女士与焉，遂罹于难，时年二十有三岁。女士既死难，同人敛其遗骸，谋公葬于校地，以其亲属弗欲，遂不果。越年乃立斯石，用申景慕，且为铭曰：

国有巨蠹政不纲，城狐社鼠争跳梁。公门喋血歼我良，牺牲小己终取偿。北斗无酒南箕扬，民心向背关兴亡。愿后死者长毋忘。

中华民国十六年三月燕京大学男女两校
及女附中学生会全体会员敬立

黄克仁、李家珍、张仲超烈士纪念碑铭

黄烈士克仁略历

黄烈士克仁，湖南长沙人。民国十三年夏，毕长郡中学业，入北京大学。家贫甚，学费仰给亲友，以是研攻颇力。十五年三月十八日，八国通牒事起，民众集议于天安门，烈士欲约同学某偕往，见某尚高卧，愤然独行，随众至执政府请愿。执政段祺瑞、国务总理贾德耀令卫士枪击，烈士遂遇害。时年十九岁。

李烈士家珍略历

李烈士家珍，湖南醴陵人。世业农，尚朴实。兄弟三人，烈士其季也。民国九年夏，入省立中学，试辄冠曹。尤长队球，尝代表华中参与全国运动会。十三年夏，入北京大学潜修，不少外骛，唯颇关怀国事。十五年三月十八日，烈士亦往执政府请愿，右腿中弹，当晚五时，逝于内城官医院。时年二十一岁。

张烈士仲超略历

张烈士仲超，陕西三原人。无兄弟，母早逝。父景秩，毕业日本士官学校，归国后，从事革命。烈士习于庭训，年十五入省立第三中学，肄业。十三年夏，毕高中业，入北京大学。翌年春，费绌休学，任澄城中学教员，组织青年社，以灌输青年革命思想为己任。是年秋复学。十五年三月十八日，烈士亦往执政府请愿，同遇害。时年二十三岁。

东面碑座碑铭

死者烈士之身，不死者烈士之神。愤八国通牒兮，竟杀身以成仁。唯烈士之碧血兮，共北大而长新。踏着三一八血迹兮，雪国耻以敌强邻。繄后死之责任兮，誓尝胆而卧薪。

北大教授黄右昌撰

【二】未名湖区域
Weiming Lake Area

临湖轩

临湖轩坐落于未名湖南岸，掩映在一片茂林修竹之中，显得幽静而神秘。建筑采用了三合院的布局形式，内有庭院，房屋为单层卷棚硬山顶，灰色砖墙面，红色柱子。

临湖轩为燕京大学时期新建，而在其南侧是乾隆赏赐给宠臣和珅的临风待月楼的楼址，在1860年英法联军火烧圆明园的浩劫中，临风待月楼所在的淑春园化为灰烬，只有这座小楼和未名湖畔的石舫基座幸免于难，而燕园开始建设时，小楼也已不存。燕京大学迁入燕园新校址时，由美国人乔治·柯里夫妇捐资，在临风待月楼原址北侧新建了临湖轩，成为20世纪20年代燕京大学校长司徒雷登的寓所和接待来宾的地方。1931年，时任燕大教师的冰心为其命名“临湖轩”，后由当时的北大著名教授胡适题写牌匾。解放初期临湖轩仍然作为校长宅邸，燕大校长陆志韦、北大校长马寅初都曾在这里居住，后改为贵宾招待所。“文革”后临湖轩归属北大外事处（今北京大学国际合作部），成为对外接待和小型会议场所。

After Yenching University moved to the Yan Garden, the Linhu House was constructed north of the former site of the Linfeng Daiyue Building. In the 1920s, it was used as a guest house for foreign visitors. John Leighton Stuart also lived there.

Since then, the Linhu House has always been the guest house for distinguished visitors. It has become a tradition for PKU presidents to meet

guests in this building.

博雅塔

博雅塔位于北京大学校园中东部，未名湖东南侧，“湖光塔影”是校园著名景观之一。

博雅塔原为水塔。1924年7月为了解决师生的用水问题，燕京大学打出一口深55米的深水井，且急需建一座水塔以向全校供水。为了与校园古典建筑群和未名湖风光相协调，燕京大学校方向社会名流征求意见后，决定参照通州燃灯塔，建造一座塔式水楼，因为通州是燕京大学前身之一——协和大学的所在地。

水塔形制取八角密檐式，塔基为须弥座，塔级13级，高37米。塔中空，有螺旋梯直通塔顶，除基座外塔身均用钢筋水泥建筑，设计精良。水塔建造经费由当时任教于燕京大学哲学系的美籍教授博晨光（Lucius Chapin Porter，旧译博雅氏）的叔父（时居美国）所捐，依从当时燕京大学校园建筑以捐款人姓氏命名的惯例，水塔被命名为“博雅塔”。如今博雅塔已经不再作为水塔使用，而是作为校园的标志性建筑之一成为北京大学的象征。

> 湖和塔的天作之合构成了未名湖的主旋律。这绝妙的搭配堪称大手笔的杰作，真不愧是大匠之心，那么富有哲理，那么耐人寻味。湖和塔一个动一个静，一个纤巧一个伟岸，一个空灵一个凝重，一个活泼一个肃穆，一个变幻一个守恒，一个天性平顺一个崇尚正直，一个透着女性的秀美一个蕴藉着男性的阳刚。
>
> 詹克明：《魂系未名湖》



【博雅塔】——姜南　摄

Built in 1924, the Boya Pagoda used to function as a water tower for Yenching University. The pagoda was named after James Porter(translated as Boya Shi), the donor of the construction. In Chinese, "Bo" stands for knowledge while "Ya" means elegance. It is a tradition of Yenching University that each building on campus would be named after its donor, which is why people can always see two or more names for one certain building at PKU.

Today, the Boya Pagoda is no longer used as a water tower but plays a far more important role instead. It has become a must-see site for tourists and also a beloved symbol of PKU for all the students.



Boya Pagoda (photo by Jiang Nan)

“德才均备体健全”斋

“德才均备体健全”斋坐落在未名湖北岸，是一组由七个宅院组成的仿明清式古典建筑群落，分别称为“德斋”“才斋”“均斋”“备斋”“体斋”“健斋”“全斋”。其中“德斋”“才斋”“均斋”“备斋”四斋与西面的民主楼平行，在未名湖北岸呈直线排列，合称“德才均备”四斋。“体斋”和“健斋”坐落于“德才均备”四斋以东，“全斋”位于“体斋”和“健斋”以北。

“德才均备”四斋原为燕京大学的男生宿舍。从建筑外观上看，这四斋因循地形分为两组三合形式，“德斋”与“才斋”为一组，“均斋”与“备斋”为一组。每组的两斋之间有一栋狭长的东西走向的仿明清式建筑，将两斋连接在一起，形成“品”字形结构，两组“品”字形的结构形成两个小院。对比于作为燕大女生宿舍的静园六院，“德才均备”四斋的建筑及其所夹庭院的设计风格都更为雄浑有力、开阔豪放，很符合男生的性格特点。“体斋”和“健斋”一大一小，相连相依，最初作为燕京大学年轻单身教职员工的宿舍使用。“体斋”是一座小巧玲珑的两层八角亭式建筑，“健斋”则高大雄浑，两斋以回廊和台阶相连。“全斋”建成于1952年，作为当时的男教师宿舍。“全斋”是七斋中唯一的封闭式平房大院，分为南北两排，起初共有40余间平房，每间可住一户人家。

在燕园初建之时，作为男生宿舍使用的“德才均备”四斋曾以各自的捐资者姓名为依据，分别命名为斐斋（为费先生Mr. Finley所捐）、蔚斋（为惠先生Mr. Wheeler所捐）、干斋（为纪念甘伯尔先生Mr. James N. Gamble所捐）、复斋（为Mrs. Fannie Forbes纪念其父所捐）。“德才均备”四斋也曾按照编号系统自西向东分别称为红一楼、红二楼、红三楼和红四楼。“体斋”又名为湖滨楼，“健斋”又名为平津楼。而“德才均备体健全”七斋的名称则一直沿用下来，寄托着从燕京大学到北京大学

对莘莘学子的殷殷厚望。

“德才均备”四斋，现在主要为学校院系科研办公使用。北大百年校庆之际，“体斋”和“健斋”修缮一新，作为国际访问学者公寓使用，称帕卡德公寓。“全斋”经整体重建，成为北京大学国际数学研究中心的科研场所。



【第一体育馆】——吴淑颖　摄

If you make a list of the top ten favorite buildings on campus, although different people have different opinions, there is no doubt that this group of buildings will always be on the list. These seven buildings, including the Dezhai Building, Caizhai Building, Junzhai Building, Beizhai Building, Tizhai Building, Jianzhai Building and Quanzhai Building, are the most famous group of buildings at PKU. The "De, Cai, Jun, Bei" Buildings, standing in a line alongside the Weiming Lake, used to be the boys' dormitories of Yenching University.

The names of these buildings are quite interesting: "De" means "virtue", "Cai" means "talent" and "Jun Bei" means "both have", giving "De Cai Jun Bei" the meaning "having talents and virtues". Meanwhile, "Ti Jian Quan" means "being well-built". Both place high hopes on PKU students.



Gymnasium No. 1 (photo by Wu Shuying)

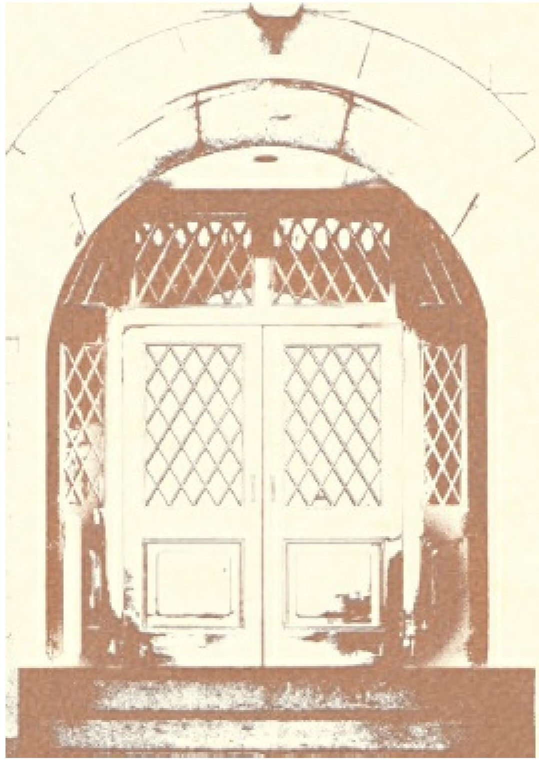
第一体育馆

第一体育馆原为燕京大学男子体育馆，落成于1931年，由燕京大学在美国的托事部主席华纳（Franklin Warner）捐资兴建，因而又名华氏体育馆。华氏体育馆坐落在未名湖东侧，坐东朝西，位于墨菲为燕京大学校园设计的始于西门、终于鲁斯亭的东西方向主轴线的延长线上，与办公楼隔湖相望，并采用了与办公楼相近的形制，主楼屋顶为庑殿顶，两翼配有副楼。

现一体东侧新建了棒球场、足球场，冬季为未名湖冰场提供服务，平时是形体课、太极拳等体育课程的教学场所，为北大师生提供了优质的体育活动条件。

> 一体紧邻未名湖，为学生冬季的冰上活动提供了便利：“寒冬到了，湖水结冰，辟一角作为溜冰场，悬灯结彩，近在咫尺，健儿们不假外求，昼夜都可以登场。瞧哪！冷风萧瑟的冰场，也是温馨洋溢的情场：红男绿女，哥儿姐儿，眼波含笑，粉脸微红，短衣窄袖，七彩缤纷。一个个眉飞色舞地在大显身手呢。或追奔逐北，或随意回旋，花式变化万千。或独行，或结队，或携玉手，作龙飞凤舞，一泻千里的演出，岂不快哉！”这种冰雪季节的盛况一直持续到了今天。一体出租的冰刀，依旧可以吸引校内的大批同学以及校外的游客。冬季湖上的冰雪盛况丝毫不减当年风韵。
>
> 唐克扬：《从废园到燕园》

Built in 1931, the Gymnasium No. 1 used to be the Men's Gymnasium of Yenching University. It stands at the east side of the Weiming Lake. Now a baseball field and a football pitch have been built next to the gym, offering students much convenience.



守仁国际中心建筑群

北京大学守仁国际中心建筑群位于未名湖的南岸，博雅塔以西的低地之内。其前身是燕京大学于1929年所建成的生物东馆，院系调整之后为北京大学生物学系所有；2001年由香港联泰国际集团主席陈守仁捐资重建，于2007年完工，后正式更名为北京大学守仁国际中心。该建筑群由三栋卷棚硬山顶的仿古建筑组合而成，以室外的连廊相连，自东向西分别命名为亨利楼、章桂堂和伟利楼。建筑形制上采用了灰色砖墙面配以中国传统的红色花窗，为建筑平添了一分古朴与典雅。如今守仁国际中心东西馆已经成为北京大学多个学术机构的办公场所，中馆为会议室，一些重要的国际学术会议常在这个古朴的小院中召开。

The Tan Siu Lin Center for International Studies is located at the southern end of the Weiming Lake. It was donated in 2001 by Mr. Tan Siu Lin, chairman of Luen Thai Holdings Ltd. It follows the simple and unadorned yet elegant style of traditional Chinese buildings. The center has now become the office building for various academic institutions. It is also the most popular venue for important international academic conferences.

鲁斯亭

鲁斯亭位于未名湖中心的湖心岛上，俗称岛亭，是一座木质结构的八角亭，亭顶为宝塔状，底座为高一米有余的八角形石台，亭下建有地下室，亭外有回廊，亭内据说有地道，以备战争时期紧急情况。

鲁斯亭是1929年亨利·鲁斯为纪念其父——曾于1919年任燕京大学副校长的鲁斯义而捐资建成，故又名斯义亭。1998年北京大学百年校庆时，鲁斯基金会捐资重修岛亭并将其重新命名为鲁斯亭。鲁斯亭修建之初为师生团体聚会场所，1966年前北京大学工会曾在此开设图书馆。现在鲁斯亭作为会议室使用。



【钟亭与铜钟】——李泉　摄

The Luce Pavilion lies on an island in the middle of the Weiming Lake. This

wooden pavilion looks like a pagoda with a veranda nearby. It was donated by Mr. Henry R. Luce to honor his father Mr. Henry W. Luce, former vice president of Yenching University. In 1998, the University decided to redecorate it for PKU's 100th birthday, and it is now used as a meeting room for faculties.



Bell Pavilion and Bronze Bell (photo by Li Quan)

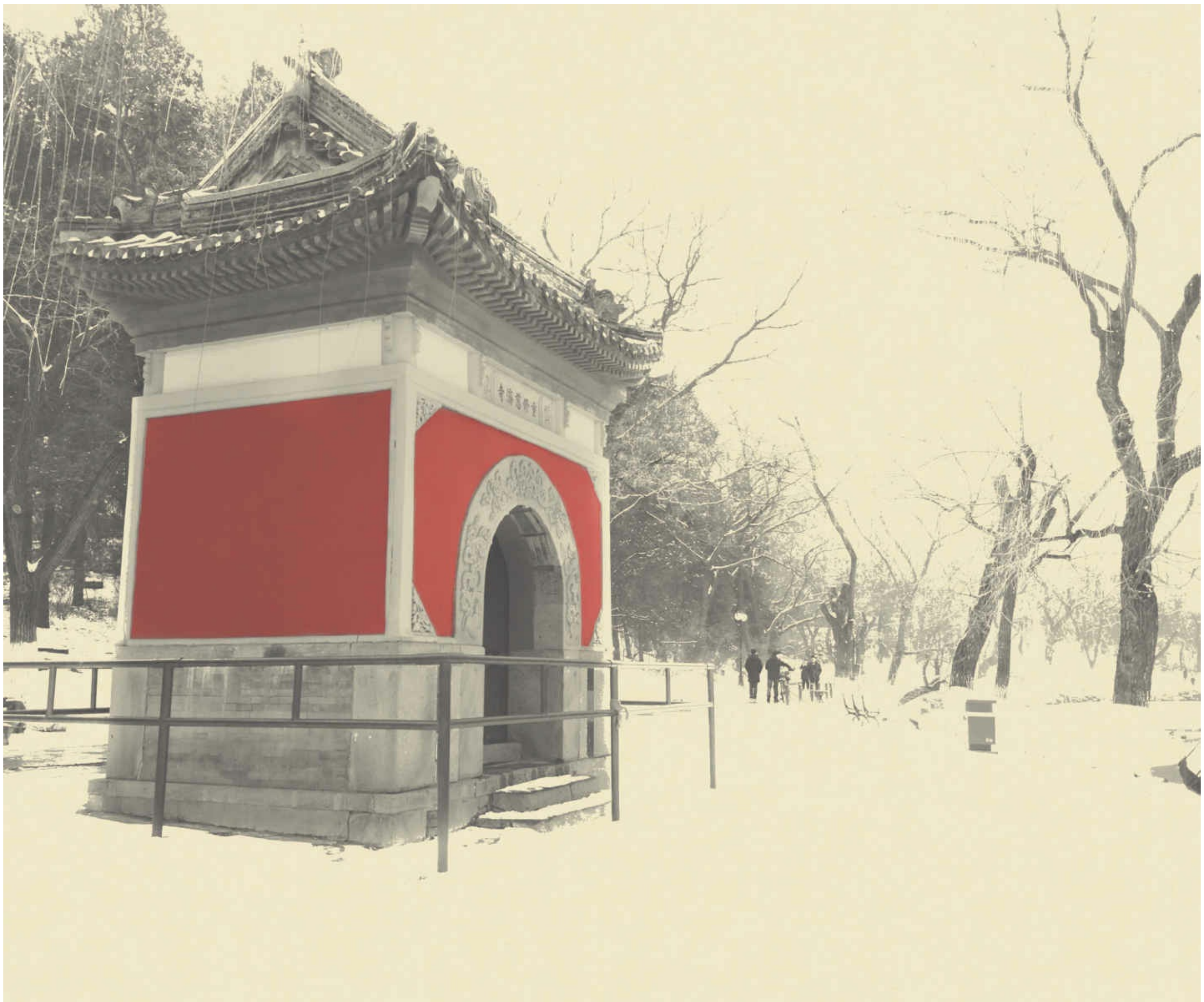
钟亭与铜钟

钟亭坐落在未名湖西岸的小土山上，北面临湖，东北方向正对翻尾石鱼，南面土山脚下有乾隆诗碑。钟亭在建筑形制上采用圆形攒尖式，柱头与梁上均有大量的彩绘；亭内悬挂一口古色古香的大铜钟。

铜钟“口径逾三四尺，高达八九尺”，用青龙铰连成的钟耳悬挂在亭内横木上，下端铸成八瓣荷花状，形似一朵倒开的花。钟体上部镌有十二对蛟龙戏珠，下部则刻有波涛和旭日图案，内部还有精美的八卦图案。钟上用满汉两种文字铸有“大清国丙申年八月制”字样。

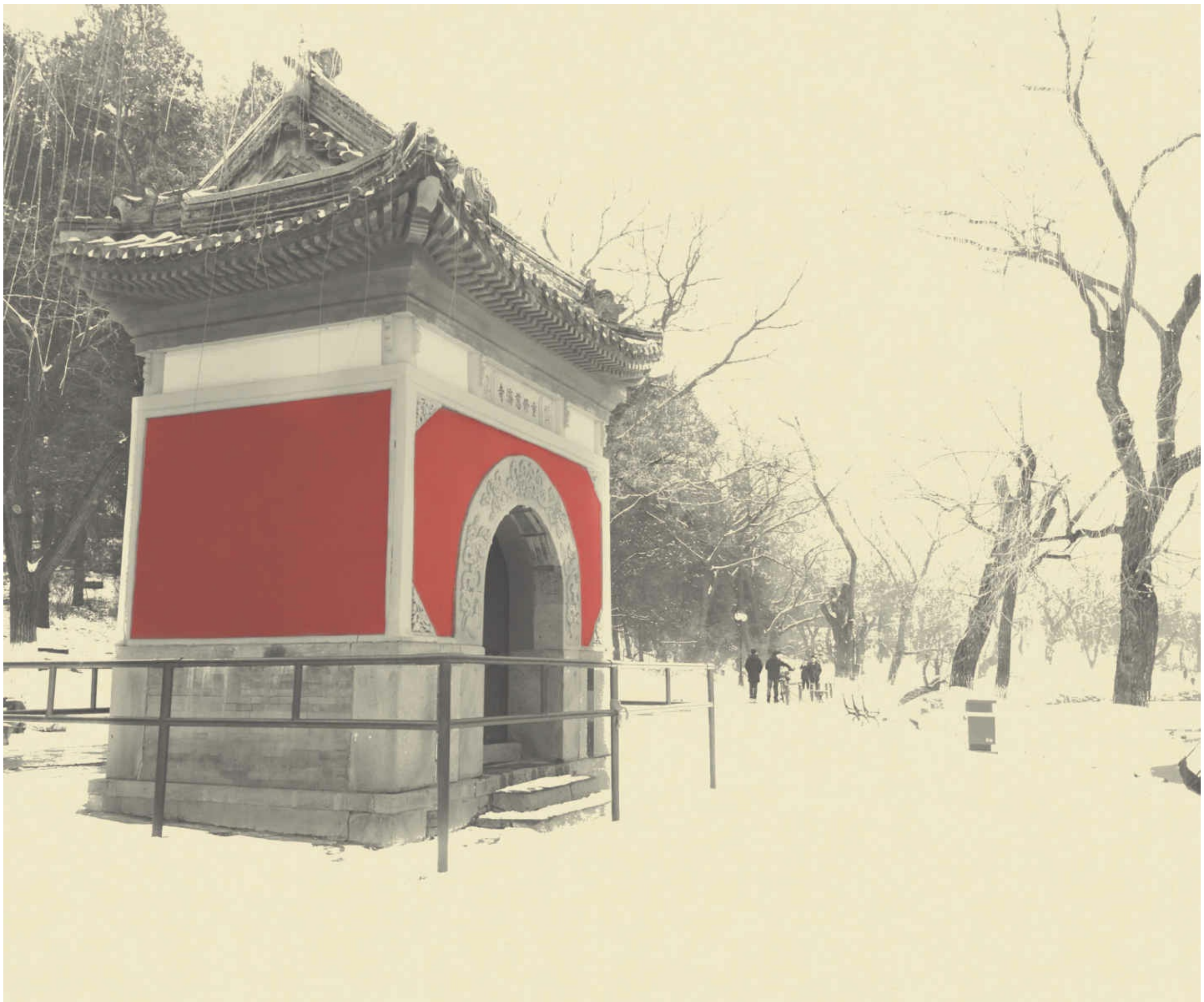
据记载，这口铜钟原系颐和园中水军起居用膳报时所用，后几经辗转被燕京大学购得作为校钟使用，全校师生的起居作息均以钟声为准。学校还专门制定了《撞钟法》：“每半小时撞钟一次，自十二时半起撞一下，一时撞两下，一时半撞三下，……四时撞八下，到四时半复撞一下。如是每四小时循环一次，每日早六时至晚十一时为撞钟时间。”北大迁入燕园后仍以此钟报时，直到“文革”方止。如今铜钟不再用来报时，而每当新年来临之际，人们都会前来敲响这口钟，让喜悦在未名湖畔久久回荡。

> 湖西侧小山上的钟亭，亭有亭的线条，钟有钟的线条，钟身上铸了十八条龙和八卦。那几条长短不同的横线做出的排列组合，几千年来研究不透。
>
> 宗璞：《我爱燕园》



【慈济寺山门】——彭兆睿　摄

The Bell Pavilion is located on the hill west of the Weiming Lake, with its north facing the lake. Inside the pavilion hangs an ancient bell. It is three to four *chi* in diameter and eight to nine in height, and exquisitely carved and decorated with patterns of waves and dragons. After Yenching University bought it as the school bell, the University made a special pattern for striking the bell. Now the bell has ceased its function of telling time. People love to come and strike it upon the New Year in their best wishes for the future.



Gate of the Ciji Temple (photo by Peng Zhaorui)

慈济寺山门

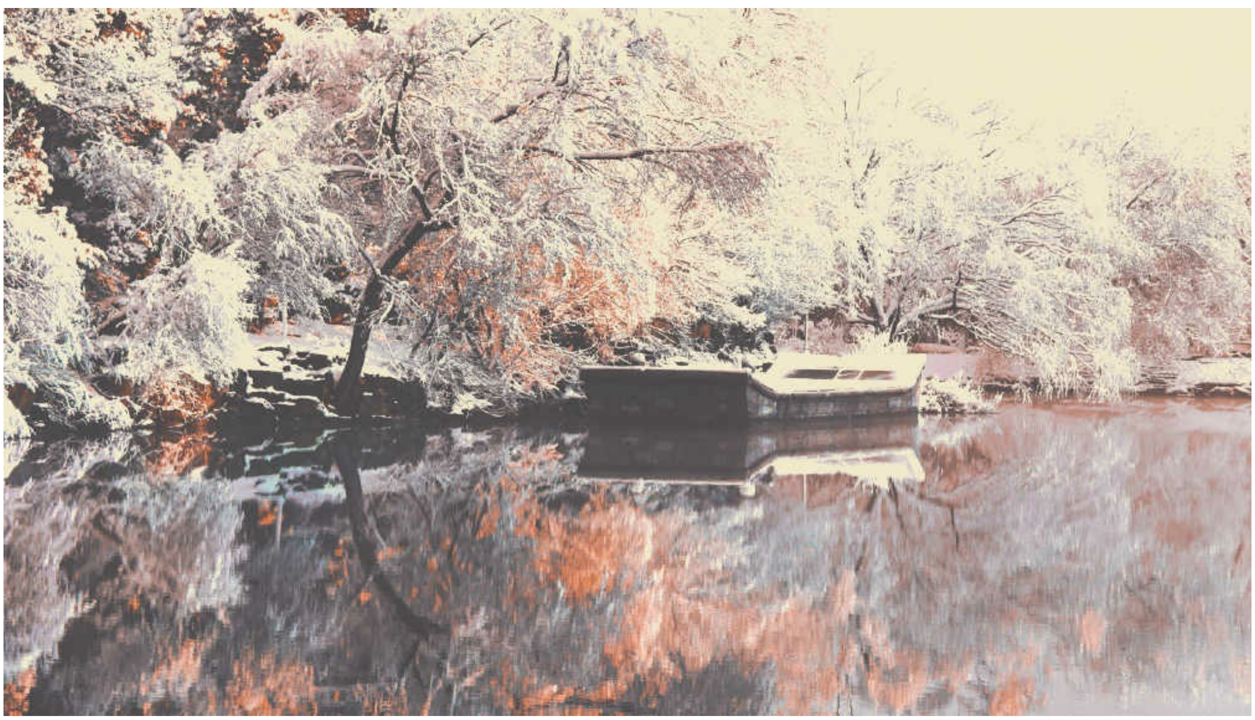
慈济寺山门位于未名湖南岸。慈济寺俗称花神庙，实为观音寺。寺坐南朝北，寺门临未名湖，入门后拾级而上，有一座北向的正殿，并有东西配殿，连同周围的垣墙，都建在土山上。现在仅存一座寺门，就是如今经过重修的那座褐红色建筑，立于未名湖畔，有点景的妙用。而当年正殿的旧址，就是今天斯诺墓所在的地方。

The Ciji Temple was located on the south bank of the Weiming Lake. However, it was ruined in a fire and the gate is now all that remains. If you walk along the lake, you can still easily find the gate painted in dark red standing on the bank.

石舫

石舫位于湖心岛的东侧，是未名湖的标志性景观，一艘永远不沉的石船，又称“不系舟”。石舫最初为和珅在乾隆皇帝赏赐的淑春园中仿清漪园（颐和园）“清晏舫”修建的。船身部分原有精美木构，1860年英法联军火烧圆明园，石舫所在的淑春园也在劫难逃，今石舫仅余基座。如今石舫静静躺在未名湖中，与四周荡漾的碧波和身后郁郁葱葱的湖心岛相映成趣。

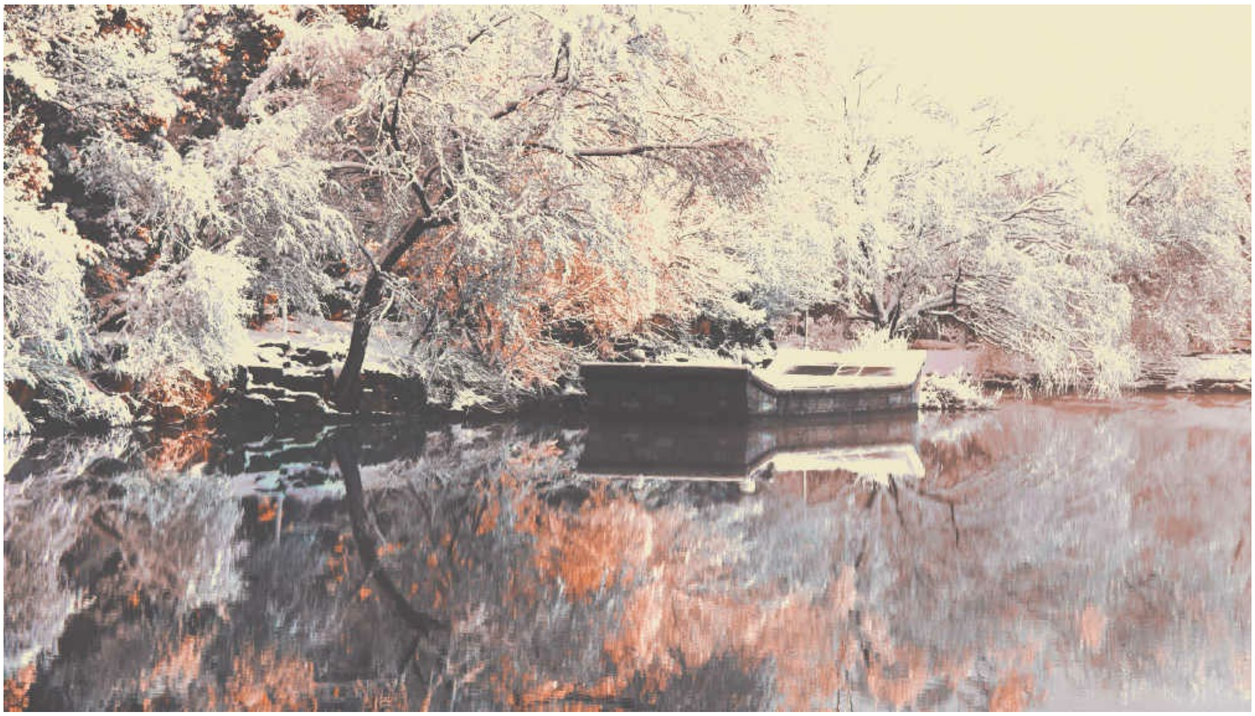
> 余概模糊辨，轩楹慨劫灰。竟成填海物，不是济川材。渭水曾推毂，严陵尚钓台。临流一凭吊，蛩语动蒿莱。
>
> 奕谖：《石舫》



【石舫】——王爱农　摄

The Marble Boat stands to the east of the Center Island. When the AngloFrench Allied Forces set the Yuanming Yuan on fire in 1860, the

Shuchun Garden, where the Marble Boat stood, was nowhere to escape. Its body of exquisite wooden structure was burned down. Now only the base remains. Today the boat silently lies in the middle of the Weiming Lake, forming a most agreeable contrast with the undulating waves around and the luxuriant Center Island at the back.



Marble Boat (photo by Wang Ainong)

柱础

在湖心岛鲁斯亭南侧下方竹林中，新近发现了一块石雕构件，据其外形推测当为一柱础（即石柱底座）。其材质为汉白玉，分两层：下层为方形基座，边长约0.42米，一侧刻有铭文“1925 BROTHERHOOD AND HARMONY”；上层为方形石雕，中刻鱼鳞纹，四周饰以荷叶卷边纹，中间有圆形小槽，直径约0.28米，原来当为放置石柱处。在底座旁边，尚有石柱残件，高约0.2米。该柱础上层石雕很可能是清代园林旧物，而下层基座则似为燕京大学时期新增，具体用途及来源尚待考察。

In the bamboo grove to the lower south of the Luce Pavilion there is a newly found stone carving sculpture, which, judging from the shape, is a column base. On one side can be seen the inscription "1925 BROTHERHOOD AND HARMONY". Made of marble, it has two parts. The upper part, square in shape and with fish scale patterns in the middle and lotus leaf curl patterns all around, is probably a relic of a Qing-dynasty garden, while the lower base seems to be a new adding by Yenching University, whose usage and source are not clear yet.

石屏风

未名湖北岸迤东，“全斋”南面土丘之阳，并立着四扇造型古朴典雅的青石屏风，背山面湖，与未名湖的湖光塔影依依相望，石屏前面是一个扇形空地，以石屏为中心辐射开来，周围青松翠柏郁郁葱葱，颇有古典园林的韵味。四扇屏风上面刻有乾隆御笔题写的两副对联，历经几百年风吹雨打，仍然清晰可辨。右边两扇为“画舫平临岸阔，飞楼俯映柳阴多”，左边两扇为“夹镜光澄风四面，垂虹影界水中央”。字体为楷书，清秀遒劲，文字上下分别饰有荷叶卷边纹和莲瓣纹。

石屏风据说是燕京大学建校时从乱岗荒草间发掘出来的，原先被弃置在民主楼西北的草丛中，后迁至今址。关于其来历，一说为圆明园四十景之一“夹镜鸣琴”的遗物，镶嵌在该景点的主体建筑——一座高大桥亭的两面；一说为和珅淑春园的遗物，与园中石舫上的旧建筑有关。



【石屏风】——邹程浩　摄

On the north bank of the Weiming Lake and to the south of the Quanzhai Building stand four elegant stone screens side by side. There are two couplets inscribed by Emperor Qianlong on the screens, both clear-cut in spite of the winds and rains over the centuries. The regular script is delicate and vigorous, with lotus leaf curl and lotus petal patterns on the upper and lower sides.

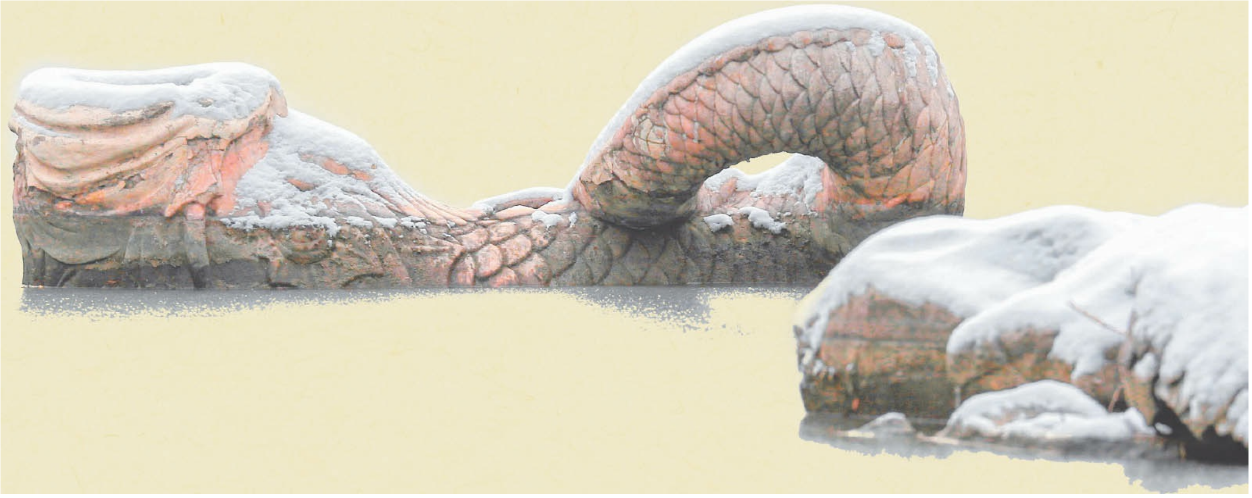
The screens are said to have been unearthed among disordered grass during Yenching University's establishment. There are two versions about its origin: one believed it was a relic of the Jiajing Mingqin (Double Reflections and Roaring Waterfall), one of the Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan, inserted on both sides of a tall bridge pavilion; the other believed it belonged to the Shuchun Garden, concerning the old constructions on the Marble Boat in the garden.



Stone Screens (photo by Zou Chenghao)

翻尾石鱼

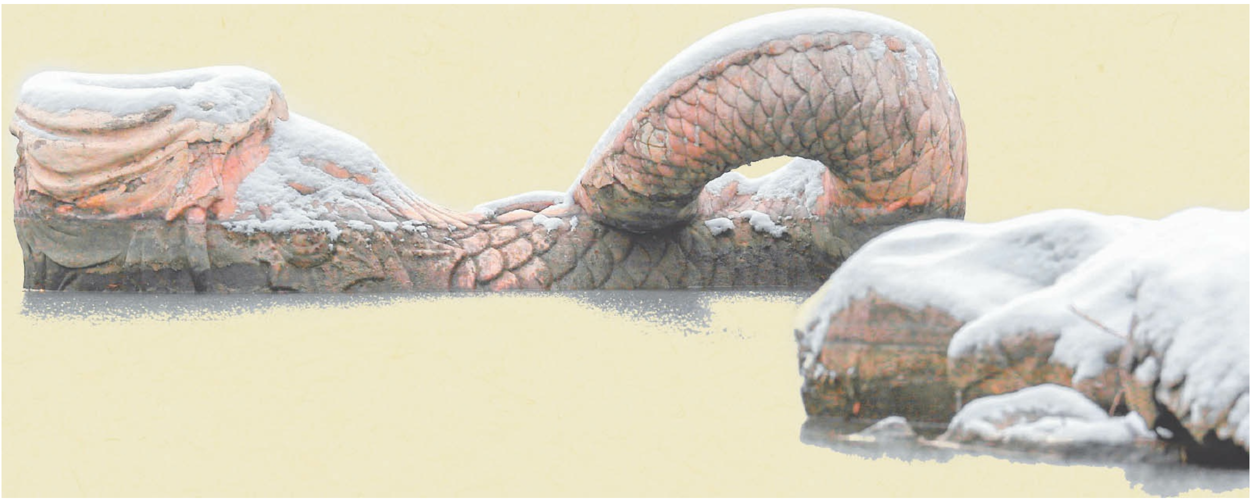
未名湖西岸附近有一尊白色石鱼雕像，身雕鳞片，翻尾翘首，张口朝天，宛若真正的鱼儿跃出水面，远远望去，像是将博雅塔影含在口中。鱼身长1.65米，高0.87米，下部鱼肚宽0.9米，上部鱼嘴宽0.42米。翻尾石鱼是圆明园遗物，为长春园北部西洋楼建筑群西南角“谐奇趣”前面的圆形喷水池中的装饰构件，此石鱼位于大型海棠式喷水池正中，口内喷出水柱可上升十余米，属于西洋石刻艺术。圆明园惨遭英法联军洗劫之后，石鱼被朗润园主人载涛购得，放置在朗润园多年，又由燕京大学1930届学生在毕业时买下赠给母校，从此才得以在未名湖安家落户。石鱼早先位于未名湖畔，“文革”中被推入湖底，1981年整修未名湖时才被发现，此时鱼尾与鱼口均已断裂，后校方想方设法按照原样进行修补，并置于今址。现在“石鱼含塔影”已经成为未名湖胜景之一，冬天未名湖结冰时可走近鱼身，一睹其精美的纹刻工艺。



【翻尾石鱼】——姜南　摄

Near the west bank of the Weiming Lake stands a stone fish sculpture vividly in a leaping posture. Looked afar, the Boya Pagoda seems to be in its mouth.

The Tail-turned Stone Fish used to be a relic of the Yuanming Yuan, i.e., a decoration of the circular fountain in front of the Xieqiqu (Harmonious Wonder) at the southwest corner of the Xiyang Lou.



Tail-turned Stone Fish (photo by Jiang Nan)

石雕五供及石供桌

在北京大学钟亭小山的东侧有一组据说是晚明时期的石雕五供及石供桌，由石供桌、香炉、蜡矸和宝瓶组成。石供桌由上枋、束腰、下枋构成，束腰上下有莲花瓣（八达马）图案。云纹图案的圭脚，美轮美奂。香炉为双耳三足圆顶形，上有饰以青竹花纹的炉盖，下有花卉图案。香炉的两侧各有一个蜡矸，下有底座，绘有灵芝云纹图案。在蜡矸的外侧各有一个宝瓶。

这一组保存比较完整、雕造精美的石雕五供是陵墓的祭器，用于供奉先人，追思恩泽。蜡矸和香炉略有缺损，但瑕不掩瑜，仍不失其历史和艺术价值。2002年校方对此处景点进行了整修，在石供桌底部边缘贴了花岗岩，将原有水泥混凝土基础遮掩起来，并在五供处铺设了方青砖铺装，既防止了水土流失，又便于游人游览观光。至于石雕五供的来源，至今尚无确切史料可考。



【石雕五供及石供桌】——王爱农　摄

To the east of the Bell Pavilion, there are five articles of tributes in stone sculpture and a stone altar with various decorations. It is said that they were designed in the late Ming dynasty.



Five Articles of Tributes in Stone Sculpture and Stone Altar (photo by Wang Ainong)

植树碑

植树碑位于未名湖南岸，石雕五供东侧，碑高0.77米，宽0.5米，厚0.19米，系燕京大学壬戌（1922）班同学于民国十一年（1922）10月参加校园植树活动后所立。碑身刻有《植树铭》，共52个字，全部取自《诗经》，可谓别出心裁。燕京大学于1922年开始兴建新校舍，1927年基本落成。此碑立于1922年校园建设初期，由此我们可以想见当年燕大师生积极投身校园建设、亲手营造美丽燕园的动人场景。

On the south bank of the Weiming Lake is the Tree Planting Tablet. 0.77 meter in height, 0.5 meter in width and 0.19 meter in thickness, it was erected by the alumni of the Renxu (1922) Class of Yenching University in October 1922 after the tree planting event. There is a tree planting inscription on the body, all meticulously taken from the *Book of Songs* .

植树铭

瞻彼中林，其叶蓁蓁。淑人君子，学有缉熙于光明。何彼秾矣，灼灼其华。岂弟君子，婆娑其下。日就月将，有蒉其实。以谷我士女，绰绰有裕。

壬戌班同人　秦振华、许景云、刘义、何廷廉、毛淑身、孙淑贞、王仁山、郑国梁、刘宗桥、张尚勤、康伯沧、李勋刚、许国梁、许光迪、林铭基

大中华民国十一年十月十四日立

旗杆座（**1934**）

在未名湖南岸的慈济寺山门东西两侧有一对旗杆座。这对旗杆座形制相同，均为石质。上部呈须弥座形，上枭混部饰叶纹，腰部饰覆仰莲瓣，中夹连珠纹，下枋饰云纹；下部为正方体形，一面有铭文“一九三四班留校纪念”；上下部之间有铁箍一周。据铭文，这对旗杆座应为燕京大学1934班学生毕业时赠给母校的纪念物。

On the south bank of the Weiming Lake and on both sides of the gate of the Ciji Temple stand a couple of flagpole seats. Both are made of stone with the same structure. The upper part is in the shape of a sumeru pedestal, of which the upper cyma is decorated with leaf patterns, the suyao with inverted and upward lotus petal patterns mixed with linked-pearl patterns in the middle, and the lower fillet and fascia with cloud patterns. The lower part is cubic. On one side there is the inscription "Souvenir of Class 1934”. Between the upper and lower part is an iron hoop. Judging from the inscription, this pair of seats must be a gift to the University by Class 1934.

斯诺墓

斯诺墓坐落于未名湖南岸，清代慈济寺遗址处。墓碑为一长方形白色大理石，碑上镌刻着叶剑英元帅的题词：“中国人民的美国朋友埃德加·斯诺之墓”，下注英文：

IN MEMORY OF EDGAR SNOW
AN AMERICAN FRIEND OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE
1905–1972

墓旁松柏环绕，绿草如茵，迎面一湖碧水，更觉幽静肃穆。

埃德加·斯诺（1905—1972），美国新闻记者、作家，生于美国密苏里州堪萨斯城，就读于密苏里大学新闻系。1928年来华，曾任欧美几家报社驻华记者、通讯员。1934年初，斯诺应邀兼任燕京大学新闻系讲师。1936年6月，斯诺访问陕北革命根据地，成为第一个采访苏区的西方记者，其后在燕园撰写《红星照耀中国》（又译《西行漫记》）一书，成为西方最畅销的书籍之一。抗日战争爆发后，又任多家报纸驻华战地记者。1942年去中亚和苏联前线采访，离开中国。新中国成立后，曾三次来华访问，著《大河彼岸》等书。1972年2月15日因病在瑞士日内瓦逝世。按照他生前遗愿，其部分骨灰被运来北京，于1973年10月19日安葬于令他深情眷恋的精神家园——燕园。

斯诺一生对增进中美两国人民的相互了解和友谊作出了卓越的贡献，亦对燕大有着极其深厚的感情。如今其部分遗骨长眠于未名湖畔，陪伴着一代又一代的北大学子，见证着他深爱的中华民族走向复兴。

On the south bank of the Weiming Lake, the former site of the Ciji Temple, is

the Tomb of Snow. On the rectangle white marble is an inscription written by Marshal Ye Jianying with the English below: IN MEMORY OF EDGAR SNOW / AN AMERICAN FRIEND OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE / 1905–1972. With pines and cedars around, green grass below, and a lake of clear water in the front, the sight of the tomb strikes one as solemn and serene.

An American journalist and writer, Edgar Snow came to China in 1928, where he worked for several news agencies. In early 1934 he taught journalism at Yenching University. Years later, he went to the frontline and became a war correspondent for China. His *Red Star over China* had been a best seller in the West.

Snow has made an outstanding contribution to the mutual understanding and friendship between Chinese and American people, and cherished a deep love for the Yan Garden, where part of his ashes was buried at his request.

赖朴吾、夏仁德墓

在未名湖南岸、临湖轩东北角的山丘上，有一块石碑安静地嵌在高高的青岩顶处，这就是赖朴吾和夏仁德两位先生的墓碑。石碑上镌刻着三排漆红的英文：

RALPH LAPWOOD
RANDOLPH SAILER
GARDEN

石碑下方，两方天然青石上镌刻着两位先生的亲笔签名和生卒年："E. R. Lapwood 1909–1984"、"Randolph Sailer 1898–1981"。

Ernest Ralph Lapwood（1909—1984），中文名赖朴吾，原燕京大学英籍教授。英国著名地球物理学家、数学家。1932年6月毕业于剑桥大学后，8月坐船前往中国。1936年至1939年，任教于燕京大学数学系。赖朴吾精心设计每一节课，主动要求与学生同吃同住。他一贯同情中国革命，积极参加抗日活动，曾协助路易·艾黎开展"中国工业合作社"的工作。1950年获得剑桥大学博士学位后再次到燕京大学任教，直至燕大在全国高等院校院系调整中被撤销后回国。20世纪80年代，赖朴吾四次访问中国。1984年4月11日，他在应北京师范学院邀请来华讲学期间，因心肌梗死，病逝于北京，享年75岁。赖朴吾的骨灰依嘱被安葬在北京大学未名湖畔。

Randolph Clothier Sailer（1898—1981），中文名夏仁德，原燕京大学美籍教授。出生于美国费城，1919年毕业于普林斯顿大学，1923年获哥伦比亚大学博士学位，同年8月来到中国执教，曾任燕京大学心理学

系、教育学系教授及系主任。夏仁德同情中国人民抗日救亡、争取进步的事业，爱护燕大学生。1941年太平洋战争爆发后，他被日军囚禁并关进集中营，直到1943年美国和日本交换囚犯时才被送回美国。1946年他又回到中国，辗转到燕大任教，1950年返回美国。1973年4月他应邀再次访华，受到周恩来总理的接见。1979年，邓小平访美时，夏仁德作为美中友好协会主要负责人之一参加接待宴请。他在晚年深切怀念在中国的学生、同事和朋友，临终前在信中还向他的中国朋友致敬和告别。夏仁德于1981年7月11日病逝，享年83岁。同年9月6日，燕京大学北京校友会召开“夏仁德先生纪念会”，有160多位校友参加。燕大校友把他的名字和赖朴吾的名字一起刻在未名湖畔的石碑上，以示缅怀和敬仰。

赖朴吾和夏仁德两位先生在中国生活工作多年，对中国人民怀有深厚感情。在中华民族危亡的年月，他们对中国抗日救国、争取进步的事业的同情和支持是淳朴真挚、始终不渝的，他们是中国人民忠诚的朋友。他们的事业从中国开始，他们的第二故乡在燕园，他们的精神在未名湖畔长青。



【赖朴吾、夏仁德墓】——唐伽拉　摄

On the hill northeast of the Linhu House, south of the Weiming Lake, is a stone tablet quietly embedded on top of a rock. This is the Tomb of Lapwood and Sailer.

Ernest Ralph Lapwood (1909–1984) was a famous British geophysicist and mathematician. From 1936 to 1939, and again from 1950 to the national

adjustment of colleges and departments in 1952, Lapwood had worked assiduously as an instructor in mathematics at Yenching University. He died in 1984 in Beijing, at the age of 75, and his ashes were placed by the Weiming Lake as he had wished.

Randolph Clothier Sailer (1898–1981) once taught psychology and education at Yenching University. Compassionate for Chinese people's fighting to save the nation, he cherished his students deeply.

Both professors were honest friends of Chinese people.



Tomb of Lapwood and Sailer (photo by Tang Jiala)

鱼洗

在临湖轩院内、正厅门前，有一座汉白玉鱼洗。鱼洗是古代一种装饰有鱼纹的盆状盥洗用具。临湖轩的这座鱼洗四周雕有麒麟、梅花等精美纹饰，底座上一侧刻有“大明永乐年造”字样，并有钤印“永乐御览之宝”（疑为后刻），另一侧刻诗一首：“圣主回銮肃百灵，紫云团盖翼苍精。属车剑履星辰丽，先驾旂常日月明。”侯仁之先生认为底座是大明永乐的遗物，但鱼洗是清康熙时仿制的。

临湖轩门外花坛内原有一座形制相同的鱼洗，但2007年被盗，今只剩底座。如今，临湖轩院内的这座鱼洗可谓北大校园内迄今已知年代最早的地面文物遗存。至于其何时由何人置于燕园之内，尚不得而知。



【鱼洗】——何晋　摄

In the courtyard of the Linhu House there is a white marble fish wash. A fish wash is a kind of washing utensil in the shape of a basin, so called because of the fish patterns on it. The fish wash in the Linhu House is decorated with the patterns of *qilin* and plum blossoms. Its base, according to the famed historical geographer Hou Renzhi, is a relic of the Ming dynasty, from Emperor Yongle's time, but the fish wash itself is a copy during the reign of

Emperor Kangxi of the Qing dynasty.



Fish Wash (photo by He Jin)

石盆

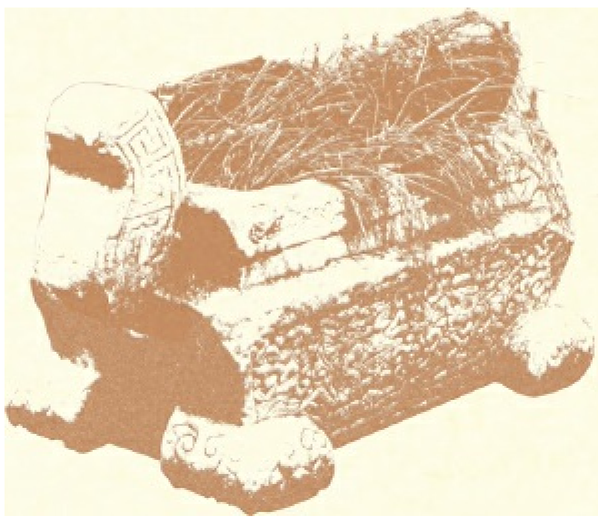
石盆位于未名湖南岸、临湖轩院前草坪上，为两株明代白皮松的底座。其形呈须弥座状，原为六面，后加至八面。上下枋饰万字纹，上下枭饰覆仰莲瓣，束腰饰佛八宝，圭角饰云纹。石盆应为清乾隆时期和珅淑春园临风待月楼之旧物，几百年来一直保护着这两株白皮松的根基，至今依然安静地守护着这片土地。

On the lawn in front of the Linhu House, south of the Weiming Lake, stand two stone pots, serving as the base for two lacebark pines of the Ming dynasty. Originally they had only six sides; the other two sides were a later addition. They are believed to be the relics of Heshen's Shuchun Garden during the reign of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing dynasty. Over the centuries these two stone pots have kept the roots of the ancient trees in good condition, which still quietly guard this piece of land.

香炉

南北阁之间的花坛内，现摆放有一香炉。其形为方口、四足，长约1.02米、宽约0.66米、高约0.73米，肩部一耳略有缺损。这座香炉的来源尚不清楚，按纹饰推断可能是清代遗物。

In the flower terrace between the South and North Pavilions there is an incense burner. It is square in shape, with four feet. The length is 1.02 meters, width 0.66 meter and height 0.73 meter. One ear is slightly damaged. Its source is not clear yet, but the patterns suggest it might be a relic of the Qing dynasty.



梅石碑

在临湖轩西南侧土丘之下，有一座造型独特的石碑，上有石雕庑殿顶，下有莲花碑座，碑面镌刻有梅石图案，故称梅石碑。该碑高1.64米、宽1.03米、厚0.25米，单面刻，下有一角缺损。

历史上共有三块梅石碑。南宋德寿宫内旧有苔梅和芙蓉石，至明代石存而梅枯，画家孙杕便立碑刻梅置于石旁，后蓝瑛又增刻芙蓉石于碑上，是为第一块梅石碑。乾隆十六年（1751），乾隆帝第一次南巡时发现了芙蓉石与梅石碑，甚是喜爱，遂将芙蓉石运回圆明园中长春园西南角的茜园内，命名曰“青莲朵”，并对梅石碑加以题咏。但他据《浙江通志》的记载，以为梅石皆为蓝瑛所刻绘。乾隆三十年（1765），乾隆帝第四次南巡时发现，苔梅是孙杕而非蓝瑛所刻，遂令人重摹一碑，并题诗作文，加刻于碑上，立于杭州原碑旁，以正前讹。此为第二块梅石碑。乾隆三十二年（1767），乾隆帝又令人再摹一碑，并新作诗文加刻其上，置于茜园“青莲朵”旁，是为第三块梅石碑，亦即北京大学现存的梅石碑。碑上方刻乾隆御题七言诗及跋文，行书，共28行；右下方刻乾隆御题五言诗及跋文，行书，共8行。

圆明园遭焚毁后，“青莲朵”和梅石碑却保存了下来。“青莲朵”于1915年前后移于今天的中山公园内，而梅石碑则于20年代移至燕园。梅石碑最初放在北阁内，后移置于阁外西阶，再后来又被搬至北阁北面的小山顶上，1993年移至今址。在辗转搬移的过程中，梅石碑受到了一定程度的破坏，今虽加建了碑座和碑冠以保护，但已难复旧貌。



【梅石碑】——吴淑颖　摄

To the southwest of the Linhu House stands a stone tablet in strange shape. Its name comes from the plum flowers engraved on it. The Plum Stone Tablet is 1.64 meters in height, 1.03 meters in width, and 0.25 meter in thickness.

There were three plum stone tablets in history. In the Southern Song dynasty there used to be a moss-covered plum tree and a rose quartz in the Deshou Palace. In the Ming dynasty, the quartz remained, but the plum withered. An artist by the name of Sun Di set up a tablet engraved with a plum, and placed it by the stone. Later Lan Ying added a rose quartz on the tablet, which became the first plum stone tablet. When Emperor Qianlong found the rose quartz and the plum stone tablet during his first southern tour in 1751, he had the rose quartz moved to the Yuanming Yuan and renamed it Qinglianduo (Green Lotus Flower). When he found that the plum tree was engraved by

Sun Di instead of Lan Ying as he had reckoned, he had another tablet copied and placed beside the original tablet in Hangzhou. That was the second plum stone tablet. In 1767, the Emperor had a third tablet copied and placed beside the Qinglianduo, which was the Plum Stone Tablet preserved in Peking University.

After the Yuanming Yuan was burned down, the Qinglianduo and Plum Stone Tablet were luckily preserved. The Qinglianduo was moved to today's Zhongshan Park around 1915, and the Plum Stone Tablet, after several shifts to and fro, was finally moved to its present place in 1993. In spite of the newly added seat and crest for protection, its former appearance could not be retrieved because of damages during frequent moves.



Plum Stone Tablet (photo by Wu Shuying)

梅石碑诗文

春仲携来梅石碑，模经冬孟始成之。

不宁十日一水就，惟以万几余暇为。

孙梅堪作石友，蓝瑛石亦肖梅姿。

为怜漫漶临新本，笑有人看漫漶时。

《浙江通志》称，南关工部分司本宋德寿宫址，有梅花厅、芙蓉石，傍竖断碑，刻蓝瑛画古梅一本，此蓝瑛梅石所以膻芗鼻祖也。即予辛未南巡观民之暇，亦有蓝瑛梅石之咏。今春再至浙省，就而视之，则梅乃孙，而石实蓝瑛，盖二人合作勒于碑者也。于是然失愕尔，吁曰：千秋纪载之失实，其不若是者盖鲜矣。既已目击，不可不为正其讹。且碑版剥落漫漶，几不可辨，爰为之重模泐石，旧者仍并存，聊志数典。

乾隆乙酉小春上浣御笔

昔年德寿石，名曰青莲朵。

梅枯石北来，惟余碑尚妥。

德寿岂复存？久矣毁兵火。

不禁兴废感，碑亦漫漶颇。

因之为模迹，驿致江之左。

新碑邻旧碑，那见梅石我？

重摹置石侧，为结无缘果。

谁云假冰玉？备见真嵬峨。

如因忆中郎，武贲何不可？

乙酉冬，曾摹德寿宫梅石碑，驿致杭州，以存旧迹。因思梅既久枯，石又北来，则新碑与旧碑不过留其名于依稀仿佛间耳。既又思梅之槁于南者，虽不可复生，而石之存于北者，固在也。因命重摹一通，置之石侧。青莲朵者，盖壬申初到时所命名，亦并有诗纪事云。

丁亥仲春月中浣御题并识

乾隆御制诗碑

未名湖西岸钟亭所在的土山下，横放有一长方形的乾隆御制诗碑。该碑长2.27米，高1.10米，碑身四周及碑座均镌刻有精美的云龙图案，碑体保存完好，字迹和纹样均较清晰。

碑身两面各刻有乾隆御制诗一首，均作于乾隆五十二年（1787），是76岁的乾隆忆及40年前畅春园旧事写下的诗句。其中一首题为《种松戏题》的七言律诗，记由种树引发的关于育材任官的感想；另一首题为《土墙一首》的五言古诗，回忆往年筑土墙练枪的情景。

该碑为燕大兴建新校舍时从西校门附近挖出，旧说为畅春园遗物，今考不恰。咸丰五年（1855）御制《习枪有作》诗注云："山高水长有乾隆间所筑土墙，并碑刻圣制土墙诗，盖因御虎神枪而作也"。据此，此碑当为圆明园"山高水长"旧物。至于其何时流入燕园，尚待进一步研究。

Below the hill on which the Bell Pavilion stands there is an imperial tablet engraved with Emperor Qianlong's poems. 2.27 meters in length and 1.1 meters in height, the tablet has been kept in good condition, both the words and patterns remaining clear.

The tablet was unearthed when the University was constructing its new campus. According to a poem by Emperor Xianfeng in 1855, the tablet should be a relic of the Yuanming Yuan, instead of the Changchun Garden(Joyful Spring Garden). But no clear evidence has been found yet as to when to was moved into Yenching University.

乾隆御制诗碑碑文

清明时节宜种树，拱把稚松培植看。欲速成非关插柳（柳最易活，折枝插地即成，根亦易长，种树十年计盖谓此；若松柏二三十年尚不入观也），挹清芬亦异滋兰。育材自合求贞干，絜矩因之思任官。待百十年讵云远，童童应备后人观。

种松戏题　丁未仲春中浣御笔

苑西五尺墙，筑土卌年矣。昔习虎神枪，每尝临莅此（习枪苑中，远筑土墙，以遮枪子，恐伤人也）。木兰毙於菟，不一盖已屡。土墙久弗试，数典忍忘尔。得新毋弃旧，可以通诸理。

土墙一首　丁未仲春中浣御笔

“振兴中华”碑

“振兴中华”碑位于图书馆东北角，老生物楼西侧的草坪上，碑体为一略呈三角形的天然黄石，正面刻有“振兴中华”四个大字，背面刻有碑文。碑文记述了立碑背景：1981年3月20日晚，世界杯排球赛亚洲区预选赛于香港举行，中国男排对阵韩国男排，胜者将代表亚洲参加东京世界杯排球赛。中国队在先失两局的不利战况下，以3∶2逆转战胜韩国队。北大学子激动游行，喊出口号“团结起来，振兴中华”。两日后，《人民日报》刊登了这一情况，口号在社会上迅速流传开来。1984年，八四届全体毕业生于毕业时捐建此碑，以示纪念。

“振兴中华”碑纪念的不仅仅是那个民族在集体狂乱中清醒、渴望中华民族复兴的时代，更是代表了百年来一代又一代北大人以肩负民族兴亡为己任、敢领天下先地呐喊出时代最强音的精神。



【“振兴中华”碑】——何晋　摄

The "Revitalizing the Chinese Nation" Tablet stands on the northeast corner

of the library. It is made of a yellowish brown stone slightly in the shape of a triangle. On the front are the four large characters "Zhen Xing Zhong Hua" (Revitalizing the Chinese Nation), and on the back it tells the background of how the tablet was set up.

As the inscriptions indicate, this tablet is a donation by the graduates of 1984 in memory of China's victory over South Korea in the qualification tournament of the Volleyball Men's World Cup. The tablet is not only a token of an era of national revitalization, but even more the spirit of Peking University, which always takes the lead in shouldering the great task to revive the Chinese nation.



"Revitalizing the Chinese Nation" Tablet (photo by He Jin)

“振兴中华”碑碑文

一九八一年三月二十日夜，中国男排在香港比赛。获胜消息传来，北京大学四千多学生集队游行，高唱国歌，喊出了八十年代最强音：团

结起来，振兴中华！特建此碑，以志纪念。

北京大学八四届全体毕业生
一九八四年七月

【三】燕园南区
Southern Yan Garden Area

燕南园

燕南园因位于燕园的南部而得名，占地48亩，建成于上世纪20年代，当时主要作为燕大外籍教师的住宅。按照当时所有中外教师住宅的编号顺序，燕南园的住宅被定为51号到66号（后加建了50号），这一编号从燕大到北大，一直没有变更。如今，在某些宅院的门口，还能看到黑底白字的木门牌，上面清晰的数字向人们展示了这里曾经经历过的岁月和沧桑。住宅中有自成一体的西式小楼，也有矮墙环绕的中式小院。这些住宅的建筑材料绝大部分是当时从国外运来，门窗用的是上好红松，房间里铺设打蜡的地板，屋角有典雅的壁炉，地下室还有供暖的锅炉房。

曾经居住在这里的中国教授对中国的政治、历史、科学、哲学等学科的发展建设产生了深远的影响。历史学家洪业、翦伯赞，数学家江泽涵，物理学家周培源、饶毓泰、褚圣麟，经济学家马寅初、陈岱孙，哲学家冯友兰、汤用彤、冯定，化学家张龙翔、黄子卿，语言学家王力、林焘，美学家朱光潜，生物学家沈同，文学家林庚，历史地理学家侯仁之，文学家冰心（谢婉莹）和社会学家吴文藻夫妇等都曾生活在燕南园。

燕南园名人一览

门牌号	名人
燕南园 50 号	向达（历史学家）
燕南园 51 号	饶毓泰（物理学家）、江泽涵（数学家）
燕南园 52 号	林焘（语言学家）
燕南园 53 号	沈同（生物学家）、齐思和（历史学家）
燕南园 54 号	洪业（历史学家）
燕南园 55 号	冯定（哲学家）、陈岱孙（经济学家） 李政道（物理学家，诺贝尔物理学奖得主）
燕南园 56 号	周培源（物理学家）
燕南园 57 号	冯友兰（哲学家）
燕南园 58 号	汤用彤（哲学家）
燕南园 59 号	褚圣麟（物理学家）
燕南园 60 号	王力（语言学家）
燕南园 61 号	侯仁之（历史地理学家）
燕南园 62 号	林庚（文学家）
燕南园 63 号	马寅初（经济学家） 魏建功（语言学家、音韵学家）
燕南园 64 号	翦伯赞（历史学家）
燕南园 65 号	芮沐（经济法学家）
燕南园 66 号	吴文藻（社会学家）、冰心（文学家） 朱光潜（美学家）

不知怎么，一到春暖花开，一到绿树茂盛的时节，便不由人地让我想念起那个静雅的园中之园来，而且顷刻间，仿佛过去不是过去，现在不是现在了，有一种熟悉的树脂味儿夹杂着蔷薇花的香气弥漫了我周围的空间。

那是燕南园独有的味道。

上学那会儿，每日打女生宿舍出来，必须穿过燕南园去图书馆，去电教楼，去各系办公室的一二三四院。穿过那个园子也是要有几条弯弯小路的。路的两边或是松，或是槐，或是竹。松的后面、槐的后面和竹的后面是一个个人家。有的家门口围有栅栏，大都是木的。院子里有时也摆了一两把藤椅，藤椅上常常会遗落了一本倒扣着的书或是报纸一样的读物，仿佛主人刚刚在这儿晒了太阳，这会儿有了睡意便回屋去了；也有的人家门外用石块或砖头垒出了院中院，好像是为了使那些暂时不用的家什有了整齐的安置。无论如何千姿百态，那每个门对我来说，都如同一个个从未涉及的学科那般神秘而深奥。

程丹梅：《燕南园的身影》



【燕南园54号】——李家驹　摄

The Yannan Garden is named after its location (in Chinese "nan" means "south" and this garden is located in the south of PKU). The history of this area dates back to the 1920s. During the 20th century, this region housed the foreign faculty of Yenching University. The houses in the Yannan Garden were numbered from No. 50 to No. 66, and those house numbers are still in use today. If you pay a visit to the Yannan Garden, you can still find the original doorplates people used to use.

One of the features of the Yannan Garden is the different style of houses,

including both typical Western-style small houses and Chinese-style old courtyards surrounded by low walls. Most of the building materials used for these houses were imported, making them even more exquisite.

Many respectable PKU scientists, professors and writers have spent their lives in the Yannan Garden. They have deeply influenced the development of China and made a great contribution to both China and PKU. Countless stories and anecdotes about them and their houses have been passed down from generation to generation.



Yannan Garden No. 54 (photo by Li Jiaju)

● 燕南园54号

燕南园54号，位于燕南园的东北角，原是曾任燕京大学历史系主任、图书馆馆长的著名历史学家洪业的住所。建筑形式为L型西式二层小楼，坡顶青砖墙面，开窗形式以券窗和方窗相结合。这里最早的主人洪业先生将其命名为“健斋”，又称“无善本书屋”，因为他存书只为做学问，不为收藏。当时洪先生经常不定期地在54号的家中召开历史学会的会议，邀请数位老师同学一边品茗或饮咖啡，一边切磋学问。后来也住在燕南园的著名历史地理学家侯仁之就是洪先生的弟子。

The building No. 54, located in the northeast of the Yannan Garden, once housed the famous historian Hong Ye. He also worked as dean of the Department of History and curator of the Yenching University Library.

● 燕南园**55—56**号

燕南园55号和56号，位于燕南园的东侧。这两组住宅为一对对称的中式小院，形态相似但是朝向相反。建筑形式采用了传统的卷棚硬山顶，建筑格局采用了L型连坡顶的形式。院子中摆放的石桌椅也成为如今北大学生休憩的场所。

燕南园55号，曾是原北京大学副校长冯定的住所，直到1983年。后著名经济学家陈岱孙搬来这里，他过世后学校在院内为他立了一尊铜像。而如今的燕南园55号已经成为诺贝尔物理学奖得主李政道先生的住所。

燕南园56号，原是著名的理论物理学家、流体力学家、中国科学院院士、曾在1978—1981年任北京大学校长的周培源先生的住所。周培源先生是爱花之人，56号曾遍植樱花，春来如雪，人称“周家花园”。如今的燕南园56号是北京大学美学与美育研究中心的办公场所。

In the east of the Yannan Garden stand buildings No. 55 and No. 56, two symmetrical buildings with identical structures but opposite orientations. Feng Ding and Chen Daisun once lived in the building No. 55 and now it is the residence of Li Zhengdao. The building No. 56 was where former PKU President Zhou Peiyuan lived, and now it is used as the office of the Research Center for Aesthetics and Fine Arts.

● 燕南园57号

燕南园57号，位于燕南园的东南隅，是一个中式小院，院落格局为L型，建筑样式采用了卷棚硬山顶的中国古建形式。一丛绿竹掩映在门前，两尊石狮守着院门。这里原是著名哲学家冯友兰的住所，1952年院系调整后，冯友兰从清华园迁到燕南园，并终老于此。冯老因其院子中的三棵松树而将57号命名为“三松堂”。晚年冯老曾在这里整理他的毕生著作，并将其命名为《三松堂全集》。

> 庭中有三松，抚而盘桓，较渊明犹多其二焉。
>
> 冯友兰：《三松堂自序》

> 庭院中三松依旧，不时有人来凭吊并摄影。那贺卡中平凡的乐音似乎在三棵松间萦绕。读三松堂书的人，都会在心中有一个小小的纪念馆。
>
> 宗璞：《三松堂岁暮二三事》

The building No. 57 is located in the southeast it of the Yannan Garden. On account of the three pine trees growing in the courtyard, it was also named "Three Pines Hall" by Professor Feng Youlan, the well-known philosopher. This Chinese-style courtyard has a pair of stone lions guarding the front door. During Feng's later years, he spent much of his time here and named his books the *The Complete Works of Three Pines Hall* .

● 燕南园**60**号

燕南园60号，位于燕南园的中部，原是燕大教授夏仁德的住宅。这是一座西式的两层小楼，坡顶青砖墙面，一层有拱券外廊。1957年，著名的语言学家王力教授搬迁到此，在这完成了一生中的大部分著作。别墅的一层南部是宽敞的客厅，当时古代汉语教学组常在这里开会。二楼有三个卧室和一个书房，王力先生以书房作为工作室。如今燕南园60号是北京大学工学院的办公场所。

The building No. 60 stands in the middle of the Yannan Garden and is a two-story Western-style building, with a lanai outside. In 1957, linguist Wang Li moved in and finished most of his works here. The No. 60 has now become the office for the College of Engineering.



● 燕南园**61**号

燕南园61号，位于燕南园的中部偏西南处，是一座西式的两层小楼，坡顶青砖墙面，二层有退台。建筑掩映在一片深绿的树丛中，旁边又是一丛翠竹，望之蔚然而深秀。中国历史地理学创始人之一侯仁之院士曾经在此居住。侯仁之和夫人于20世纪30年代初考入燕京大学，1950年搬入燕南园。

The building No. 61 was the home of Professor Hou Renzhi, one of the founders of Chinese Historical Geography. It also adopts a Western style of architecture. Hou Renzhi and his wife began to study at Yenching University in the early 1930s and in 1950 they moved into the Yannan Garden.



● 燕南园**63**号

燕南园63号，位于燕南园的西南部入口处，毗邻餐饮中心。建筑采取中国传统的建筑样式，五开间庑殿顶，坐落在一个较大的台地上，布局采用西式的工字型布局。这里原是燕大的美籍音乐教授范天祥自费修建的住宅，当时他的院子最大，被人称为“范庄”。北大迁入燕园后，燕南园63号成为当时的北大校长、著名经济学家和人口学家马寅初的宅第。“文革”期间，63号曾历尽风波，之后的70年代初，北大副校长、语言学家魏建功搬入此院。如今燕南园63号成为北大老干部活动中心，时常有一些退休的老教工在这里活动。

If you walk to the southwest entry of the Yannan Garden, you will find a large house. It was built by Professor Bliss Wiant (Fan Tianxiang), an American professor of music. This house was later given to Ma Yinchu, then PKU president, demographer and economist, and other professors successively before turning into its current role as an activity center for veteran cadres.

● 燕南园66号

燕南园66号，位于燕南园的西北，与第二体育馆隔墙相望，原是著名社会学家吴文藻和著名文学家冰心夫妇的居所。这是一座西式的二层小楼，坡顶青砖墙面，一楼有拱券外廊。上世纪20年代冰心与吴文藻两人学成回国，燕大对这两位从美国归来的青年学人特别予以厚遇，便将这座二层小楼拨给他们作为住所。当时一楼客厅中摆放了许多他们订阅的报纸和学术刊物，很多师生都前来这里一睹为快，因而这里以燕大的“期刊阅览室”闻名。冰心曾在许多文章里细致地描述过这幢小楼，就是在这里，她先后写下了《往事》《南归》等小说、散文作品。此后66号又先后迎来了几位新主人，其中包括著名美学家朱光潜先生。如今燕南园66号为北京大学中国画法研究院所在地。

The famous female writer Bing Xin used to live in the building No. 66 with her husband Wu Wenzao, the notable sociologist. Yenching University gave this house to the couple as a gift after they came back from the United States. The Western-style house was always full of newspapers and academic journals, attracting many students and professors and making the No. 66 Yenching's "periodical reading room". It is now used as the PKU Academy of Chinese Painting Technique Research.

静园一至六院

静园六院是燕园内围绕静园草坪而建的六处三合院落，位于俄文楼和南北阁之南，与第二体育馆构成“品”字形结构。这六座精巧玲珑的庭院中的一院、二院、四院和五院原为燕京大学女生宿舍，三院和六院是1952年根据当初图纸加建的。现一至六院已经成为燕京学堂等一些院系、研究所的教学、科研、办公所在地。

六座庭院均为“品”字形布局，建筑均为老式砖木结构，硬山顶的二层小楼，每院有灰顶红色小门楼一座，由石砌虎皮矮墙连成一体。院落为东西向，每院内各有两间南北向厢房，中间以正房相连。每座院落中，寻窗而上布满墙面的爬山虎、院内高大茂密的乔木以及门前的紫藤花架等各种植物参差交错，为小院赋予了四季不息的生命。虽然新建的三院和六院模仿原有四院的样式，但仍可在细节上看出差别。

> 在美丽的燕园读书，以这安全舒适的宿舍为家，我居住了六年。我怀念这里，至今仍时时梦见二院宿舍，梦见那不远的小山上的六角钟亭，听到那能告知钟点的洪亮钟声，这是我们的校钟，我怀念我们的燕园生活。
>
> 唐冀雪：《燕大女生宿舍》



【静园四院】——张一琪　摄

If you sit on the lawn of the Jingyuan Garden, you will find six delightful three-sided courtyards standing on its two sides. These were once living quarters for Yenching University's female students. No. 1, No. 2, No. 4 and No. 5 were built in 1926, to which were added two more buildings in 1952.



Jingyuan Courtyard No. 4 (photo by Zhang Yiqi)

第二体育馆

第二体育馆原为燕京大学女子体育馆，落成于1933年，为威廉·鲍埃夫妇捐资兴建，因而又名鲍氏体育馆。鲍氏体育馆坐落在亨利·墨菲为燕京大学校园所设计的南北轴线之南端，其建筑形制采用了庑殿顶，素墙青瓦，红色柱子，一层入口采用了别致的拱形入口。现在的二体东侧有篮球场，西侧有网球场，北侧有方便学生聚会休闲的静园草坪，是深受学生欢迎的体育锻炼、休闲娱乐场所。



【第二体育馆】——王芳　摄

In the past, the Gymnasium No. 2 was the Women's Gymnasium. It was built in 1933, donated by Mr. and Mrs. William Boyd. At that time, it was also known as the Boyd Building. The No. 2 Gymnasium is very popular among the students thanks to the tennis court, basketball court and lawn of the Jingyuan Garden nearby.



Gymnasium No. 2 (photo by Wang Fangyu)

治贝子园

治贝子园位于第四教学楼东、邱德拔体育馆西侧，门口立有一尊老子汉白玉石雕立像，古色古香，门牌“治贝子园”四字为季羡林所题写。治贝子园最早因主人为清宗室贝子载治而得名，后由载治之子溥侗继承，称“红豆馆”。溥侗对昆曲、京剧造诣很深，常在治贝子园内与票友唱戏交流，因此“红豆馆”也在中国近代戏曲史上具有重要的地位。1928年治贝子园为燕京大学拍卖而得，作为农场使用，故又名“燕农园”。1995年，经台湾学者陈鼓应呼吁，台湾友人雷永泰、陈金发捐资修缮了治贝子园，该园现为中国哲学暨文化研究所的办公用地。

治贝子园曾占地四顷，有房屋139间，树木逾800棵，现在只余一座两进的四合院。修缮后的院子仍然保留了传统合院南北向的建筑格局以及卷棚硬山顶、灰色砖墙面的传统建筑风格，掩映在邱德拔体育馆、第四教学楼等现代建筑之间，显得格外典雅。

If you walk behind the classroom building No. 4, you will find a marble statue of Laozi and the Zhibeizi Garden. The name of this garden came from its first master, the royal family member Zaizhi. In 1928, this garden was bought by Yenching University from an auction, and was later used as farmland, which is why it is also called the Nongyuan Garden. In 1995, this garden was renovated and it is now used as the office for the Institute of Chinese Philosophy and Culture.



花神庙碑

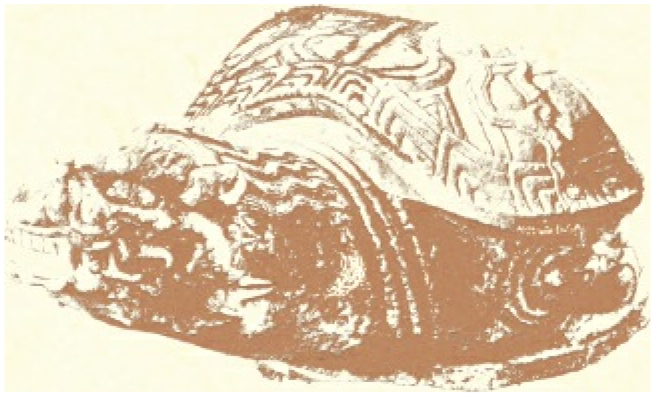
花神庙碑位于燕南园西北靠近二体的坡道入口处，共两座，坐北朝南，分立路边。路东一座立于乾隆十年（1745），路西一座立于乾隆十二年（1747）。两碑均为汉白玉制，高3米，宽0.88米，螭首龟趺，雕刻精美。

两碑碑额均题为“万古流芳”，阳面记述乾隆十年花朝节后和十二年中秋节后圆明园百花竞放、花匠感念司花诸神的保佑因而祭祀花神的祝词；阴面刻有圆明园众多花匠的名字。据燕京大学档案记录，燕南园建成之时，两碑由未名湖南岸被运至燕南园。

寒来暑往，岁月推移，这两块来自圆明园的花神庙碑如今已与燕南园的文化景观融为一体。宗璞先生在《燕园碑寻》一文中曾深情追忆她在三松堂生活时每日行经花神庙碑的过往。

There are two tablets standing near the entrance ramp of the Gymnasium No. 2. The one in the east was set up in 1745, and the other in the west in 1747. Both are made of white marble, 3 meters in height, 0.88 meter in width. According to the archives of Yenching University, the two tablets were moved to the Yannan Garden from the south bank of the Weiming Lake.

As time passes by, these tablets have become an integral part of the cultural landscape of the Yan Garden.



乾隆十年碑文

万古流芳

洪惟我皇上德溥生成，庥征蕃庑。万几清暇之余，览庶汇之欣荣，煦群生于咸若，对时育厥功茂焉。王进忠、陈九卿、胡国泰近侍掖庭，典司艺花之事，于内苑拓地数百弓，结篱为圃，奇葩异卉，杂莳其间。每当露蕊晨开，香苞午绽，嫣红姹紫，如锦如霞，虽洛下之名园，河阳之花县，不是过也。伏念天地间一草一木，胥出神功，况于密迩宸居，邀天子之品题，供圣人之吟赏者哉。爰列像以祀司花诸神，岁时祷赛，必戒必虔。从此寒暑益适其宜，阴阳各遂其性，不必催花之鼓，护花之铃，而吐艳扬芬，四时不绝。于以娱睿览，养天和，与物同春，后天不老，化工之锡福岂有量乎！若夫灌溉以时，培护维谨，此小臣之职，何敢贪天功以为己力也。

乾隆十年花朝后二日，圆明园总管王进忠、陈九卿、胡国泰恭记

乾隆十二年碑文

万古流芳

钦惟我皇上德被阳和，幸万几之多暇；休征时若，睹百卉之舒荣。

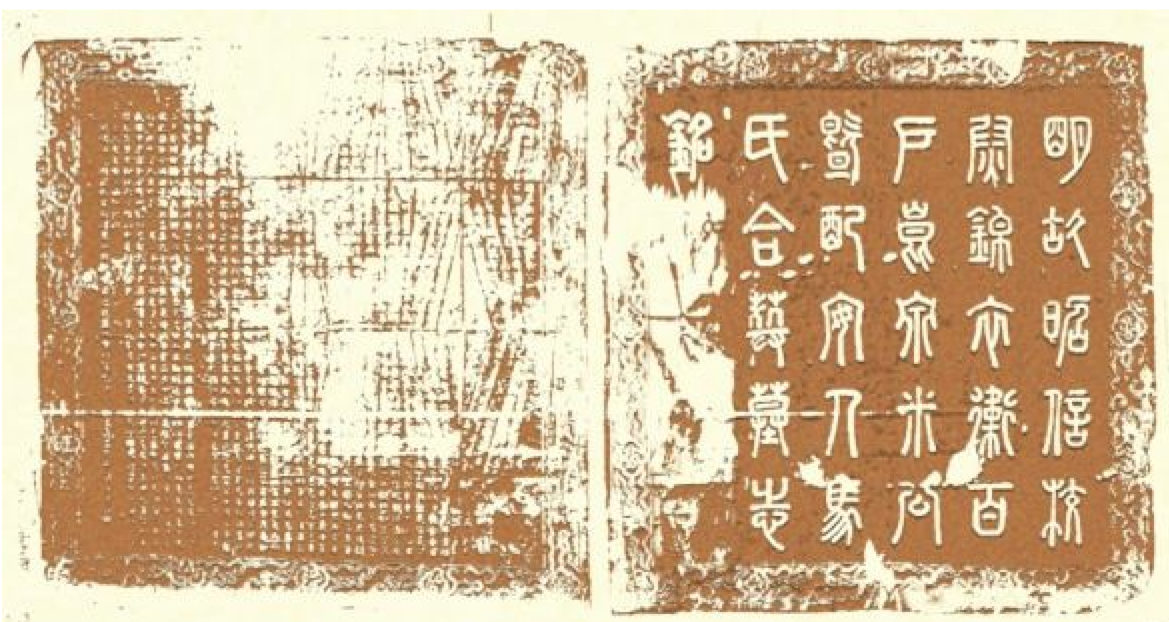
撷瑞草于尧阶，春生蓂荚；艺仙葩于阆苑，岁献蟠桃。允矣鸿禧，敻哉上界。彭开昌、刘玉、李裕，职在司花，识惭学圃。辟町畦于禁近，插棘编篱；罗花药于庭墀，锄云种月。檀苞粉蕊，烂比霞蒸；姹紫嫣红，纷如锦拆。虽有河阳之树，逊此秾华；宁容洛下之园，方兹清丽。伏念群芳开谢，胥有神功；小草生成，咸资帝力。荷荣光于上苑，倍著芬菲；邀宠睐于天颜，益增旖旎。爰事神而列像，时崇报以明禋。必式必虔，以妥以侑，从此阴阳和协，二十四番风信咸宜；寒燠均调，三百六日花期竞放。何烦羯鼓，连夜催开；岂必金铃，长春永护。于以养天和之煦妪，供清燕之优游，则草秀三芝，并向长生之馆；花开四照，纷来延寿之宫矣。

乾隆十二年中秋后三日，圆明园总管彭开昌、刘玉、李裕恭记

米玉及夫人马氏墓志铭石

1929年夏，在燕南园西北口西侧的土坡中，发现了米万钟之父米玉及其夫人马氏的坟墓，墓中有二人的墓志铭石。墓志铭比较详细地记载了米玉的家世及生平，并涉及米万钟的身世，是研究米氏家族的重要资料。又据志文云“葬于海甸之原，盖公所自卜者”，可见米家与海淀在构建勺园之前就早有渊源。该墓志铭石出土后收藏于燕京大学图书馆内，后归属北京大学。

The gravestone of Mi Yu and his wife was found on the earthen slope northwest of the Yannan Garden in the summer of 1929. The inscriptions on the gravestone record the family background and lifetime of Mi Yu, and touch upon his son Mi Wanzhong's life story, providing important information to the research of the Mi family. The gravestone is now kept in the Peking University Library.



米玉及夫人马氏墓志铭

明故昭信校尉锦衣卫百户昆泉米公暨配安人马氏墓志铭

赐进士出身右春坊右谕德兼翰林院侍讲纂修国朝正史前直起居管理诰敕文华殿日讲官南充黄辉撰

赐进士出身右春坊右中允兼翰林院侍讲记注起居纂修正史兼理诰敕讲读官四明冯有经书

赐进士出身左春坊左中允兼翰林院侍讲管理诰敕兼修正史经筵官端溪区大相篆

有缇骑于嘉靖而能以其僚平者乎？曰：法取荆棘，毋苛以蔓也。毋殖于诇，后将不食。故中人产之，弗屑保焉，而卒以有厥子，吾犹及之。曰：故昭信尉昆泉公玉，其先晋阳人。祖虎始徙北郡之安化，以功授金吾百户，公其支子之第五子也。六岁而孤，性纯謦，食于诸兄嫂，常自为色饱。是时，金吾世中绝，而诸兄皆农，公独自意必绍之。弱冠，则尽鬻所服产以北。家人咸谇笑：『胡为乎是孑孑者？京师在天上，何锦衣百户也？』不谓公俄锦衣百户也。盗魁冯璜谋为乱，公冒危获焉，而舍诸胁从人，功宜最，乃仅授昭信校尉。得请还展墓，族党出迎，或至数十里。望见驺导，且前且却，莫知辞色所为。公逆下车，欢呼笑语，一一问慰如往昔。众乃争自前，相与叹服曰：『吾村安所得是人！天与人官，定不妄耳。』于是大会宗党亲故，推金钱布帛有差。会岁饥，所全活数百人。分守杨副使锦曰：『义哉米侯！』手为勒碑于墓次旌之。自是诸米常仰公北来。其后关中复大凶，米无莩者，故邻夫妇归生死于公，曾不少厌，其笃谊类如此。居常为德于人，不愿人知之。有贷辄应，即故负不校。长子万春第武举，公遂谢世。产日落，然终不悔也。初，公娶于杨，继者宋，又继者马。宋生参将万春，马安人归，春三岁矣。仲子永宁令万钟生二岁，母田卒。季子锦衣冠带总旗万方生十岁，母董卒。安人抚之，不啻腹也。即诸子视安人，不啻腹也。春将之官，不能装。安人下簪珥资之。乃克行。万方周岁而痘，危甚，安人抱持不交睫，至染疔毒，傍人苦之，不知也。佐训诸子，礼其师必以

腆。进则喜，不则痛厉之，曰：『奈而父何？』宋安人母杜养于公，垂没，谢曰：『老妇累半子，藉令弱女在，视我何以加安人？老妇不忘来生报也。』人谓安人母犹母，子诸子，皆女德所尤难。万钟每向予语，泪涔涔下云。公素好客，虽贫不衰。夫人操馈如一日。诸米来京师，德公，尤德安人也。公年六十九，为寿者倾都下。明年以迎养之永宁，其士民寿如之。是时已病，犹力寻上阁、香泉、龙头、龟潭之胜。洒然引觥曰：『予尝慕仙游，今得洗神乎？于兹虽晚不恨。』已病革，惟忠孝是属，且命以覆巾野服敛，曰：『予志也。』东首右胁而化，面如生。吊者诧未尝有焉。安人毁甚，欲从公地下。又二岁，亦卒。将合葬于海甸之原，盖公所自卜者。宋夫人及田氏、董氏从焉。当公中落，尝手摩仲子项曰：『而翁虽不于公，自顾少憾于天，天有知邪，将食吾于孺子。』安人亦曰：『君有是在，何言贫也。』钟竟举进士，有声于时。安人王大父尚宪庙宜兴大长公主，其诗礼所渐远矣。公尝以事至潞河，或荐之姝，怪其类良家子，泣曰：『然，坐夫窘至此。』立予二十金，俾自赎以免。夫轻财，人所时有，独仓卒见美妇人，不即昵近，必审所以来，贤于人远矣。不者，岂其偶然藐孤子，能保坠绪，而益昌之乎哉？公生于嘉靖戊子年二月十二日。万历丁酉年六月二十五日卒。得年七十。安人生于嘉靖壬寅二月十五日。万历己亥十二月十五日卒。得年五十有八。春登隆庆辛未武进士，历官分守通州参将，娶锦衣百户蒋维藩女。生女一，适锦衣千户田男太学生田元德。钟登万历乙未进士，初任永宁县知县，娶锦衣百户皇亲李凤女。生男一，孟骐方锦衣冠带总旗，娶锦衣百户王嵩女，生女二，尚幼。

铭曰：予不厌幽，还则彰也。育无择慈，一所从也。天之兆兹地，守以龙也。曰昌厥遗，远益征也。维石可浮，视兹颂也。

杭爱碑及石像生

杭爱（？—1683），满洲镶白旗人，章佳氏，历任吏部郎中、山西布政使、陕西巡抚等职，康熙二十二年（1683）卒于四川巡抚任上，谥号“勤襄”。

杭爱碑共两座，分别位于静园草坪东北角与西北角，掩映在萧疏竹影之中，乃杭爱墓冢前的旧物，均立于康熙二十四年（1685），即杭爱去世两年之后。其中，东侧为敕建的墓碑，上刻康熙御撰的碑文以表彰他一生的功绩；西侧为谕祭和诰命碑，阳面所刻为康熙御撰的祭文（遣礼部侍郎敖哈郎中稚虎谕祭），阴面所刻为康熙十四年（1675）诰封资政大夫的圣旨。二碑碑文满汉文并用，整体古朴庄严，形制相同，均为汉白玉石材，螭首龟趺，今保存完好。

东侧杭爱碑南面不远处有石羊、石虎各一只，当为旧时杭爱墓前的石像生。这两只石像生，一卧一坐，惟妙惟肖，如今可谓点缀静园草坪的灵动一笔。

据燕京大学档案记载，杭爱墓原位于今静园六院和俄文楼之间的土丘处，兴建静园时才将石碑与石像生移至今址。



【杭爱碑及石像生】——唐伽拉　摄

There are two stone tablets of Hang'ai, respectively on the northeast and northwest corner of the lawn of the Jingyuan Garden, hidden among the desolate bamboo shadows. Hang'ai was a high official of the Qing dynasty. The tablets are the relics of his tomb, both set up in 1685, two years after his death. The inscriptions on both tablets are in the Manchu and Chinese

languages, simple but solemn. Both are made of white marble and kept intact today.

The stone sheep and stone tiger not far from south of the northeast tablet were the stone animals in front of Hang'ai's tomb. These two animals, one lying and the other sitting, add a vivid touch to the lawn in serenity.



Stone Tablet of Hang'ai and Stone Animals (photo by Tang Jiala)

东侧墓碑碑文

敕建

四川巡抚都察院右副都御史加五级谥勤襄杭爱碑文

朕惟自昔人臣宣力于国家者，必有荣始哀终之典，以示褒嘉。凡以崇奖贤劳，风励有位，事綦重也。尔杭爱，恪慎矢心，精勤奉职。总藩晋地，著声绩于当年；拥节关中，弘抚绥于比屋。值逆氛之未靖，我武惟扬；念转饷之罔愆，尔猷具在。迨移旆于蜀省，复效绩于岩疆。勤黎庶之招携，功收镇静；励耕桑之作息，业奏敉宁。倏尔沦亡，殊深轸悼。爰稽彝典，赐谥勤襄。於戏！嘉乃勋劳，宁靳天家之报；沛兹恩宠，益增泉壤之光。俾勒丰碑，以永休命。

康熙二十四年三月初六日立

西侧谕祭与诰封碑碑文

（阳面）

谕祭

皇帝谕祭四川巡抚都察院右副都御史加五级谥勤襄杭爱之灵曰：朕惟宣猷布泽，聿崇保障之勋；怀远招携，尤赖抚绥之略。故矢心奉国，既职业之克勤；荣始哀终，宜恩纶之下逮。易名有典，予祭维经。尔杭爱，性本恪恭，才优经济，聿资藩翰，干略特闻。再秉节旄，拊循是寄。属进兵于蜀道，屡转饷于关中。飞挽无愆，饱腾攸济，乃移旌旆，俾奠已渝，闾阎获家室之安，山泽息萑苻之警。方深倚任，遽悼沦亡。於戏！眷三载之成劳，残黎甫集；缅两川之瘠坏（壤），旧绩犹存。特弘追恤之仁，以为勤事之劝。尔灵不昧，尚克钦承。

康熙二十四年九月初九日，遣礼部侍郎敖哈郎中稚虎祭文

（阴面）诰命

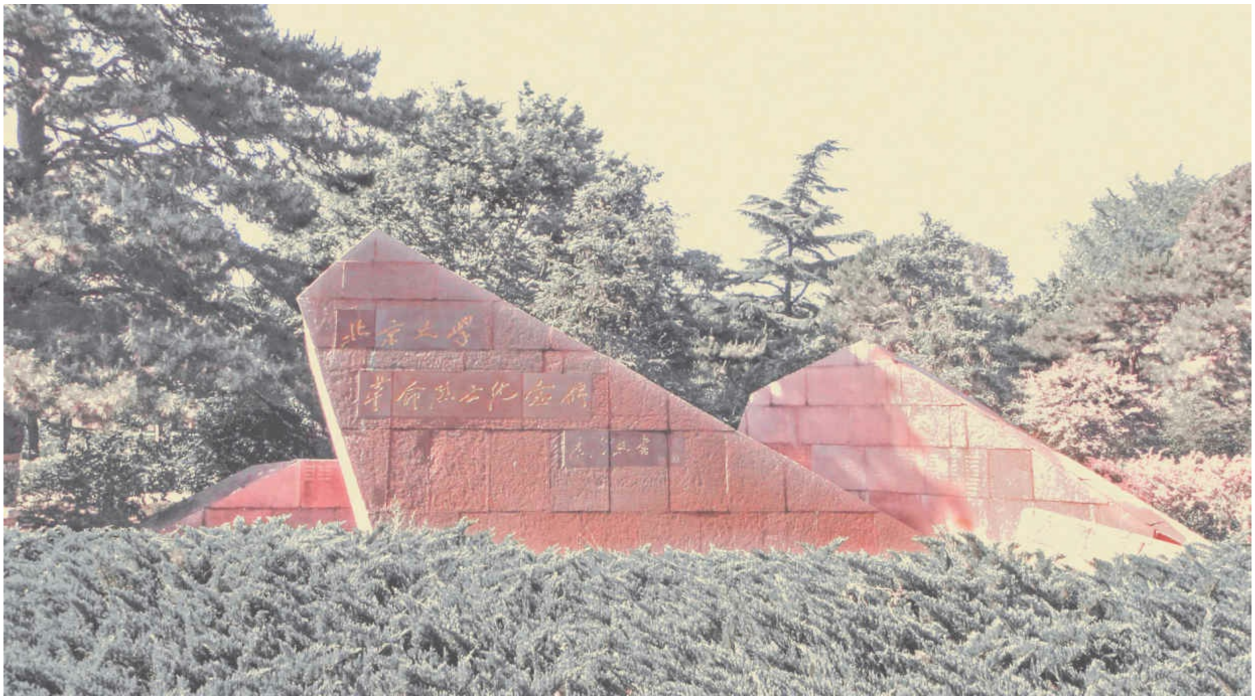
奉天承运皇帝，诏曰：褒忠表义，昭代之良规；崇德报功，圣王之令典。特颁恩命，以奖勤劳。尔巡抚陕西等处地方赞理军务都察院右副都御史加二级杭爱，性资端谨，才识弘通。俾掌封疆，恪慎无惭于职守；宣劳政务，夙夜克矢乎寅恭。任用有年，小心益励。崇阶洊陟，历试能勤。欣兹庆典之逢，宜沛恩纶之宠。兹以覃恩，特授尔资政大夫，锡之诰命。於戏！恩推自近，乃弘奖夫崇阶；业广惟勤，尚钦承夫宠锡。凛予时命，励尔嘉猷。

康熙十四年十二月十四日

北京大学革命烈士纪念碑

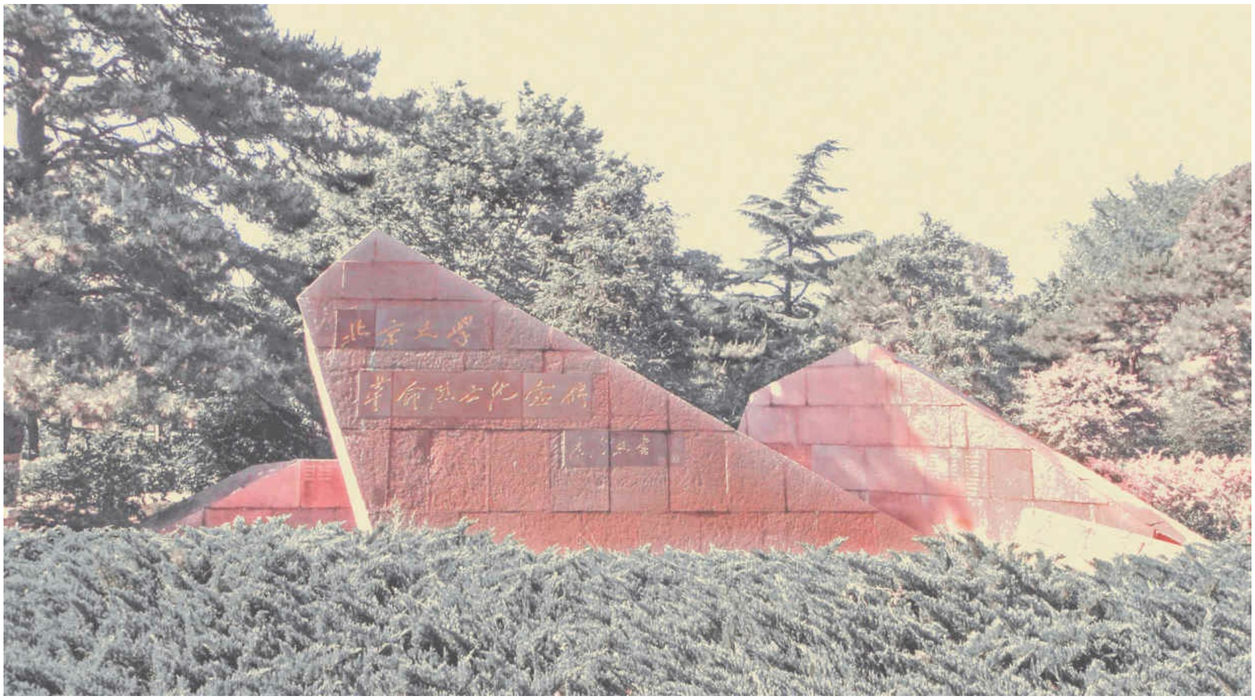
北京大学革命烈士纪念碑位于静园草坪北侧。纪念碑用红色大理石制作，碑体呈不规则的多边形，共五块，构成写意的“心”字，主碑高四米，合起来象征着五四精神。主碑正面的镏金大字为老一辈革命家陈云题词“北京大学革命烈士纪念碑”。主碑背面刻有碑铭，并与后面的两块石碑一道，刻有从五四运动到新民主主义革命胜利期间北京大学（包括西南联大和燕京大学）师生和校友中牺牲的83位革命烈士的姓名、生卒年和籍贯。纪念碑于1993年5月4日正式揭幕落成。此碑既是纪念碑，又是极具艺术性的雕塑，堪称静园草坪上一处重要的景观。

中华人民共和国成立后的北京大学第一任校长马寅初先生，曾把该碑所铭刻的精神与传统概括为北京大学的“牺牲主义”。他说：“回忆母校自蔡先生执掌校务以来，力图改革。五四运动，打倒卖国贼，作人民思想之先导。此种虽斧钺加身毫无顾忌之精神，国家可灭亡，而此精神当永久不死。然既有精神，必有主义，所谓北大主义者，即牺牲主义也。服务于国家社会，不顾一己之私利，勇敢直前，以达其至高之鹄的。”



【北京大学革命烈士纪念碑】——邹程浩 摄

The Monument of Peking University Martyrs for Chinese Revolution stands in the north of the lawn of the Jingyuan Garden. It consists of five red marbles put together in the shape of a "heart", the height being 4 meters, symbolizing the May Fourth spirit. The inscription on the front of the main monument was written by the respected revolutionist Chen Yun. On the back of the main monument and the other two tablets are inscribed the names, years of birth and death and native places of the 83 martyrs from the May Fourth Movement to the victory of the New Democratic Revolution. The monument was formally inaugurated on May 4, 1993.



Monument of Peking University Martyrs for Chinese Revolution (photo by Zou Chenghao)



北京大学革命烈士纪念碑铭文

从一九一九年五四运动到新民主主义革命取得全国性胜利，北京大学（含西南联合大学、燕京大学）的师生和校友有八十三位（其中中共党员七十位）为中国的民族解放和人民革命事业英勇献身。为缅怀先

烈，继往开来，敬立此碑，以志纪念。

一九九三年五月四日

【四】燕园北区
Northern Yan Garden Area

鸣鹤园

鸣鹤园位于校园西北部，原为嘉庆第五子惠亲王绵愉所有，后由徐世昌购得，又转手归陈树藩所有，并于1928年左右由燕京大学购得作为校园的一部分。当年徐世昌拆除园中建筑，将建筑构件运回老家，对园区造成了毁灭性的破坏。鸣鹤园在其全盛之时曾被誉为京西五大邸园之一，其面积约9公顷，园中山峦起伏，沟壑纵横，又有两处池水（今荷花池与红湖），一派自然山水风光。历经坎坷后，鸣鹤园中原有建筑大多已荡然无存，仅有翼然亭保存完好。今日鸣鹤园中建有赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆、考古文博学院新馆、生物技术楼、动物房等——均为仿古建筑，以期与鸣鹤园的古典风貌相契合。园中有石刻“鸣鹤园”三字，为启功先生题写。



【鸣鹤园冬景】——周杨　摄

The Minghe Garden is in the northwest of the campus, having been bought by Yenching University around 1928. It was thought to be one of the most beautiful gardens in the city of Beijing. You will find the Yiran Pavilion and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology located in this garden.



Minghe Garden in Winter Days (photo by Zhou Yang)

镜春园

镜春园，位于未名湖东北，第一体育馆通向朗润园的大路西侧，南临未名湖，北接朗润园，西接鸣鹤园，是北京大学校园中旧日园林里保存较为完好的区域。镜春园面积不大，嘉庆七年（1802）被赐予嘉庆皇帝第四女庄静公主，光绪二十二年（1896）并于鸣鹤园，属于嘉庆皇帝第五子绵愉后人所有。新中国成立以后，镜春园得以并入北大校园。

镜春园主要建筑包括镜春园75号和79号，现在是北京大学教育基金会和北京国际数学研究中心所在地。

> 二十年代前期，燕京大学以淑春园旧址为中心开始建校时，现在的镜春园仍属徐世昌所有，而当时燕大却已租得镜春园北邻的朗润园作为教职员住宅，中间隔有镜春园，不能通行，必须绕道东门外来往。1937年卢沟桥事变之前，燕京大学曾屡与徐家洽商，计划扩大校园，向北直通朗润园，希望以优惠价格购入镜春园，并在园内兴建专供中外文化交流之用的图书馆一座，即以徐氏别号“东海”为名，作为协商条件。议还未成，而1937年抗日战争爆发，事情也就这样结束了。直到新中国成立之后，镜春园才得合并于北大校园。
>
> 侯仁之：《燕园史话》



【镜春园79号院】——邓毓晨　摄

The Jingchun Garden is located at the northeast end of the Weiming Lake. It was given to Princess Zhuangjing by Emperor Jiaqing in 1802 and then it became part of the Minghe Garden in 1896. After the People's Republic of China was established, the Jingchun Garden was bought by PKU.

The Jingchun Garden No. 75 is now Peking University Education Foundation and the No. 79 is Beijing International Center for Mathematical Research.



Jingchun Garden No. 79 (photo by Deng Yuchen)



朗润园

朗润园地处校园东北部，北面与圆明园仅一墙之隔，南隔镜春园与未名湖相望，西接鸣鹤园，面积约7公顷，是燕园中保存最好的一座古园林。朗润园原名春和园，嘉庆年间为乾隆第十七子、庆亲王永璘赐园，故又称庆王园。道光末年，春和园转赐恭亲王奕䜣，始改称朗润园。至民国初年，朗润园被赐予载涛作为私产，后载涛将朗润园租与燕京大学作为教职工住宅使用。

朗润园主体为一个方形岛屿，四周有溪水湖泊环绕。岛上主体建筑分为中、东、西三所，早期共有大小房屋150余间、游廊亭阁数十间，经奕䜣修缮增建后全园大小房屋达237间，游廊77间，规模盛大。东所为主体建筑中最大的部分，自南向北依次有宫门“春和别业”、正殿“恩辉余庆”、抱厦殿“澄怀撷秀”等，东南侧有四方亭“涵碧亭”，亭名为奕䜣手书。在圆明园毁于英法联军之手的劫难中，朗润园虽近在咫尺却逃过一劫，主体建筑基本完整地保留了下来。

20世纪50年代，北京大学在朗润园东北部滨湖新建六座教职工住宅楼和一座招待所楼（今科维理天文与天体物理研究所）。至90年代以后，朗润园历经修缮与增建，现已成为国家发展研究院（原中国经济研究中心）、中国古代史研究中心等多个研究机构的办公场所，古老的建筑在得到有效保护的前提下，终于旧貌换新颜。朗润园岛上今有“朗润园”石碑，为曾经久居朗润园的季羡林先生题写。

The Langrun Garden is located in the northeast of the campus, next to the Yuanming Yuan. It is the best preserved ancient garden at PKU and was also once a royal garden. The Langrun Garden is a square island, surrounded by lakes. In the past there were more than 150 houses on the island. In the

1950s, PKU built a group of new buildings on the island, including the National School of Development, the Center for Research on Ancient Chinese History and the Kavli Institute for Astronomy and Astrophysics.



校景亭

校景亭，原名翼然亭，位于鸣鹤园中，民主楼北部一座土山之上，北面俯临红湖，该湖在北大迁入燕大后，曾长期作为露天游泳场使用。校景亭建筑形式为大式重檐四角方亭，古朴大方，四周有假山叠置、树木环抱，西面有一方形水池。

校景亭建于乾隆初年，乾隆十二年（1747）清高宗乾隆曾登亭观赏游玩，并以《翼然亭》为题赋诗。咸丰十年（1860），鸣鹤园毁于英法联军之手，翼然亭幸免于难。1926年燕京大学迁入新校址以后对翼然亭进行了修整，并在亭内彩绘燕园校景十二幅，校景亭因此而得名，并成为燕园西北部的一处重要景观。



【校景亭】

The Campus Scenery Pavilion was originally named Yiran Pavilion, constructed in the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign. It stands on the top of a small hill to the north of the Minzhu Building. In 1860 the Minghe Garden was destroyed by the Anglo-French Allied Forces whereas the pavilion made a narrow escape. In 1926, the pavilion was renovated and

adorned with twelve paintings of the campus scenery, hence its present name.



Campus Scenery Pavilion

日晷

北大赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆前有一座汉白玉日晷，高近3米，由大底座、碑身和赤道式日晷组成。碑身刻有篆字碑文，东西南北四面碑文分别为“近取诸物”“远取诸身”“仰以观于天文”“俯以察于地理”。

这座日晷是乾隆第四女和嘉公主府第的遗物，1898年京师大学堂成立后，清廷将闲置的公主府划为学堂校址，这座日晷也同归学堂所有。京师大学堂不久更名为北京大学，北大迁出后，日晷由人民教育出版社代为保管，日晷的晷盘和晷针不幸损坏。20世纪80年代后期北大将日晷取回，放在现塞万提斯像东侧草坪内。赛克勒博物馆建成后北大将日晷移到现处，并恢复了晷盘与晷针。现在日晷已不再作为计时工具使用，而因其文物价值和观赏价值成为燕园一景，与博物馆内陈列的物品一起记录着光与影的时光印记。

此外，燕京大学时期也留有一个日晷，目前留有一基座，存于西校门附近。



【日晷】——张博言　摄

In front of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology, there stands a 3-meter-high marble sundial. It was a relic from a princess's mansion in the Qing dynasty. When the Imperial University of Peking was established in 1898, the sundial together with the princess's mansion was owned by the University.



Sundial (photo by Zhang Boyan)

勺园太湖石

赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆内庭院正中有一方高大的太湖石，据侯仁之先生考证，乃米万钟勺园遗物。

米万钟为晚明著名画家，与松江董其昌齐名，号称“南董北米”。约在万历四十年（1612）至四十二年（1614）间，米万钟筑勺园于海淀，其旧址在今北大校内西南隅，是海淀园林开辟的先驱。

米万钟爱石成癖，别号“友石先生”，勺园内收藏有数量众多、品质上佳的太湖石。据明代孙国敉《燕都游览志》记载：“勺园径曰风烟里。……逾梁而北为勺海堂。……堂前怪石蹲焉，栝子松倚之。”参之以米万钟万历四十五年（1617）手绘《勺园修禊图》，则勺园正堂勺海堂前确有一巨石矗立，旁有高树倚之。

这方太湖石早先位于校园东南角原治贝子园后殿屋后，1993年赛克勒博物馆建成后移至馆中。

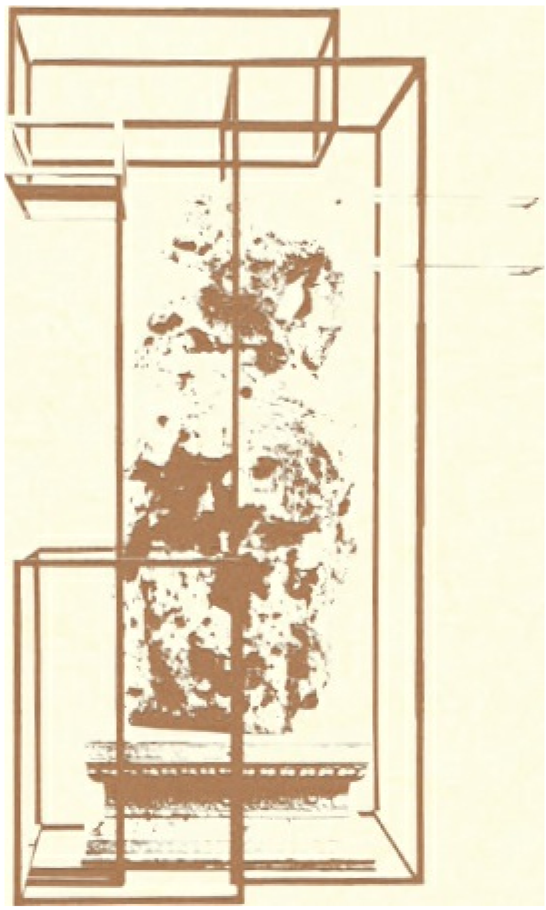
> 至于今，过海淀所为勺园者，残陇荒陂、烟横草蔓，则当年之晴轩月榭、凉台燠室也。枯塘颓径、蛇盘狸穴，则当年之文窗窈窕、古槎嵯峨也。求其莲房松岸，楼舫相掩映，而危梁穹窿于木末者，茫不可得。惟巍巍一石，宛然当年荫高梧而峙庭前者也。
>
> 王崇简：《米友石先生诗序》

In the center of the courtyard of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology stands a tall Taihu stone. According to Hou Renzhi, it is a relic of Mi Wanzhong's Shaoyuan Garden.

Mi Wanzhong was a well-known artist in the late Ming dynasty, often referred to together with Dong Qichang, a famous contemporary paintercalligrapher, as the "southern Dong and northern Mi". The Shaoyuan

Garden was built around 1612 to 1614. It is the earliest garden developed in Haidian District.

Mi Wanzhong had a weakness for stone. There were a good number of Taihu stones of superior quality in the garden. This Taihu stone was moved to its present place from the Zhibeizi Garden in 1993.



半月台乾隆诗刻碑

半月台乾隆诗刻碑位于校园西北角的荷花池西北岸。石碑汉白玉制，碑顶雕半月云纹形，碑身刻有乾隆三十一年（1766）御制诗。该碑几经罹难，碑身破碎，涂画严重，后虽有修补，但十分粗劣，恐难以再复原貌。原碑座已经遗失，现有碑座石质、尺寸与碑身均不相符。

半月台乾隆诗刻碑原位于圆明园中长春园思永斋以北，湖面正中岛屿上的“海岳开襟”旁。“海岳开襟”建于乾隆十二年（1747），主体建筑为直径百米、围以汉白玉栏杆的两层圆台。“半月台”为“海岳开襟”岛东岸叠石而成的高台，专供皇帝赏月，这通汉白玉诗碑就伫立于台上。至于其何时辗转流入燕园，目前尚不清楚。



【半月台乾隆诗刻碑】——唐伽拉　摄

The Emperor Qianlong's Poem Tablet on the Half Moon Platform stands on the northwest bank of the Lotus Pool in the northwest corner of the campus. The tablet is made of white marble, with halfmoon moiré patterns on the top

and Emperor Qianlong's poem inscribed on the body. Despite later repairs, the gravely damaged tablet could not be restored to its original appearance. The old base was lost, substituted by a new one suited neither in texture nor in size to the body.

The tablet was originally in the Haiyue Kaijin (Sea of Magnanimity) in the Yuanming Yuan. The Half Moon Platform on the east side of the Haiyue Kaijin was specially made for the emperor to enjoy the moon, while the tablet was right there on the platform.



Emperor Qianlong's Poem Tablet on the Half Moon Platform (photo by Tang Jiala)

乾隆御制《半月台》诗

台形规半月，白玉以为栏。
即是广寒界，雅宜秋夕看。
会当银魄满，不碍碧虚宽。
太白镜湖句，常思欲和难。

“断桥残雪”石牌坊构件

“断桥残雪”石牌坊构件现立于朗润园南部、北京国际数学研究中心与斯坦福中心之间小石桥的南端，2012年朗润园施工时被从地下挖出。石坊坊楣阳面为乾隆御题的“断桥残雪”，阴面刻有乾隆御制诗，坊柱两面皆刻有对联。

“断桥残雪”原位于“圆明园四十景”之一“汇芳书院”东南，建成于乾隆二十八年（1763），为圆明园仿西湖十景之一，亦为“四十景”之后续增的八景之一。至于其如何流入朗润园，又被埋藏地下，尚待考察。



【“断桥残雪”石牌坊构件】——何晋　摄

The "Duanqiao Canxue" (Remnant Snow on the Bridge in Winter) Dolmen Component is now in the south of the Langrun Garden, the southern tip of the

small stone bridge between Beijing International Center for Mathematical Research and Stanford Center. It was unearthed in 2012 when the Langrun Garden was in construction. The characters "Duanqiao Canxue" are the handwriting of Emperor Qianlong.

The dolmen was originally situated in the southeast of the Huifang Shuyuan (Library of Collected Fragrances), one of the Forty Scenes of the Yuanming Yuan. It was an imitation of the Ten Scenes in the West Lake, and one of the Eight Scenes succeeding the Forty. There is no knowing about how it came to the Langrun Garden and was buried later.



"Duanqiao Canxue" Dolmen Component (photo by He Jin)

对联

（阳面）杨柳似含烟羃䍥，楼台仍积玉嵯峨。
（阴面）连村画景张横幅，著树梅花发野桥。

乾隆御制《断桥残雪》诗

在昔桥头密雪铺，
举头见额忆西湖。
春巡几度曾来往，
乃识西湖此不殊。

癸未孟冬月御题

“柳浪闻莺”石牌坊构件

“柳浪闻莺”石牌坊与“断桥残雪”石牌坊相同，均为圆明园对西湖十景的仿建，原建于乾隆二十八年（1763），竖立在文源阁西北溪滨柳荫之间。1977年，在朗润园岛上西北角出土了刻有“柳浪闻莺”字样的坊楣，坊楣背面亦刻有乾隆的御制诗。此坊楣后被北大捐赠给圆明园，成为国内第一批回归圆明园的流失文物之一，现展陈于圆明园西洋楼海晏堂遗址北侧。2012年，“柳浪闻莺”的坊柱与“断桥残雪”石牌坊构件同时被挖出，坊柱两面亦刻有对联，现立于红湖东岸。



【“柳浪闻莺”石牌坊构件】——邹程浩　摄

Built in 1763, the "Liulang Wenying" (Orioles Singing in the Willows) Dolmen Component was an imitation of the Ten Scenes in the West Lake in the Yuanming Yuan. The top of the dolmen was donated to the Yuanming

Yuan by Peking University among the first batch of lost cultural relics back home. It is now on display to the north of the old site of the Haiyan Tang. The columns of the dolmen were unearthed in 2012 and now stand at the east end of the Honghu Lake.



"Liulang Wenying" Dolmen Component (photo by Zou Chenghao)

对联

（阳面）能言春鸟呼名字，罨尽云林自往回。
（阴面）几缕画情遮过客，一行烟意□新题。

乾隆御制《柳浪闻莺》诗

十景西湖名早传，
御园柳浪亦称旃。

栗留叽啭无端听，
讶似清波门那边。

【五】燕园西区
Western Yan Garden Area

畅春园

畅春园位于北京大学西门外，蔚秀园以南。畅春园原是清圣祖康熙皇帝所修建的皇家园林，其前身为修建于明万历年间的清华园，始建于万历十年（1582）。畅春园是康熙皇帝在北京西北郊修建的第一座大型园林，也是庞大的“三山五园”皇家园林区的开端。康熙皇帝曾亲撰《御制畅春园记》，并经常在此听政理事、休养游玩，最终病逝于此。至乾隆朝，乾隆皇帝的生母常居畅春园，故乾隆皇帝时常来到这里请安游赏，留下很多诗文。根据记载，全盛时期的畅春园分为中、东、西三路，园中既有议政和居住用的宫殿，又有亭台楼阁与山水相间的园林，一派江南景致，风光秀美非凡。1860年在英法联军火烧圆明园的劫难中，畅春园中的建筑也被焚毁殆尽，至今仅存恩佑寺、恩慕寺山门和畅春园东北界碑。后畅春园遗址的北部划归北京大学所有，康熙皇帝所居住的清溪书屋即在此范围内。现遗址内建有北达资源中学校舍、北大教工宿舍和畅春新园宿舍。



【畅春园敬建恩佑寺】

The Changchun Garden (Joyful Spring Garden) is next to the Weixiu Garden. It was the first large-scale royal garden constructed by Emperor Kangxi in this area. Many emperors used to choose this garden as a place for leisure and holidays. However, it was burned to ashes by the Anglo-French Allied Forces in 1860. Now the north part of the garden belongs to PKU and is used as a dormitory area for staff and students as well as a teaching area for Beida Resource Middle School.



Enyou Temple of the Changchun Garden

蔚秀园

蔚秀园位于畅春园以北，园门与西校门相对，原为圆明园附属园林之一。蔚秀园曾为道光年间定郡王载铨的赐园，原名含芳园，又称定王园。咸丰八年（1858），含芳园被转赐醇亲王奕𫍽，并由咸丰皇帝赐名蔚秀园。清室覆亡前，蔚秀园被赐予奕𫍽第五子载沣作为私产，1931年由燕京大学购得。蔚秀园中曾经湖泊相连，将园区分为东、中、北三个相对独立的小岛，岛上建有院落、戏台、花园等。如今园中尚保留有三个小湖，湖中岛上存有奕所建平房院落，湖西岸土丘上有方亭（南亭）一座，其北侧有歇山顶亭（北亭）一座，另有“紫琳浸月”碑和“云根”石存园中。20世纪70年代北京大学曾在园中西部和北部建造了15幢楼房，作为教职工住宅使用，后又在园区南部修建了幼儿园。



【蔚秀园南亭】——李根　摄

The Weixiu Garden is opposite the West Gate. It was bought by Yenching University in 1931. There were many lakes and islands in this garden, yet only three lakes still remain with some courtyards and pavilions on the island. In the 1970s, PKU started to build houses for staff's residence in the west and north of the garden and a kindergarten in the south.



Southern Pavilion of the Weixiu Garden (photo by Li Gen)

承泽园

承泽园原为清代皇家花园，位于西苑旁，挂甲屯南，东南临畅春园，东北接蔚秀园。承泽园约始建于雍正三年（1725），最初被赐予果亲王允礼，道光年间被赐予道光皇帝六女寿恩公主，故又称六公主园。光绪中叶，承泽园又被赐予庆亲王奕劻，奕劻去世以后，该园为张伯驹购得，1953年又被张卖给北京大学，成为北大校园的一部分。时至今日，园内山水、清代楼阁宅院尚存遗痕，使之成为西郊诸园中保存较完整的园林之一。据记载，承泽园总体上分为南北两部分，中间隔以东西走向的溪湖。南部为宫门和附属房屋，北部为园区建筑的主体部分，又分为东西二所，建有正房、厅堂、小亭、城关等建筑若干。现在北京大学在园区南部修建了教工楼，又对承泽园西所进行修缮，作为北京大学科学与社会研究中心办公场所使用，并正在对承泽园东北部进行修复改造，以作为国家发展研究院教学科研用房。

The Chengze Garden was also a royal garden in the Qing dynasty and situated next to the Changchun Garden (Joyful Spring Garden). It was built in 1725 and had changed hands several times from Princess Shou'en to Prince Yikuang and then to Zhang Boju. In 1953 Zhang sold the garden to PKU and it has become part of the campus ever since.

畅春园东北界碑

畅春园东北界碑旧址在篓斗桥稍南、万泉河分水东流处，约当今畅春园食堂南门前。2001年兴建畅春园宿舍时，石碑被移至北大校园西南角外火神庙（今大明眼镜店）院内。碑上刻有“畅春园东北界”六个大字。该界碑既是“三山五园”初始建设地的见证，也是北大校内园林水源的地标，具有重要的历史价值，将来应当予以妥善的安置和必要的保护。



【承泽园绣花楼】——李根　摄

The Changchun Garden Northeastern Boundary Tablet was originally in front of the south gate of today's Changchun Garden (Joyful Spring Garden) dining hall. When the Changchun Garden dormitory was in construction in 2001, it

was moved into the Fire God Temple (present-day Daming Glass Store) outside the southwest corner of the campus. Inscribed on the tablet are six characters: Chang Chun Yuan Dong Bei Jie (Changchun Garden Northeastern Boundary). The tablet is not only a witness to the initial construction area of "Three Hills and Five Gardens", but also a significant landmark of the water source of the campus gardens, hence deserving appropriate settlement and necessary protection.



Xiuhua Building of the Chengze Garden (photo by Li Gen)

“紫琳浸月”石碑

“紫琳浸月”石碑暂放于蔚秀园北部24号楼与26号楼之间的小花园中。蔚秀园中原有湖泊环绕，分为东、中、北三个相对独立的小岛。石碑原位于东部小岛西北角的湖岸边，此地旧时为园主观赏月色之地。石碑上“紫琳浸月”四字，为晚清园主醇亲王奕𫍽 手书。20世纪80年代石碑被移至今址，2006年汉白玉碑座被盗，下落不明，今只存碑身卧于杂草间。“紫琳浸月”石碑是蔚秀园内少数遗存至今的文物之一，应当重增碑座，予以妥善保护。



【"紫琳浸月"石碑】

The "Zilin Jinyue" Stone Tablet stands in the small garden between No. 24 and No. 26 buildings in the north of the Weixiu Garden. There used to be lakes and rivers in the garden, forming three small islands comparatively independent in the east, middle and north. The tablet was originally on the northwest corner of the small island in the east, where the garden-owner used

to appreciate the moon. The inscriptions "Zilin Jinyue" on the tablet are Yixuan's handwriting. In the 1980s the tablet was removed to its present place and in 2006 the base was stolen.



"Zilin Jinyue" Stone Tablet

“云根”石

“云根”石位于蔚秀园内，嵌于湖心岛通往北岸小径东侧的山石间。石上题“云根”二字，上款为“丙子仲春二日”，落款为满文书写的“醇亲王”。据此，则此石应为园中旧物，石上刻字乃园主醇亲王奕所书，时为光绪二年（1876）二月二日。



【“云根”石】

The "Cloud Root" Stone stands within the Weixiu Garden, among the hills and rocks east of the pathway linking the Center Island and the north bank. According to the inscriptions on the stone, it was a relic of the Weixiu Garden, and the inscriptions were written by Yixuan in 1876.



"Cloud Root" Stone

“重修观音庵”碑

观音庵在承泽园东北角，挂甲屯南，俗称“姑子庙”，始建于康熙年间，光绪四年（1878）重修；今存前殿、正殿（包括两旁耳殿）和东西配殿，现作为居民住宅使用。院内存有一石碑，仅存碑身，右下角有缺损，碑面亦有一裂痕。此碑为光绪四年重修时所立，碑额题为“万古流芳”，碑身刻记修庵缘起及修缮情况。碑记撰写人为御膳房三等侍卫佟福祥，是为此次重修的主持者。

The Guanyin Nunnery is in the northeast corner of the Chengze Garden. It was built during the reign of Emperor Kangxi and rebuilt in 1878. Now only the antetemple, main hall and the side halls on the east and west exist, which are now used as dwelling houses. There remains a stone tablet, with the body only. The tablet was set up in the fourth year of Emperor Guangxu's reign (1878). The text was written by Tong Fuxiang, a lower-class official in the Qing dynasty, who presided over the renovation.

重修挂甲屯观音庵碑记

盖闻三摩妙地，仰仗慧日，以辉煌七处，征心须参瞿昙之奥义。群沾法雨，普庇慈云，护佑有灵，报答斯厚。兹因挂甲屯之有观音庵也，由来久矣。近因风雨圮倾，凋残日甚，仅有山门一座，正殿三楹，其余诸屋基址虽在，而栋宇荡然，残钟雪压，法像尘封，观者共为欷歔，闻之莫不感慨。

由是弟子因心有感，发愿重修，第工程浩大，独力难成，不得已募化。四方善信君子各施金赀，共襄盛事，遂于光绪四年正月，诹吉兴修，未及半载而工竣。谨将原有山门一座改建前殿三间，正殿三楹重为

建构，并于两旁添建耳殿二间，土地祠一间，正殿左右添建东西配殿各三间，复于庵之西院又建北殿三间，耳殿二间。仰瞻各殿诸神圣像，金身光灿乎云霞，即墙垣等处亦皆一律修整，从此庙貌重新，共仰神灵之有赫。谅必慈恩广布，均沾圣德于无穷。

工既毕，而善信君子告予曰：颓落若此，建构良难，今既重修，宜传永久，爰书其源委而勒之于石。

御膳房三等侍卫内务府正白旗信士弟子佟福祥敬谨叩化重修

大清光绪四年岁次戊寅六月中浣谷旦谨建

六圣祠碑

六圣祠碑共两块，位于北大校园西南角外火神庙院内，与畅春园东北界碑相邻。火神庙南侧旧有清梵寺（今已毁），乾隆四十三年（1778）在寺旁附建六圣祠，内供灶君、马祖等六位神灵，故曰“六圣”。乾隆四十九年（1784）立碑，其中一碑记建祠经过及祠之概况，碑文尚清晰；另一碑开列建祠时捐资人名或商号名，文字漫漶，多不可读。据后者，则六圣祠当为本地绅商集资所建。

There are two Six Sages Shrine tablets within the Fire God Temple outside the southwest corner of the campus, next to the Changchun Garden Northeastern Boundary Tablet. There used to be a Qingfan Temple to the south of the Fire God Temple. In 1778 the Six Sages Shrine was built beside the temple for worshipping the Kitchen God, Mazu and other four gods, hence the name "Six Sages". The tablets were set up in 1784. One tablet records the specifics of the construction and general situation of the temple; the other lists the names of contributors or stores. It is thus conferred that the Six Sages Temple must have been built with the collected money of local gentry and merchants.



六圣祠碑文（其一）

海淀清梵寺西有六圣祠，祠三楹，中左祀灶君，右祀马祖，左左祀火祖，右祀财神，右左祀元坛，右祀鲁般，均南向，以六神合享一殿，故曰六圣祠。先是，寺中无此祠，岁戊戌，土人佟尚志等倡议，海淀为御园孔道，车马之往来，商贾之辐辏，栉比鳞次，无虑数万户，往往赖神呵护。用能安其生业而丰其货殖，宜建祠以答神贶。会四方之懋迁于是者，闻其议皆曰善。乃相与醵金六千余，创为此举，卜地于寺之西偏，以三十缗易诸寺僧。故祠虽附寺，实于寺无与，顾地址袤而狭，自

享殿池　　西为齐廊，廊尽为门，门之西，又为斋廊，为穿堂，凡若干间。塈茨丹臒，董其役者，咸踊跃从事，岁末浃而工告藏祠成榜，曰六圣符众志也。稽古先王设教之义，凡有功德于民及能为民捍灾御患者，各立专庑载在祀典，所以昭诚敬肃报享也。今六神合祀，虽为祀典所不载，其功德之切于民生日用者，皆不可一日而无民之祀之也，盖原于心之不容，已而特限于地，故合祀，可以无讥焉。

观乎宋桷瑰丽，金碧炅晃，元柜之幽宣，离景之昭明，房精烛而下孕，宝气毓而上腾万井，烟凝乎画栋，百工巧错乎重楣，罔弗悚然动其诚敬之思，而愈以虔其报享之礼，固知神之潜相默佑，大有造于斯土也。记曰，礼以义起，兹祠之以六圣称其，知此义与。自祠既建且七年，众始谋勒贞珉，以视来兹，请予为记。予一曾游祠中，知其创建始末，因为叙述而并繫之以辞，俾歌以侑神。其辞曰：

玉泉兮巃嵸，天作兮閟　宫。郁芳淀兮葱葱，神受职兮物滋丰，岸草碧兮霜叶红，罗俎豆兮仰元功。赛鼓喧阗兮乐未终，灵旗飒沓兮来英风，愿神呵护兮，长无穷。

赐进士出身奉直大夫纂修国史翰林院编修兼四库全书分校寿阳祁韵士撰文并书

乾隆四十九年岁次甲辰孟夏上浣谷旦众善勒石

【六】燕东园
Yandong Garden

燕东园，又名东大地，坐落于成府镇东，清华园西南，北倚万泉河，南临中关园。据说当年万泉河两岸柳阴，野鸭成行，穿行在京西皇家园林间，景色十分宜人。燕东园与北大燕园之间以前还隔着一个成府。

燕东园中最有特色的就是那些一层或两层灰色小楼。小楼一共22座，从21号排到42号。当初建这些小楼是为了给燕京大学的教授们提供住所，而燕大很多教授都是国外聘请来的，因此建筑采取了西式郊区别墅的风格。小楼的样式各不相同，但又都很合理美观，因此一度成了清华建筑系学生写生的理想场所。所有小楼都是砖木结构，冬暖而夏凉。小楼建筑用的木材全部是红松，据说是远道从菲律宾运来。绝大多数木头现在从中间劈开，心依然是鲜红的。这些小楼大多修建于1927年左右，距今已有九十余年的历史。

20世纪50年代能住进这个院子的，大多是新中国成立前就很有成就的学者。燕东园和燕南园在住户分配上，本没有什么高低，只是外界对燕南园的宣传更多一些。到了“文革”时期，很多住户迁入，每栋小楼都被塞得满满的。后来随着北大住宅建设的发展，很多人又迁出，最终留下的，还是那些老教授。他们大多在这里走完了自己的最后岁月。

燕东园名人一览

门牌号	名人
燕东园 21 号	林启武（体育教育家）
燕东园 22 号	冯至（翻译家）
燕东园 23 号	李宪之（气象学家，中国气象事业的先驱）
燕东园 24 号	周一良（历史学家）
燕东园 25 号	马坚（语言学家，中国阿拉伯语教育事业的奠基人）
燕东园 26 号（已拆除）	洪谦（哲学家，维也纳学派唯一的中国成员）
燕东园 27 号（已拆除）	魏建功（语言学家、音韵学家）、朱光潜（美学家）
燕东园 28 号	翦伯赞（历史学家）
燕东园 30 号	胡济民（核物理学家）
燕东园 32 号	高名凯（语言学家）
燕东园 34 号	游国恩（文学史家）
燕东园 35 号	严仁赓（经济学家）
燕东园 37 号	杨晦（文学家，文艺理论家）
燕东园 40 号	徐献瑜（数学家）

燕东园在燕园东门外面，离校园不足一里之遥又称“东大地”。再往东北走，就是清华园，往南去，就是成府街上。边上还有大蒋家胡同，燕园位于明清以来朗润园、勺园的旧址，燕东园可能也是这些旧时名园的边沿吧。大树是不少的。在这些老树荫下，盖了近三十幢灰砖两层楼小洋房，又用围墙围了起来，这便是燕东园。当年燕大的中外知名教授大多都是住在这里的。那在当年真可以说是首屈一指，连清华南院的教授宿舍也是比

不上的。这些小楼中都是打蜡地板、壁炉、地毯、水汀、高级卫生间、冷热水，有阳台、庭院，家家小楼前又都种着玫瑰、丁香、藤萝、玉簪……在庭院中就可赏花，出门没有多少步就到了燕园东门了。

由燕东园到燕园东门的一条小路，也是风景极优美，永远使人怀念的一条小路。在这条幽静美丽的小路上，有几家泥墙小院的农舍点缀其间，小小的院门，矮矮的墙头，从墙头上可以望见北屋的房檐下，挂着的老玉米、蒜辫子。而在这几户农舍的旁边，还有一条浅浅的流水，潺潺流过，本来这样的小河在北方其它地方是珍贵的，而在燕园、清华园一带却不稀奇，因为北京的西北郊，处玉泉山脚下，原是一个小小的水网地区。这一带完全是江南水乡风光，夏天由燕东园到燕园的小路两旁，还可以看到荷塘，其中有田田的荷叶，有大三角叶的茨菇、菱角。远望呢，是永远看不厌的西山山色，浓的，淡的，看山夏秋之际，秋冬之间最好，当然春天大黄风天气稍微扫兴些。但钱宾四先生在成都时说的好："一出西直门，迎着西北风，真痛快呀——"，说明也有喜欢燕山的风，怀念燕山的风。而在冬天，大雪之后，那这条路就更浑然一体了。这条小路上曾走过爱德加·斯诺、吴雷川、许地山、邓之诚、郭绍虞、陆侃如、冯沅君、顾颉刚等多少位名人啊。

邓云乡：《文化古城旧事》



【燕东园一角】——唐伽拉　摄

The Yandong Garden is located to the south of the Wanquan River. It was said that the view here was breathtaking. This garden also features Western-style buildings, which were old homes for famous Yenching University and Peking University professors.


A Glimpse of the Yandong Garden (photo by Tang Jiala)

附录　北京大学馆藏文物
Appendix: Collections in PKU Museums, Library and Archives

赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆

Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology

赛克勒考古与艺术博物馆坐落于鸣鹤园，是中国高等院校中第一所也是迄今为止最大的一所考古专题博物馆，由北京大学和美国医药学家、艺术品收藏家阿瑟·赛克勒博士合作建立，1993年5月27日正式开馆。

展厅面积约2000平方米，馆藏品共有两万余件。基本陈列按照时间顺序分为旧石器时代、新石器时代、夏商周时期、战国时期、秦汉时期、三国两晋南北朝至隋唐时期、宋辽金元明时期等部分。馆藏文物多为考古教学典型标本，包括石器、铜器、甲骨、陶器、瓷器、书画、碑帖等几大类。藏品来源较广，包括北京大学在1952年设置考古专业之前的收藏、燕京大学史前历史博物馆的藏品、50年代北大考古专业建立后从田野考古发掘现场带回来的教学标本以及博物馆筹备期间各地文物、考古机构赠送或调拨的展品，还有部分海内外文物收藏家捐赠的藏品等。

Located in the Minghe Garden, the Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archaeology is the first and so far the largest archeological museum in Chinese universities and colleges. It was jointly founded by Peking University and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, American pharmacologist and art collector, and formally opened on May 27, 1993.

The exhibition area covers about 2,000 square meters, with over 20,000 collections classified into the Paleolithic Age, Neolithic Age, Age of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, the Warring States Period, the Age of Qin and Han dynasties, Southern and Northern Dynasties to Sui and Tang dynasties,

Song, Liao, Jin, Yuan and Ming dynasties. The majority of the collections are typical samples for archeological teaching, including stoneware, copper ware, oracle bones, earthenware, chinaware, works of painting and calligraphy, and rubbings from stone inscriptions collected from different sources. To name just a few, there are collections before the setting up of the Peking University's archaeology program, collections from the Prehistory Museum of Yenching University, teaching specimens collected from excavation sites in the 1950s, as well as donations and allocations from different archeological agents and overseas cultural relic collectors.

北京大学校史馆
Museum of Peking University History

北京大学校史馆坐落于燕园校区西校门内荷花池畔，1998年5月北大百周年校庆时奠基，2002年5月4日正式开放。时任国家主席江泽民题写馆名。

馆舍分为三层：首层为“北京大学杰出人物展”，展出了北大历史上217位杰出的革命家、思想家、理论家、科学家、教育家的生平简介及照片。地下二层为主展厅，展示北京大学百年校史，有图片、图表800余幅，实物展品440余件，展线长400余米。展览以北大“爱国、进步、民主、科学”的光荣革命传统和“勤奋、严谨、求实、创新”的优良学术传统为主线，将北大百年发展历程分为九个阶段依次展示。地下一层为专题展厅。校史馆以其大量珍贵的遗存成为北京大学校史研究和传统教育的基地。

Located beside the Lotus Pool within the West Gate of the campus, the Museum of Peking University History was inaugurated on May 4, 2002, four years after the ground-breaking ceremony in 1998. Its name was inscribed by Jiang Zemin, then President of the People's Republic of China.

The museum has three floors. The first floor is the Exhibition of Outstanding Figures of Peking University, including brief biographies of 217 eminent revolutionists, thinkers, theorists, scientists and educators in the history of Peking University. The Basement 2 is the main exhibition hall, featuring Peking University's development over the century in nine stages. The Basement 1 is the special exhibition hall. Because of the large quantity of precious remains, the museum has become an important base for history

research of Peking University as well as traditional education.

北京大学图书馆
Peking University Library

北京大学图书馆位于未名湖畔，正门向东，前方两翼为文史楼、地学楼，与北大东门连成一线，邓小平同志亲笔题写“北京大学图书馆”。它的前身为建于1898年的京师大学堂藏书楼。经过一百多年的历史发展，北京大学图书馆业已形成了宏大丰富、学科齐全、珍品荟萃的馆藏体系。

到2015年年底，总、分馆文献资源累积量1100余万册（件）。其中纸质藏书800余万册，另有近年来大量引进和自建的国内外数字资源，包括各类数据库、电子期刊、电子图书和多媒体资源约300余万册（件）。馆藏中以150万册中文古籍为世界瞩目，其中20万件5—18世纪的珍贵书籍，是中华民族的文化瑰宝，北京大学图书馆也被国务院批准为首批国家重点古籍保护单位。图书馆在外文善本、金石拓片、1949年前出版物的收藏方面均名列国内图书馆前茅，为研究家所珍视。此外，馆内还有燕京大学学位论文、名人捐赠等特色收藏。

The Peking University Library is located beside the Weiming Lake, with the Wenshi Building and Dixue Building on both sides of its front, lining up with the East Gate. The inscription was written by Deng Xiaoping. Developed from the Library of the Imperial University of Peking established in 1898, the library has, over a century's growth, formed a vast and inclusive collection system profuse with a galaxy of treasures.

By the end of 2015, the accumulation of literature resources has amounted to more than 11,000,000, among which over 8,000,000 are paper books. Its collection of 1,500,000 ancient books in Chinese has attracted world

attention, among which the 200,000 books from the 5th to 18th centuries are the cultural gems of the Chinese nation. In collections of books in foreign languages, rubbings, and publications before 1949, the Peking University Library comes out in front of its national counterparts. There are also special collections like dissertations of Peking University, celebrity donations, and more.

北京大学档案馆
Peking University Archives

北京大学档案馆位于西校门内、办公楼南侧。1999年，档案馆脱胎于党委的档案室，成为学校领导下独立的直属机构，收集、管理和永久保存本校档案。

档案馆馆藏档案非常丰富，设有北京大学、西南联合大学、日伪占领区的北京大学、北平大学、燕京大学等五个全宗，分为党政、学籍、科研、基建、出版、会计、声像、人物、实物、已故人员等多个门类，排架长度1900米。这些档案反映了百余年来北京大学创建、变迁、发展、建设的历程，有些档案极为珍贵。其中包括蔡元培任校长时期在北大兴利除弊、祛旧布新的评议会记录，西南联大三校师生在艰苦卓绝的条件下从事教学科研活动的记录，以及从光绪三十三年（1907）第一批毕业生开始，至今十多万名学生的学籍材料等众多珍贵档案。

The Peking University Archives is situated within the West Gate, south of the Bashford Hall. In 1999, the Archives was born out of the archives room of the Party Committee, becoming an independent agency directly under the University, collecting, managing and permanently keeping the University's files.

The Archives has a rich content. At present it includes the complete files of Peking University, Southwestern Associated University, Peking University in the Japanese occupied areas, Peiping University, and Yenching University. Among its numerous rare documents are President Cai Yuanpei's meeting minutes, teaching and research records of the teachers and students of Southwestern Associated University, and information about over 100,000

students' records since 1907.

北京大学地质博物馆
Peking University Geological Museum

北京大学地质博物馆位于北大东门逸夫二楼内，门前摆放着一个黄褐色的庞大“树桩”，这是一株早已灭绝的裸子植物化石，生长在一亿两千万年前的白垩纪时期，上面的年轮仍清晰可见。北京大学地质博物馆历史悠久，早在1909年京师大学堂地质学门创设之初，即在各学科实习室标本陈列的基础上逐步充实，成立了地质陈列馆。1952年院系调整时，全部展品并入新组建的北京地质勘探学院（现中国地质大学）。1955年北大地质学专业恢复招生，陈列馆也随之在燕园重建。目前，地质博物馆馆藏包括史前生命、矿物、岩石、构造等，均为地质学系师生历年采集和有关方面馈赠的珍贵标本。其中，苏联在20世纪50年代赠送的一整套古生物化石标本更是珍贵非凡。

The Geological Museum is in the Yifu Building No. 2 within the East Gate. In front of the gate is a giant yellowish brown "tree stump", a fossil gymnospermous plant of the Cretaceous Period, which lived 120,000,000 years ago. The annual rings are still clear in spite of the years. The museum has a long history. As early as in 1909 when the Department of Geology was established, the geological exhibition hall was set up based on the specimen displays of various disciplines' laboratories. At present, the collections include prehistoric life, minerals, rocks, and structures—precious samples that have been collected by teachers and students and donated by others. Among these, the complete set of fossil specimens donated by the Soviet Union in the 1950s stands out as a rarity.

后记

学校也逐步加强和完善校内文物管理机制。2007年，学校设立文物保护与管理办公室，挂靠考古文博学院；2010年，文物保护与管理办公室变更为发展规划部的内设办公室，后随机构调整变为政策法规研究室内设办公室。2011年，为统筹和规范全校的文物保护与管理工作，学校成立北京大学文物保护管理委员会。

北京大学一直高度重视校园文物的保护工作，早在2006年就编制完成了高校中首个文物保护总体规划：《未名湖燕园建筑文物保护总体规划——北京大学海淀校区文物保护规划》。规划经国家文物局和北京市文物局批准后，一直被严格执行。

按照规划，学校不但完成了办公楼、化学南楼、化学北楼、第一体育馆、第二体育馆、静园一至六院、临湖轩等一系列重要文物建筑的修缮工作，也整理和修复了“断桥残雪”和“柳浪闻莺”石牌坊等重要遗存遗迹，特别是恢复了干涸多年的未名湖以北区域的园林水系，修复了文物本体所依存的历史环境，极大改善了校园的景观风貌。

学校也逐步加强和完善校内文物管理机制。2007年，学校设立文物保护与管理办公室，挂靠考古文博学院；2010年，文物保护与管理办公室变更为发展规划部的内设办公室，后随机构调整变为政策法规研究室内设办公室。2011年，为统筹和规范全校的文物保护与管理工作，学校成立北京大学文物保护管理委员会。

保护文物，责任重大。近年来，损坏校园文物的事件受到了社会的广泛关注，也令我们十分痛心。为了增强全校师生和社会大众的文物保护意识，政策法规研究室组织了一系列宣传教育活动。比如，2017年，我们

与学生社团、120周年校庆筹委会秘书处联合举办了“迎接120周年校庆——第一届燕园文物摄影、绘画大赛”，广大师生员工和校友踊跃参与，活动参赛作品近600幅，部分获奖作品收入了本书中。

北京大学党委书记郝平教授对北大创办史、燕京大学校史都有很深入的研究，对燕园文物十分熟悉。同时，作为联合国教科文组织第37届大会主席，他长期致力于文化遗产的保护工作，作出了卓越贡献。本书由他亲自主编，并撰写了序言。此外，岳升阳教授审阅了书稿，图书馆郑清文书记和古籍部的同志提供了宝贵资料，燕园文化遗产保护协会的同学们热心参与，外语教学与研究出版社的领导和编辑给予了大力支持，在此我们深表谢忱！

参加本书编撰工作的人员包括北京大学政策法规研究室的陈宝剑、唐伽拉、任羽中、张兴明、佟萌、陈丹、吴旭、杨超、陈威、吴雅文、杜津威、李根。

为本书提供备选图片的作者有熊瑛、林冰雨、姜南、王爱农、靳戈、刘彦良、何君耀、项婷婷、崔春立、邹程浩、张锐、何晋、张夏妍、夏昕鸣、钟晓艺、石传芬、熊冰雪、朱博雅、姬懿、胡帆、王彬、穆天乐、丁春明、张一琪、周杨、李一凝、姚远、陈燕军、尹双石、蒋少翔、方晓恬、韩昕岐、郭琳、曾亮、李琳、卢裕桦、孟园园、程佳路、夏欢欢、丁一、彭兆睿、胡财华、胡朝志、贾世蓓、蒋德林、李家驹、刘魁良、韩圣与、秦颖、王春茵、陈振亚、孟纹夙、徐开琨、赵琳、李娜、马丁、覃诗雅、魏卓、赵月娥、邓毓晨、张博言、纪世友、李津、薛俊华、刘继伟、王方、吴淑颖、唐伽拉、殷帆、李泉、李根。

燕园文化遗产保护协会的同学程振、尹超、王可达、禹小琴、孙雪静、孙瑀嫚、任鹤坤、陆迪、刘鸣赫、韩京俊、郑欣荻、井宇阳、王中伟、张林、肖灵轩、冯妍为本书编写提供了帮助。

对本书有贡献的其他同学有徐军、王冠之、张玺、郭季豪、王静雪、张清莹、陈川东、李泽宇、宾颖、宋美霖、周鑫、王俊、熊忻恺、董颖、袁薇薇、罗毅、翁汝佳、乔苏婷、李晓丹、采诗悦、梁弘。

我们期待着北大的师生员工、广大校友和所有关心爱护文物的读者给予指教。

北京大学政策法规研究室
2017年10月10日

北平历史地理

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PEIPING

侯仁之 著　　邓辉　申雨平　毛怡 译

外语教学与研究出版社 北京

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侯仁之



侯仁之与夫人张玮瑛在寓所门前

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《北京都市地理》（狱中腹稿）

引言：陆海古城

民国二十年的秋天，我初次负笈北上，自济南而北，火车竟日奔驰于华北大平原上。那正是秋收就要开始的时候，阳光潋滟，万里无云。从车窗中望去，遍野都好像泛滥着一阵浅碧又一阵澄黄的波澜，恰是一幅陆地海洋的景象。时远时近若断若续的农庄田舍，在一定的距离之外，也都一齐淹没在这无限秋禾的波澜中，只见屋顶不见庭院，只见树头不见树身。这正是一个大好丰年的预兆，我眼前立刻浮起了“金颗玉粒，遍地嘉禾”的字句。预备收获忙碌的无数农民，或男或女，或老或少，已经开始向田间散去，就使这辽阔而宁静的大原野上更平空煊腾起无限生气。这幅景色一直继续着，在南北千里乡间，竟然没有什么很大的改变。风驰电掣的列车尽管一小时一小时的奔驰着，而窗中所见仍然是那同一的一幅图画。时间久了，心中未免起了一种茫无依归的厌烦，这平原委实是太大了。

但是一到黄土坡车站，情形立刻改变了。这时我从车窗中望去，在绚烂的夕照中，突然看见西北一带平地崛起一列高山，好似向列车进行的方向环抱而来，于是我又不由的想到：“那应该就是这大平原的边际了吧！我们的行程也该告一结束了。”果然，列车一过丰台，便蓦地转了一个弯子，渐渐在灯火灿烂中安定下来，正如一艘远涉重洋的巨轮，舶入了它最后的港湾——这就是北京。

我用“港湾”两个字，只在描写我当时的心情，事后才知道，原来美国地质学家维理斯氏，在他考察过北京及其附近的地形而后，就早已给它起名叫做“北京湾”了。

既到北京而后，那数日之间的观感，又好像忽然投身于一个传统的、有形的历史文化的洪流中，手触目视无不渲染鲜明浓厚的历史色彩，一呼一吸都感觉到这古城文化空气蕴藉的醇郁。瞻仰宫阙庙坛的庄严壮丽，周览城关市街的规制恢宏，恍然如汉唐盛时的长安又重见于今日。这一切所代表的，正是一个极其伟大的历史文化的“诉诸力”。它不但诉诸于我的感官，而且诉诸于我的心灵，我好像忽然把握到关于“过去”的一种实感，它的根基深入地中。这实在是我少年时代所接受的最伟大的一课历史教育，是我平生所难忘怀的。

但是，我始终不能无所疑惑的，就是这座古城的存在，是否纯粹为历代帝王意志的产物。如其不然，那么它之所以能够发展为一个伟大的历史都会的地理原因，就应该是一个极有兴味的问题。不过这个问题并不简单，本文只想从两点出发，加以解释：甲、北京的地理地位，乙、北京的水道与给水问题，分述于后。

……

狱中腹稿注

1941年12月7日，珍珠港事件爆发。翌日清晨，燕京大学被封，师生二十余人被捕，其中教职员11人被关押在北京东直门内日本陆军监狱，包括父亲侯仁之在内。父亲身陷牢狱，思念故都，以“北京都市地理”为题构思专著。1942年6月，父亲被日本军事法庭以“以心传心，抗日反日”罪名判刑，后取保开释。缓刑期间，遁迹津门，移记狱中腹稿于纸端，以为后日续作之张本，其时当在1942年下半年。

2010年4月26日，我在清理家中堆积在阳台上的资料时，在一方纸盒内见到几叠宣纸稿本。其一封面有“北京都市地理（狱中腹稿）”字样。稿本大体完好，仅封面边缘有缺损。我立即捧到母亲面前，请她辨认文稿毛笔字迹。母亲凝神细读，确认为父亲亲笔。当天下午，携“狱中腹稿”稿本到医院病房看望父亲，简述寻见的经过后，为父亲读“引言”部分。父亲闭目静听，并无言语，只是在几次被问到要不要继续读下去时，都回答：“要。”如此连读三天。第三天，见父亲精神较好，我将稿本翻开至目录页呈送他面前，父亲双眼大睁，目光自上而下缓缓移动，再自右至左，扫过全页。

《北京都市地理》写在敌寇入侵、国家危亡的时刻。它不仅是沦陷中的苦难习作，正值30岁的父亲更是以此明志：本业之不可废，志气之不可夺；确立以北京研究为安身立命的事业、为生活的重心，以事业寄托性命；坚信矢志不渝、终生不悔的“献身”将使国家和社会受益。

父亲坚守着中国读书人最重视的坚韧不拔的“士节”，在“献身”的道路上走下去，七年之后，完成了本书呈现的《北平历史地理》。

2013年9月24日，一部赶印出来的《北平历史地理》试读本送入父亲病房，置于枕旁，伴随他人生历程最后的跋涉。

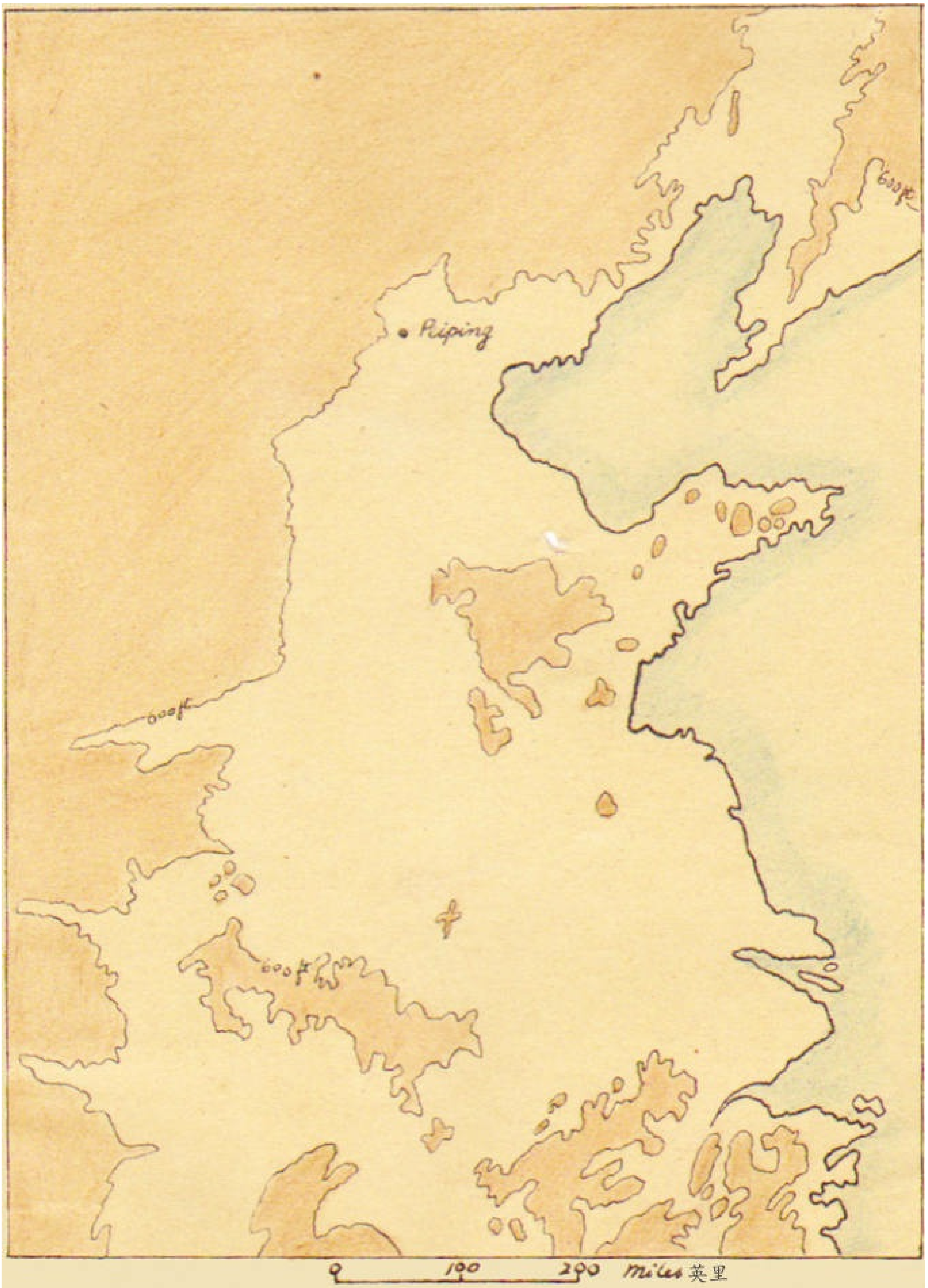
侯馥兴

2013年11月11日

导言：地形地貌及地理关系

1　北平湾

北平城，位于呈巨大三角形的华北平原的最北端（图1）。对于生活在这片平原上的人们来说，北平城凝聚着他们的深厚情感，如同始终闪耀在北方夜空中的北极星。对他们来说，这是一座辉煌的城市。如果我们对这座城市周边的地形特征进行仔细的观察（图2），就可以看到一个重山环绕的半封闭小平原。美国地质学家贝利·维理斯（Bailey Willis）曾生动地将这片三面环山、一面开敞的小平原称为“北平湾”。[1]



Peiping 北平

图1　华北地区地形图

Bay of Peiping

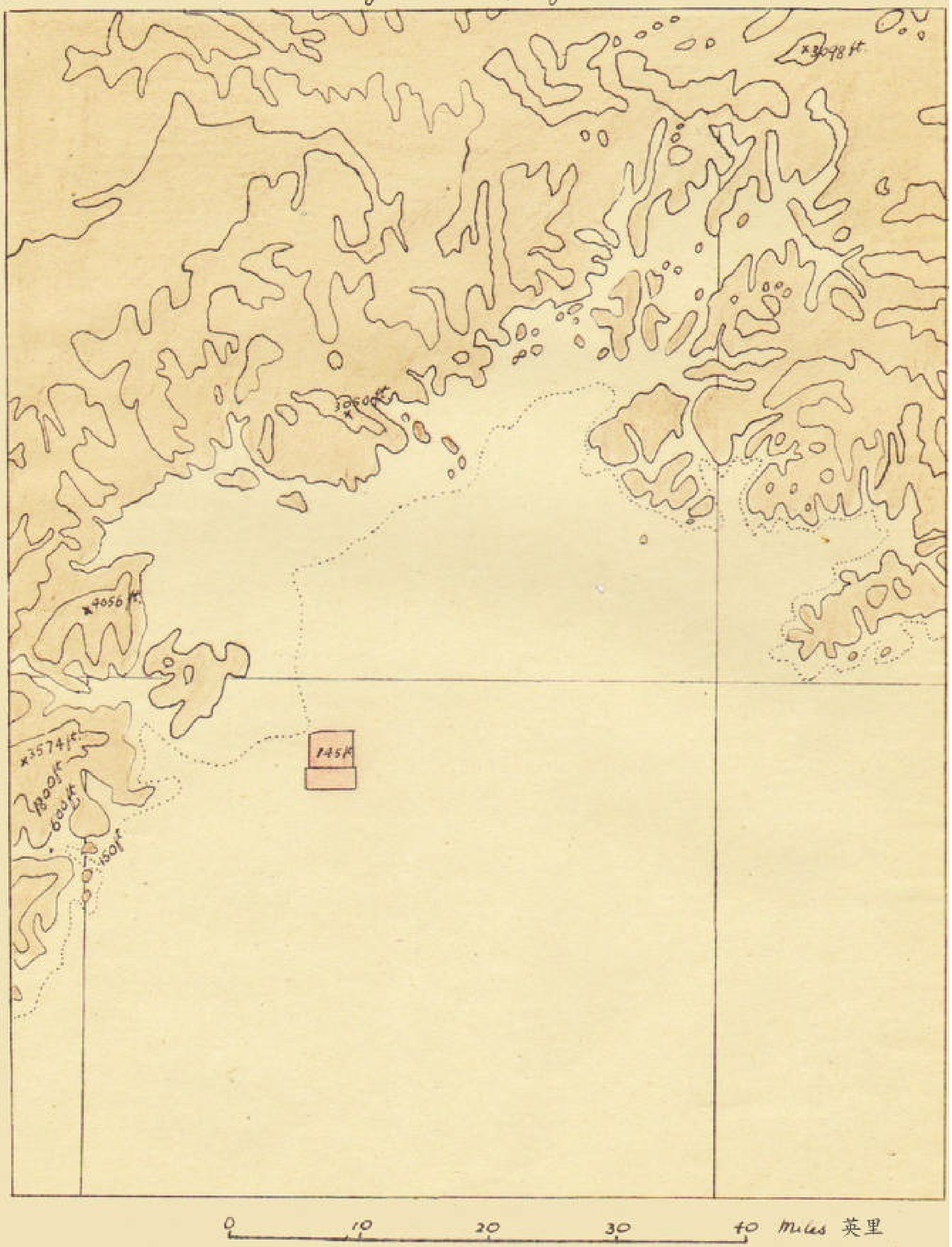


图2　北平城与北平湾

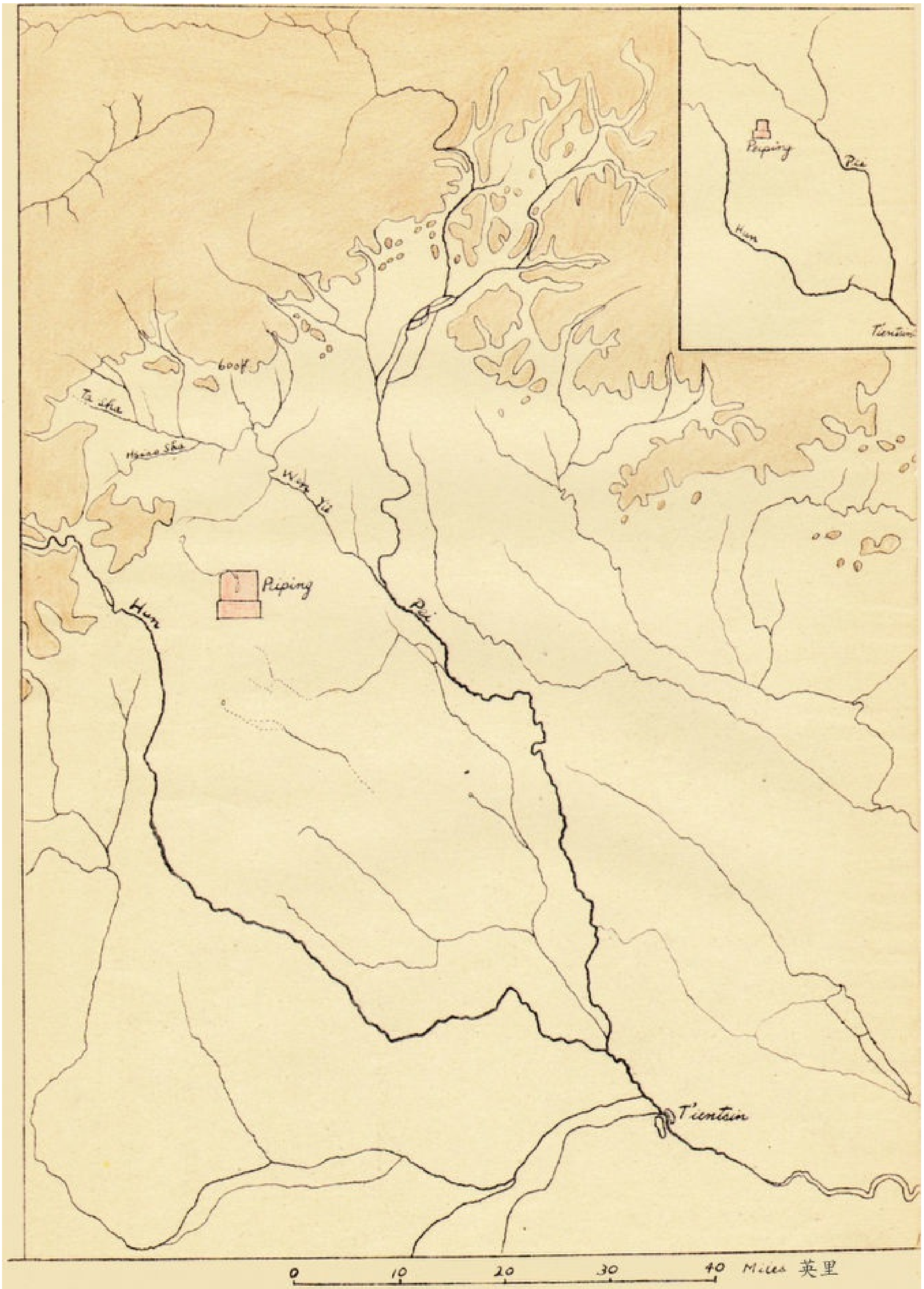
按照大沽基准面[2] 量算，北平城的平均海拔高度为145英尺（约44.2米），然而紧邻北平湾的山脉通常高达3000英尺（约914.4米），即使是海拔较低的山脉也不低于1000英尺（约304.8米）。平原与山地的界限常常是150—300英尺（约45.7—91.8米）的陡坡，从山区到平原的高度下降得十分突然，几乎没有任何的山麓丘陵带。小平原向南面和东南面开敞的方向缓缓倾斜，周围山脉的基岩陡坡间或向平原中伸出，如同海岸边的岬角，此外，还有在平原沉积层上孤立的丘陵，如同在大海中升起的小岛。如果将被沉积层掩埋的地下景观挖掘出来，应该和周围暴露在外的山体表面没有太大的区别。

填充在北平湾里的沉积物是砾石、沙子、黏土和黄土，具有明显的水平层理。平原上开凿的每一口水井都要穿过许多不同的水平沉积层。目前还没有足够的数据可以估算出这些沉积层的厚度，北平东城协和医学院的一口水井，虽然已被挖至708英尺（约215.8米）的深度，但尚未达到下面的基岩。[3] 据估算，北平城下的沉积层与基岩之间至少有1000英尺（约304.8米）的厚度。

大体说来，平原在紧邻山区的地方，是一个粗砂砾区，紧邻粗砂砾区的外侧是河流冲积形成的沙带，广大平原的中心地区则由黏土和黄土覆盖，这成为了北平这座古老城市的基础。[4]

2　两河之间的土地

在北平湾内部，北平城区建于（1）向大平原的开口处，（2）浑河与白河两河之间。[5] 如果说这一湾状地区可以被恰当地描述为“北平湾”，那么，笔者认为“美索不达米亚”这一经典的地理名词也可以用来形容这片土地。正是在这片土地上，建起了北平这座历史悠久的城市。浑河与白河分别流经北平城两侧，流向大体一致，交汇之后最终注入渤海湾，正如底格里斯河与幼发拉底河并行在两河流域，最终汇成一河注入波斯湾一样。[6]（图3）



Peiping 北平	Ta Sha 大沙河	Hsiao Sha 小沙河	Wen Yü 温榆河
Hun 浑河	Pei 白河	Tientsin 天津	

图3　北平小平原及其河流分布图

如果以北平城内故宫的中心作为参照点，北平城位于浑河以东14英里（约22.5公里）、白河以西15英里（约24.1公里）的地方。沿一条穿过故宫参照点的东西线测量，地形的海拔高度从浑河东岸的260英尺（约79.2米）下降到白河西岸的70英尺（约21.3米）。如此一来，我们便可以清楚地看到，北平城是建在一个两河之间比降约为1∶806的缓坡之上。（图4）

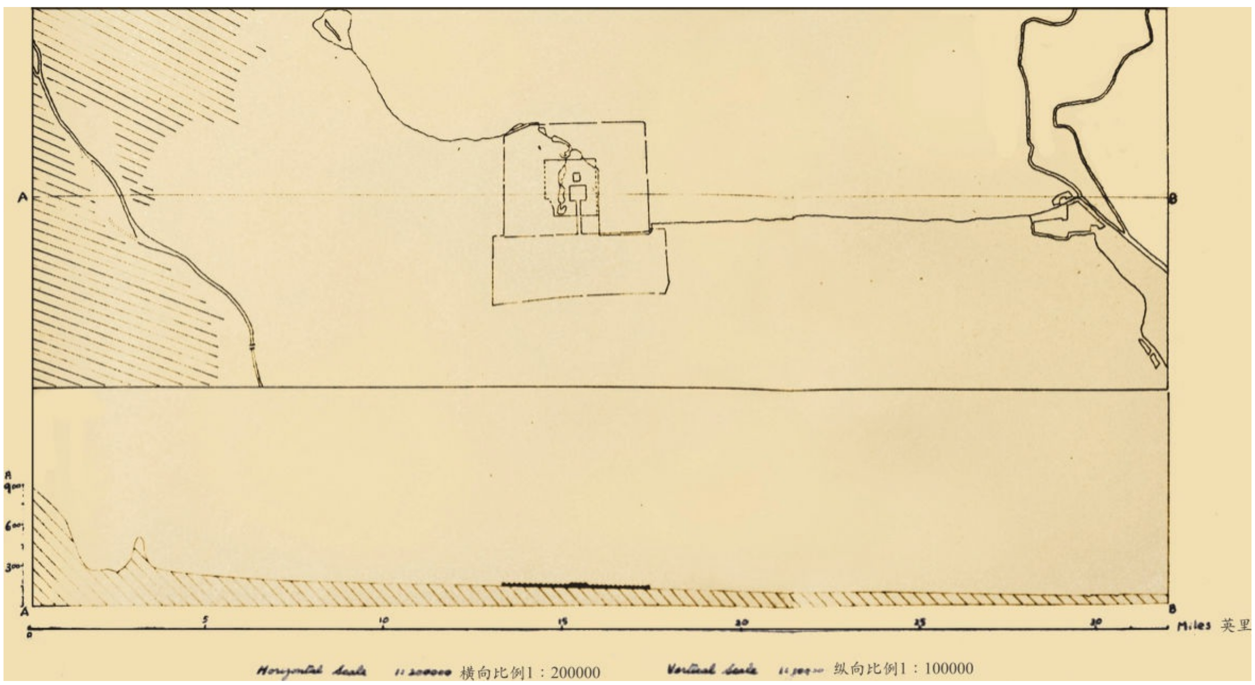


图4　浑河与白河之间的垂直比降剖面图

浑河与白河在其发源的山区均有众多的小支流，白河从北平湾的北端流入平原，并将北平湾中心地区一分为二。湾内西面所有的小河流汇成温榆河[7]，在通县[8]以北流入白河。

浑河的流程比白河长很多，从北平湾的西南角流入平原。在西山一带，浑河河谷十分狭窄，如同穿过峡谷。随后，河谷变得稍宽，但仍须在山间穿流，一直到三家店村一带流入平原。此后，浑河在平原上时而

分流，时而合流，河道时常变化。因其流经的是黄土覆盖地区，浑河河水总是呈浑浊的黄色。[9] 在冲积平原上，由于河流中泥沙沉积很快，河床通常高于附近的地表。在地质时期，浑河对北平湾以及华北平原北部的形成具有重要的作用。如前所述，北平湾的平原表面从浑河的出山口至北平城是有一个坡度的，但在历史时期，由于浑河下游河道总是在不停变化，浑河对平原上的居民始终是一个威胁。

在北平城悠久的历史上，浑河与白河都在一定程度上对城市的发展起了重要作用。而且，这两条河流不止一次由人工修筑的水道相连通，用于水利或交通。这一问题将在下文中论及。

3　地理关系

北平城不但是北平湾的核心，也是华北平原与北方的山地和高原之间绵长的南北陆路交通线的天然焦点，也可以说是连通着中原与塞外之间的要塞。北平城以南是华北大三角平原，平原向南延伸数百英里，直至长江低平的河谷及三角洲地区；东面除却与山东丘陵接壤的一部分外，直抵大海；西面则与崛起的太行山脉东麓和秦岭东部余脉相接。北平城坐落在北平湾的端口，也恰好位于三角形大平原的顶点，所有交通线都经过这里，它是从北向南的起点，也是从南到北的会合点。

横亘于北平城北面和东北面的是燕山山脉，燕山也正是环绕北平湾的群山之一。[10] 有史以来，从山西高原绵延至渤海湾的燕山山脉，就在南部华北平原与北部蒙古高原及满洲平原之间形成了一道强有力的屏障。分布其间的一些峡谷隘口，为南北沟通提供了天然孔道，其中最重要的就是南口、古北口和山海关。

南口位于北平湾的西北角，沿着这条通往西北方向的古道，可以到达张家口以北的山地的最北端，也就是蒙古高原的边缘。蒙古高原到了这里地形突然改变，其边缘以下崎岖的山地和陡峭的峡谷骤然变成广阔的平地，延伸至遥远的地平线。[11]（图5）

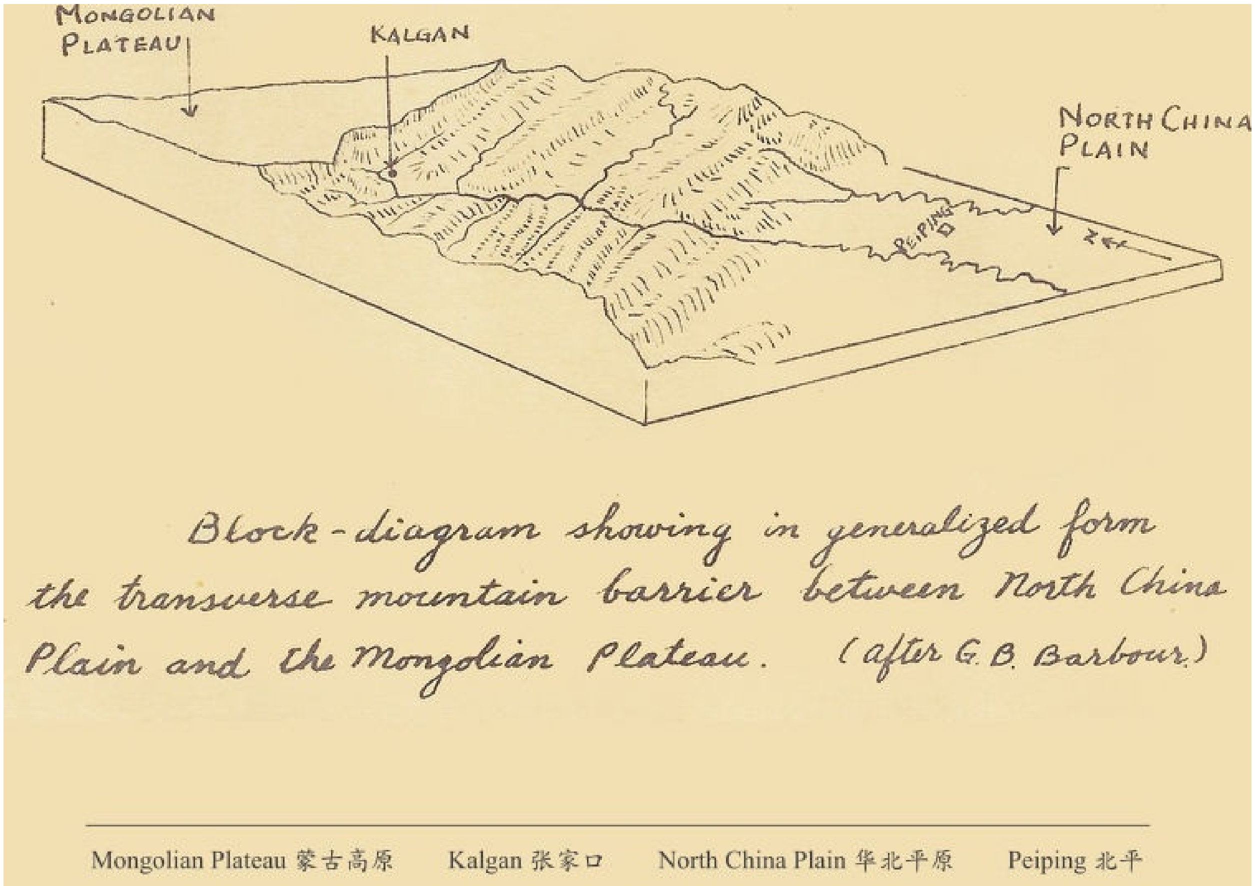


图5　横亘于华北平原与蒙古高原之间的山地（据G. B. 巴伯）

古北口位于北平湾的东北角，从这里可以通往今热河省的省会承德。横贯的山脉在这里漫散开来，众多崎岖的浅山丘陵在这里发育。即便如此，这片山区与满洲平原的界线仍像它与北平湾的界线一样清晰。从承德出发，天然山谷通道可以向西北或东北方向辐射，到达蒙古高原地区和地势较低平的满洲平原地区。此外，还有一条通往正北方的道路可以到达西拉木伦河，即辽河上游河谷地区的辽阔草原。辽河上游本身即是一条自西向东的通道，由蒙古高原向满洲平原缓缓倾斜而下。

最后，还有镇守万里长城最东端的著名关隘山海关。顾名思义，山海关正是位于山海之间的关口。途经山海关的这条狭窄的沿海通道，正是连接华北平原与满洲地区的交通咽喉。

如上所述，这些山口的位置使得北平成为从蒙古地区及满洲地区进

入中原的必经之地。唯一的例外或许是途经山海关的北平至辽宁的铁路线，这条铁路线取道天津，偏离了位于天津西北80英里（约128.7公里）的北平。实际上，在历史时期，北平与山海关之间的古代交通是靠近北面依山而行的，并未向南绕道至天津。[12]

天津作为一个港口城市，尽管在过去一个世纪的发展引人注目，但它仅仅是一个新兴之地，在古代陆上交通中并没有任何地位。[13]另外，从北平向外辐射的现代铁路干线也可以很好地阐释这里作为区际交通中心的地位（图6）。

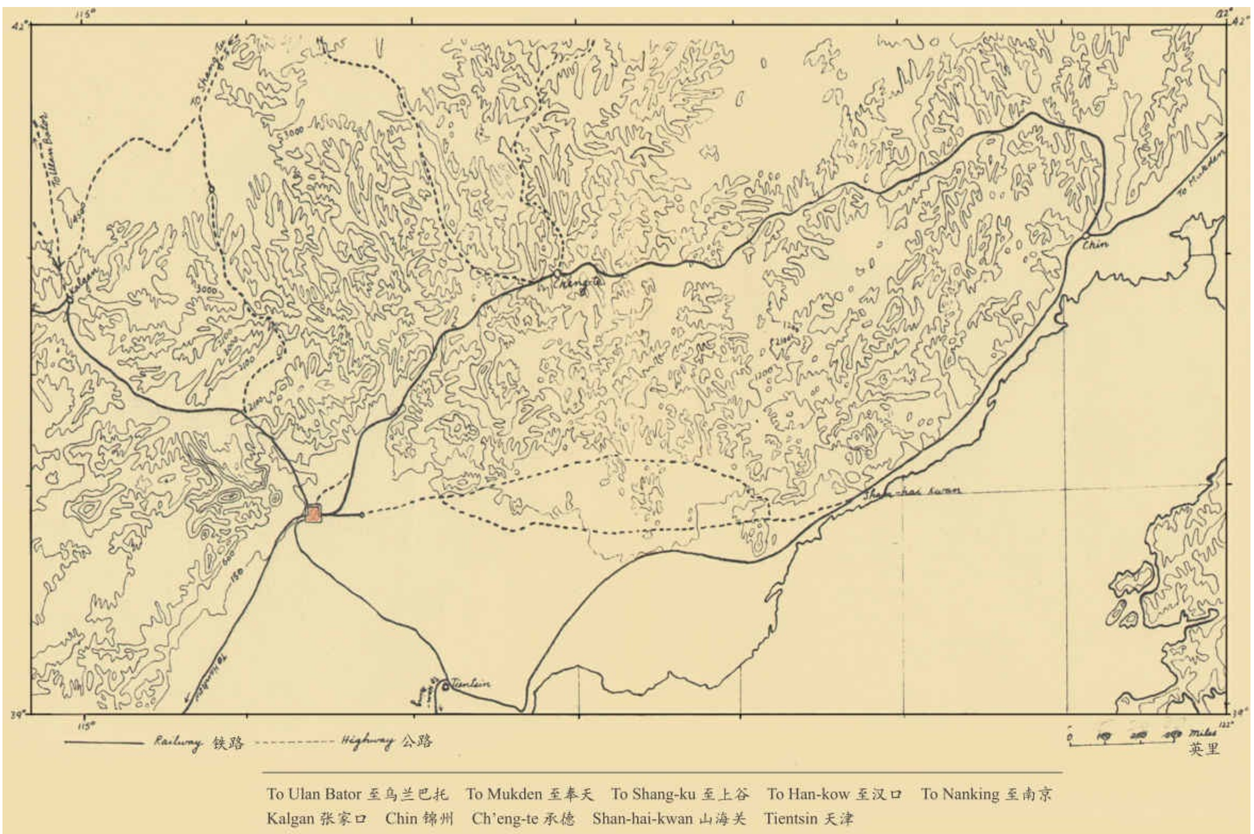


图6　会聚于北平的交通网络

此外，作为天然屏障的燕山不仅对于南北交通十分重要，而且对居民生活的基础有重大影响。燕山以南地区降雨丰富，冬季温度相对较高，农耕生活占主要地位；燕山以北则有大片地区由于水热条件限制，

时至今日仍以游牧为主要生活方式。唯一的例外是满洲地区，那里的降雨量可与华北相比，但由于冬季的漫长及一些政治原因，满洲大部分地区的农业直到近期才发展起来。[14]

造成这种根本差异的物质基础是不言而喻的，无须作进一步解释。需要特别注意的是，作为南北屏障的燕山山脉对于北平城的历史发展具有重要作用。

事实上，燕山山脉只是历史上中原农耕区与北方游牧区界线的一部分。虽然这一界线应该是一个地带，然而长城成为了这一地带的具体象征。这条农牧交界带西起青藏高原的东北边缘，东迄太平洋海岸，长达一千五百多英里（约2400公里）。罗士培（P. M. Roxby）教授曾写道："这条界线，标志着世界上最重要的社会分水岭之一——它分隔了大草原与农耕区，也就是由无数小农家庭组成的中原地区与广泛分布着掠夺性游牧民族的北部边疆地区，而后者只在最强盛的中原王朝统治下曾一度臣服。"[15]

不管怎样，并非沿这条界线分布的所有地区都具有同等的重要性，位于北平北部及东北部的燕山山脉正是这一界线中的要害部分。这是因为，这里有整条界线上从游牧草原至农耕平原的最短的天然通道。[16] 也正是因为扼守着如此重要的门户，北平城的地位才格外重要。

注释

1 Bailey Willis, Elliot Blackwelder and R. H. Sargent, Research in China, Washington, Carnegie Institution, vol.1, part 1, 1907, p. 197.

2 大沽基准面，约为平均海平面（Mean Sea Level）以下1.3米。这一基准被"顺直水利委员会"用以绘制1928年北平和天津地区的地图。大沽在今天津塘沽港附近。

3 翁文灏：《锥指集》，北平：中国地质调查所，1930，第62页。北平城内有许多其他钻孔，但是没有记录。

4　有关北平湾的地质变迁，见叶良辅：《北京西山地质志》，《地质专报》，甲种，第一号，1920，第63─64页。

5　关于市区相对北平湾的精确位置，在下一章会有讨论。

6　当然，这一类比有其局限性。如，底格里斯河与幼发拉底河之间有许多灌溉渠道，然而在浑河与白河之间，灌溉系统从没有达到那样的发达程度。此外，北平周围也没有两河流域那样广泛分布的沙漠，只有一些因河道废弃而形成的沙地。

7　温榆河的一条源头为大沙河，元朝时大沙河曾转而南流，注入今昆明湖。关于这一问题的详细讨论见第七章注61 。

8　通县，在民国初年之前被称为通州。州，作为历史上长期以来省与县之间的一级地方行政区划，直到民国才被废除。此后，所有的州都降级为县。

9　浑河正是因此得名。公元六世纪时，该河又被称为㶟水或清泉河。以后，又曾叫做桑干河。详见附录四。1689年后，正式命名为永定河。

10　德国地质学家李希霍芬（Ferdinand von Richthafen）将这条横贯山脉的西部称为Peking Grid（*China Proper* , Geographical Handbook Series, vol. 1, 1944, p.　69）。燕山通常指华北平原北部隆起的陡峭山脉。“燕”是这一地区的古老名称，详见第一章论述。

11　George B. Cressey (葛德石), *China's Geographic Foundations* , 1934, p. 251.　从南口进入山中古道后还有一条岔路，可以向东北方向到达蒙古高原的另一边缘独石口。易恩培（Lawrence Impey）曾在他的文章“Shangtu, the Summer Capital of Kublai Khan”中对这条通往独石口的道路进行过生动的描述。（*The Geographic Review* , vol. XV, Oct. 1925, no. 4, p. 586.）

12　关于这一问题后面的章节会有详细论述。

13　侯仁之：《天津聚落之起源》，载《天津工商学院特刊》，1945，第8—14页。

14　清朝（1644—1911）时，汉族人几乎始终禁止向满洲移民，尽管辽河下游谷地早已有相当数量的汉族人口。欧文·拉铁摩尔（Owen　Lattimore）参

照“English Pale”（十二世纪后归英国统治的爱尔兰地区）这一古老称谓的意义，将辽河下游谷地称为“Chinese Pale”（*Inner Asian Frontiers of China* , International Research Series, no. 21, American Geographical Society, 1940, p. 108）。这一地区被当时的统治者满洲人视为保留地。除了这一政治因素，寒冷而漫长的冬季也制约着平原北部的农业发展。沃恩·科尼什（Vaughan Cornish）指出，“影响辽河下游平原南北的自然差异不是降水而是气温。北平的年均气温为53°F（约11.6°C），沈阳的年均气温则为45°F（约为7.2°C），而且，……这种温度差异在整个亚欧大陆恰好与当地的经济发展时期的差异相一致。”（*The Great Capitals: An Historical Geography* , London: Methuen & Co., 1923, p. 27）

15 P. M. Roxby (罗士培), *China* , Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs, no. 54, Oxford University Press, 1942, p. 4.

16 这条界线上重要性仅次于燕山山脉的是长城最西端的边界，因为游牧民族可以轻易从这里进入长安所在的渭河谷地。当游牧民族的威胁主要来自西北方时，长安作为中国历史早期都城的重要性是显而易见的。唐朝末年（公元十世纪初），当游牧民族的威胁主要聚集在东北边疆而非西北时，北平的政治、军事意义开始凸显，并最终成为中国王朝后期的国都。这一观点将在后文详细论述。亦可参见注14 引沃恩·科尼什书，第11页。

第一部分

边疆之城



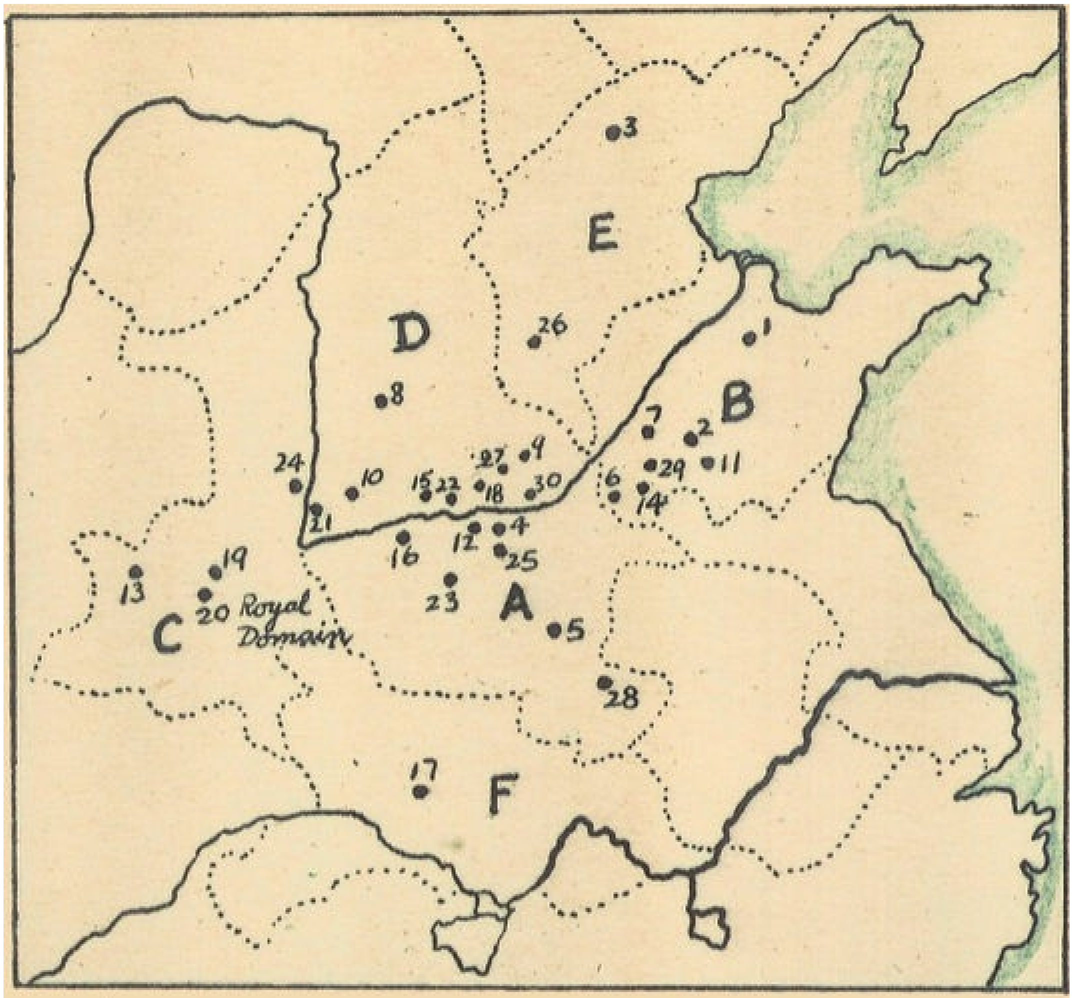
第一章　周代（约公元前1122—前221）的蓟城

燕的国都

1　燕的建立及其扩张

如前文所述，北平是一座边疆城市，位于华北平原尽头的北平湾，标志着中国早期疆域范围的北界。可以肯定的是，北平湾在周代（约公元前1122—前221）[1]初期已属于华夏文化区的一部分，但是，它融入华夏文化区的确切时间则不能确定。蓟城是今北平城的前身，要了解蓟城，就必须先对诸侯国燕有所了解，因为蓟城正是燕国的国都。因此，本节首先论述分封制度下的燕国，下一节再专门论述其都城蓟城。在周代的漫长统治时期，华夏族在文化上取得了长足的发展，在地域上也进行了扩张，同时，其社会政治形态也由奴隶制发展为封建制。周天子并不直接管理整个国家，而是只统治他自己的领地，即王畿地区。除此之外，国家由诸侯王在各自的封国进行统治，最初的诸侯王多为宗室子弟，只有少数几个例外。

商代（约公元前1766—前1122）在统治华北平原中部数个世纪后，被周武王率军征服。武王定都镐京，其王畿地区位于以镐京为中心的渭河谷地，随后他立即对新征服的土地进行分封。最早的八个诸侯国正是在此时产生的，其中就包括燕国。[2]周代的第二位统治者、武王之子成王，也承袭了分封这一传统。根据各种资料，周代前十年就至少分封了30个诸侯国。[3]从下图（图7）可以看出燕国及其他诸侯国与王畿地区的相对位置。



Royal Domain 王畿地区

1. 齐	2. 鲁	3. 燕	4. 管	5. 蔡	6. 曹
7. 成	8. 霍	9. 卫	10. 唐	11. 滕	12. 东虢
13. 西虢	14. 郜	15. 原	16. 毛	17. 聃	18. 雍
19. 毕	20. 丰	21. 郇	22. 邘	23. 应	24. 韩
25. 祭	26. 邢	27. 凡	28. 蒋	29. 茅	30. 胙

现在的省份

A. 河南	B. 山东	C. 陕西	D. 山西	E. 河北	F. 湖北

图7　周代主要诸侯国的分布

图上的黑点所表示的各诸侯国实为城市，而不能表示各诸侯国的领土范围，因为诸侯国之间的边界并未确定过。

在地图上可以看到，多数诸侯国集中在中心区域，燕国距王权中心最远，距王畿地区也最远。因此，燕国从分封之初，便是一个边陲封国。诚然，位于版图最南部的聃国也与中心区域相距甚远，与地处遥远的北部边境的燕国似乎形成一种南北相对的平衡。但是，当时周代的南部边界并不与任何自然地理界线相重合，尽管淮河下游与长江下游之间的山脉从某种程度上给南北交通造成了一定阻碍，但并非难以逾越。况且不久之后，位于这道障碍以南的地区也被并入华夏控制区，使得日后华夏族向更南部地区的扩展得以实现。简而言之，历史上中国疆域向南方的发展没有因为天然的、决定性的屏障而受到阻碍。现在，中国的南疆已经位于南方的南海岸线。

而在北方，燕国作为边陲城市的这一性质，则比南方的聃国更加持久。如导言所述，由于燕山分隔所造成的不同自然地理环境，奠定了南方的中原农耕区与北方的草原游牧区之间的差异。[4] 因此，这一原本地理意义上的界线便开始具有了显著的政治、社会内涵，而北方边疆历史发展的基本模式也由此确定，即主动进犯的游牧民族与被动防守的汉族之间的持续斗争。[5] 公元前三四世纪时一个巨型防御体系的修筑，标志着汉族的这种被动防御达到了顶峰，这一防御体系正是我们今天所熟知的长城的前身。燕国也是最早兴建长城的诸侯国之一。

对于燕国从分封建国至公元前五世纪这段时期的历史，我们所知甚少，只知其历代同族统治者的名字及一系列与其他诸侯国的战争。当时的史料记载中，仅有一处明确提及燕国遭受北方山戎的入侵，并在邻国齐的协助之下将其击退。齐国的早期疆域范围位于今山东省的东北部。这段记载十分重要，它发生在公元前664年。[6]

毫无疑问，燕国与北方游牧部族之间的矛盾和冲突出现的时间是很早的，并且随着草原游牧民族的强大而日趋激烈。公元前四世纪，北方边疆第一次出现骑马的入侵者，这也标志着草原游牧民族的强大。或许正是这些骑兵的入侵，使得中原地区不得不修筑长城。[7]

当位于北方边疆地区的诸侯国为了抵御游牧民族骑兵的入侵而陆续开始修筑长城时，中国历史上的战国时期也从这时起拉开序幕，比较可靠的战国时期起讫年代是从公元前480年至公元前221年。燕国在这一时期开始崛起，成为战国七雄之一。这一时期也有一些极具地理意义的资料，将在下文论及。

首先，我们可以根据《战国策》中的描述大致圈定燕国的地域范围，《战国策》是收集战国时期关于政治斗争论述的著作，其中有这样一段引述："燕东有朝鲜、辽东，北有林胡、楼烦，西有云中、九原，南有呼沱、易水。"[8] 虽然此处直接叙述了燕国地域范围，但四条边界实则无一可以准确界定。在此不具体论述上述地名，即使论述一二，想必也不会有什么结果。不管怎样，我们可以依照人们对于前六个地名的传统解释，大致确定燕国的范围：

朝鲜：	现代朝鲜
辽东[9]郡：	现在的南满
林胡和楼烦：	游牧部落，大约占据今山西省北部和察哈尔省南部
云中郡：	今山西省最北部及绥远省东部的中心地区
九原郡：	今绥远省西部的中心地区

这些地名在图8中作了大致的标识。引文最后提及的滹沱河（即古呼沱河）与易水，河名从古代一直保留至今，所以我们可以有更多的了解。易水是大清河的一条支流，燕国曾沿易水修筑过一段南长城，北魏著名地理学家郦道元曾在他的著作《水经注》中记载过这段长城的遗迹。[10] 于是，燕国在战国时期的南部边界可以大致确定下来。[11]（图8）

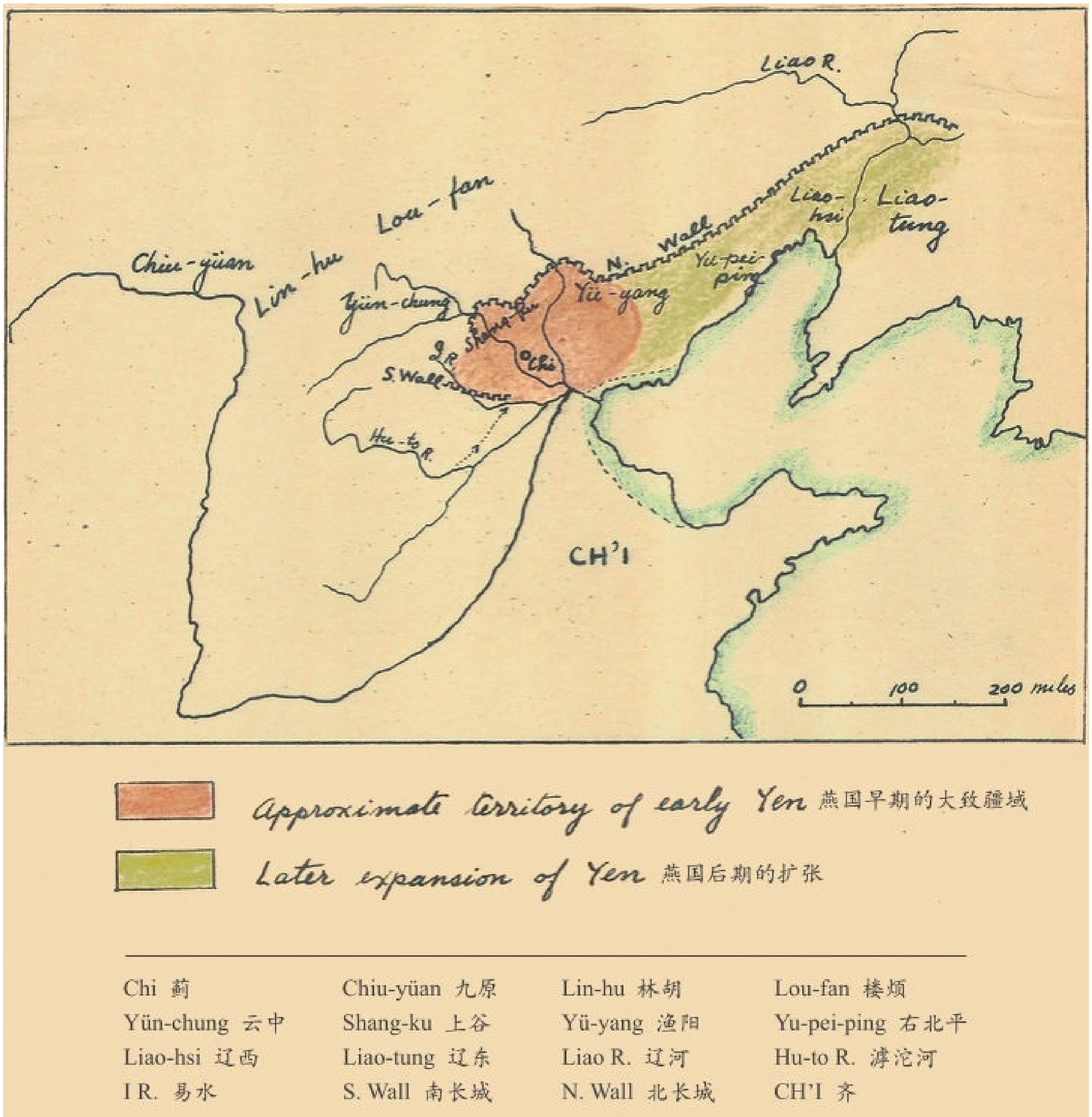


图8　战国时期燕国地域扩张示意图

综上所述，我们可以基本确定，战国（公元前480—前221）前期燕国的领土仅局限于今易水、大清河以北的平原，并沿海岸低地向东北方向延伸到辽东地区。我承认这是一个比较保守的估计，燕国很有可能已经占据了临近的山区，但是尚未深入。

直到战国后期，燕国才在北方和东北方取得了比较重要的地域扩

张，这一时期的扩张也使得修筑长城成为必然。燕国修筑的长城在今长城以北，并延伸至南满地区。伟大的史学家司马迁在《史记》里有这样的记载："燕亦筑长城，自造阳至襄平，置上谷、渔阳、右北平、辽西、辽东郡以拒胡。"[12] 造阳被认为是今天的怀来城，位于南口镇的燕山北麓，襄平则位于今南满的辽阳以北25英里（约40.2公里） 处。这五个边郡地区的位置如下表所示。

	今行政区划	地理区域
上谷郡	察哈尔省东南角与河北省东北角	北平湾东北部山区
渔阳郡	热河省东南角及河北省北部边界地区	北平湾北部和东北部山区
右北平郡	热河省南部	平原正北部的山区
辽西郡	河北省东北角及辽宁省西南部、辽河西岸地区	从华北平原到辽河下游谷地间的海岸低地，西侧紧邻山脉
辽东郡	辽宁省南部、辽河东岸地区	辽河下游冲积平原东侧，与辽宁东部山脉相邻

以上的讨论内容可以综合地表示在图8中。

2　蓟城，燕国的都城

不管怎样，本研究主要关注的并不是燕国本身当时的一般性的地理情况，而是其具有特殊意义的都城——蓟。蓟是今北平城所在地或其附近最早形成的居民点。

可以假设，燕国的都城最早就设在蓟。但这只是一个假设，没有任何当时的资料可以证明。[13] 据我们所知，可以确定蓟城为燕国都城的最早记载出自公元前三世纪中叶著名思想家韩非子。他在论述天下大事时，有这样一段话："燕昭王（公元前311—前279年在位）以河为境，以蓟为国，袭涿、方城，残齐，平中山。"[14] 值得注意的是，此处都城蓟与燕国在公元前三世纪与南方及西南方邻国进行的一系列声名赫赫的军事胜利一并提及。或许正是这些军事胜利，使得蓟城在当时引起了人们的注意。

这里再引述一段司马光在《资治通鉴》中关于燕国及其都城的记载，很有意思。《资治通鉴》是中国著名的政治史著作，虽然成书于公元十一世纪，但被认为是基于可靠史料来源编纂的。这段记载是这样的：

> 齐人食邑于燕（国）者二十余君，有爵位于蓟（城）者百有余人。（公元前284）六月之间，（燕国军队）下齐七十余城，皆为郡县（当时的行政单位）。[15]

这里所提及的燕国所取得的军事胜利情况与前引韩非子的记述完全一样，在蓟城有爵位的齐人人数，也反映了作为一个日益强大的诸侯国都城政治重要性的提高。

3　古代大道与蓟城的兴起

通过以上论述，我们可能意识到的最有趣的问题，还不是蓟城什么时候成为燕国的都城，而是其成为燕国都城的原因，以及作为一个日益强大的边疆国家的都城，蓟城是如何履行其职能的。它是最适合的边疆统治中心吗？还有其他更好的选择吗？

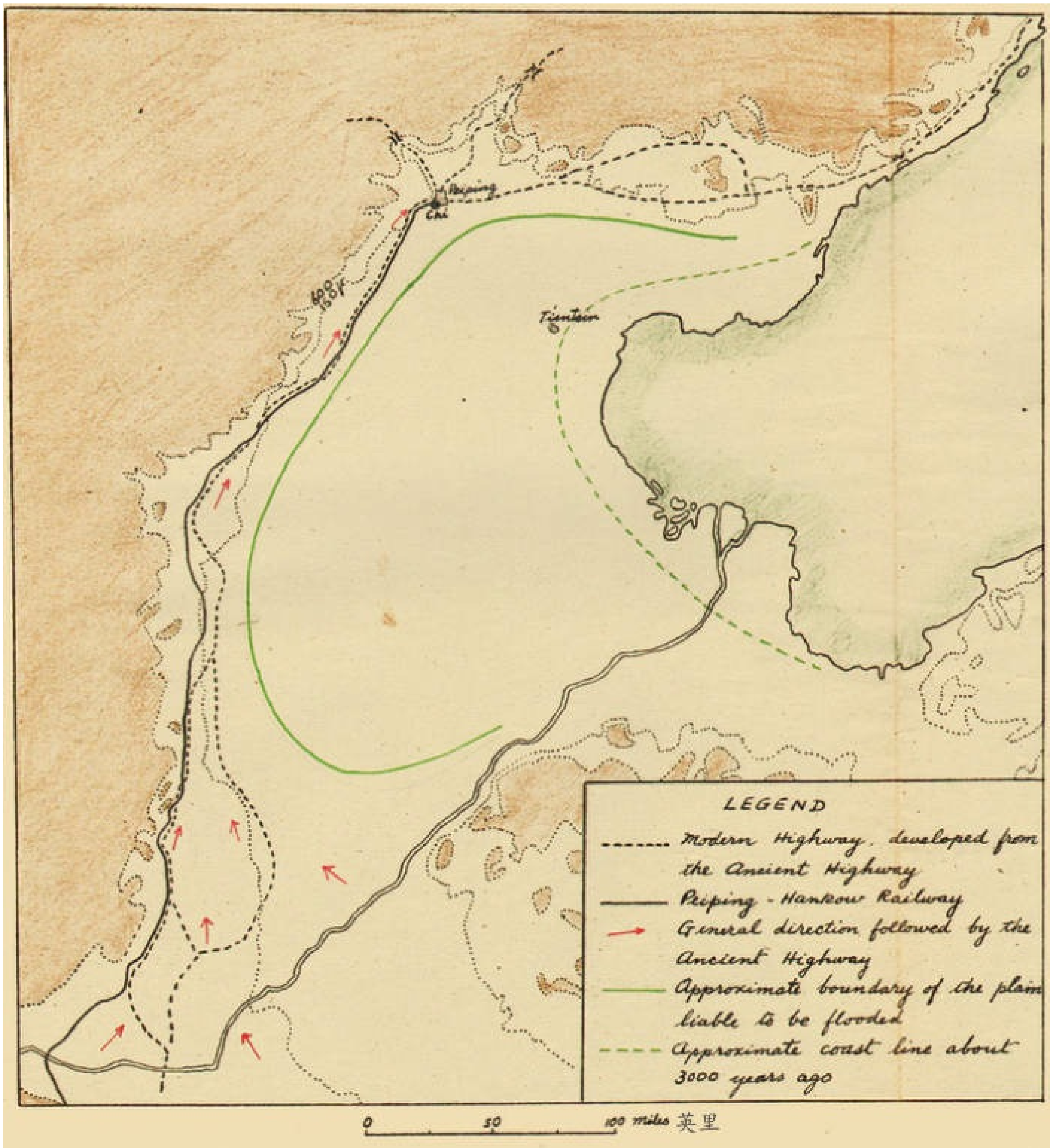
如果不对当时的地理状况作一个清楚的了解，这些问题就无法得到满意的回答。对现有史料进行研究之后可以清楚地发现，蓟城的兴起与华北平原最重要的古代交通道路的发展密不可分。这条古道沿着气势雄伟的太行山─燕山山麓发展起来，与山脉平行，起自大平原的中西部——中华文明首先在那里发展起来，直至大平原的北端——中国疆域第一阶段的扩展在那里被阻挡。平汉铁路的北段即为这条古代道路的现代版。

然而，我们对这一古代大道的了解，并非直接源于任何当时的史料记载，也不是来源于古地图。如果有此类文献得以查阅，想必是本研究最珍贵的资料来源，可惜并没有这样的资料留存下来。关于这条大道的悠久历史的证据，将在下文进行简短的论述，不过，它在其后的历史时期乃至今日的意义仍是毋庸置疑的。[16] 这条道路历经了世纪的洗礼、朝代的更迭，直至十九世纪末中国最后一个朝代结束、现代铁路时代的到来、中国最早的铁路干线平汉铁路的诞生，才不复使用。因此，如果一名旅客要从香港，或者是从广州出发乘火车到北平，一过郑县（今郑州）北面的著名黄河大桥，便会踏上这条数千年前众多古代先民前往同样目的地时所走的道路。这条古代大道所起到的重要作用，一直到十四、十五世纪第二条通衢在华北平原东面建成之前，从未受到过挑战。

这第二条交通线路并非陆路，而是一条人工水道，即著名的大运河。有关大运河的专门论述将在最后两章进行，这里我们先将注意力放在这条最早的陆上交通道路上。

A　自然地理环境与古代大道的发展

为什么会沿这条线发展起来一条古代大道呢？首先就要归因其自然地理环境。如前文所述，这条线的西面是在华北大平原上拔地而起的太行山脉，它与耸立于北平湾北部的燕山山脉可谓异曲同工。太行山的东麓十分崎岖陡峭，只有通过少数几个天然山口才能够进入太行山区。[17]位于太行山以西的山西高原，地形崎岖不平，对于中国古代先民而言，并没有多少吸引力。[18]因此，一直到周代的中期，这里的文明发展程度仍旧较低。[19]位于这条线以东的大平原，夏季常常遭受洪水的影响，并且由于排水不良，其影响还可能持续数年之久。因此，这片平原也并不像地形图上显示的那么容易穿越。综上所述，我们就可以理解在西面的高山与东面的平原之间发展起来一条大道的必然性，这条道路的大部分位于150英尺（约45.7米）等高线的位置。（图9）



由古代大道发展而来的现代公路

平汉铁路

古代大道的大致走向

易遭受洪灾的平原地区的大致边界

约三千年前海岸线的大致位置

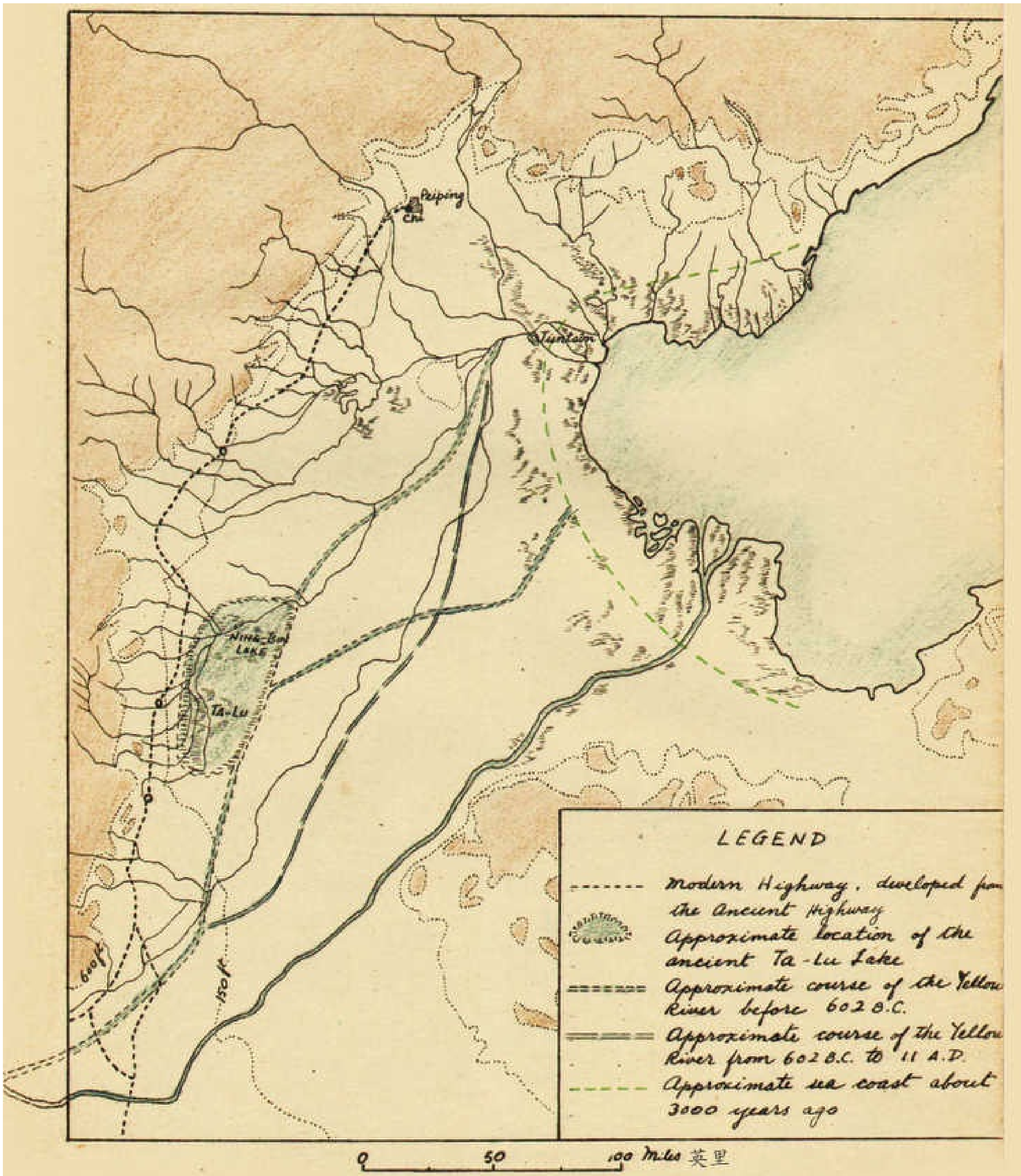
Chi 蓟　Peiping 北平　Tientsin 天津

图9　古代太行山东麓大道示意图

此外，这条大道截断了数以百计从山中流向平原的大小河流。大道以西，是位于上游的山区河流，水流湍急，而随着流入地势平坦的平原，水流便开始趋缓，河床泥沙淤积，河道也逐渐变宽、变浅、变曲折。冬季，多数较小的河流都会干涸，但是，夏天雨季时，几日甚至几小时的降雨就可以使这些河流下游泛滥，河流之间的低洼处也会形成大片浅湖。[20] 因此，在这条古代大道通过的地方，既没有上游河流的湍急，也没有下游河流的宽阔河面和容易泛滥的威胁，这一线正是最容易渡过每条河流的地方。换言之，这条道路实际上揭示出了从南部的早期文化中心到北部的北平湾之间所要经由的一连串渡口的位置，其中最后一个、也是最难以越过的，就是浑河渡口，著名的卢沟桥（西方人称其为马可·波罗桥）就坐落在这里。卢沟桥始建于十二世纪，现已成为一座伟大的历史丰碑，它足以证明这一古代渡口作为北平湾南大门的重要意义。

上文所述的情况古今并没有什么差异，唯一的区别在于，平原本身及流经平原的水系随着时间的推移而随时发生变化。尽管平原面积广大，但它基本上是由河流塑造而成的。自更新世以来，曾经拍打着太行山麓的海水逐渐向后退去，携带着大量泥沙的河流逐渐占据了这个地区。[21] 陆地面积持续增长，日益推进，海洋则日渐缩小、后退。自中国历史开始之时，今日的华北平原轮廓已大致形成，只是海岸线要比现在靠西很多。至于三千年前的海岸线究竟位于何处，现在还很难确定，因为从未有人对陆地推进的速度作过科学研究。如果以长江三角洲作为参照，它每60至90年向大海推进1英里（约1.6公里），那么，燕国建立时，华北平原海岸线则大概位于今天津港附近。[22] 那时，黄河河道位于历史上的最北端，在天津附近某处入海，这一河道在中国最早的地理文献《禹贡》中有所记载。[23] 公元前602年，黄河的河道向南有所偏移，

但还是从旧入海口注入渤海，这条新河道一直维持至公元初年。（图10）因此，从中国历史开始之初，至公元纪年开始之间的两千多年里，黄河主要流经了华北平原北部的中心地区。由于流经平原的河道绵长，平原地势极为平坦，河水本身挟带大量沉积物，想必洪水时常发生。这或许便是中国古史传说中大洪水的由来，传说所反映的正是平原上大部分地区早期居民所要面对的险恶的自然环境。因此，平原的开发要晚于黄土高原脚下的边缘地带，上述古代大道也正是沿着这一边缘地带发展起来的。



------- 由古代大道发展而来的现代公路

大陆泽的大致位置

公元前602年前黄河的大致河道

公元前602年至公元11年黄河的大致河道

约三千年前海岸线的大致位置

Chi 蓟　Peiping 北平　Tientsin 天津　Ning-tsin Lake 宁晋泊　Ta-lu 大陆泽

图10　古代南北大道及华北平原湖泊分布图

以上论述可以由平原上的一个大湖泊——大陆泽的演变得到进一步证实。据记载，该湖曾存在于今河北省南部的大平原上。公元前602年之前，当黄河一直在其故道中流行时，在《禹贡》中，大陆泽作为黄河的一个支流湖第一次被提及（见图10）。大陆泽是由于黄河洪水泛滥，还是由于其他原因形成的，并不能确定。我们确知的是，大陆泽的湖水补给确实来自不断泛滥的洪水，而且直至近代才干涸。[24] 1863年出版的《大清一统舆图》中清晰地标注了大陆泽，而现代地图中仅有湖名表示其先前的位置。[25] 据《大清一统舆图》标注，大陆泽东北方另有一湖，名为宁晋泊。[26] 这两个湖在1884年出版的《畿辅通志》中又以南泊和北泊的名字出现，据该书编者按，两湖均为古代大陆泽的遗迹。事实是否如此，目前我们至少还无法加以否定。倘若如此，那么这条古代大道便正好穿过了山脉和湖泊之间的地区，除此之外，恐怕也没有更易于穿行的地方了。[27]

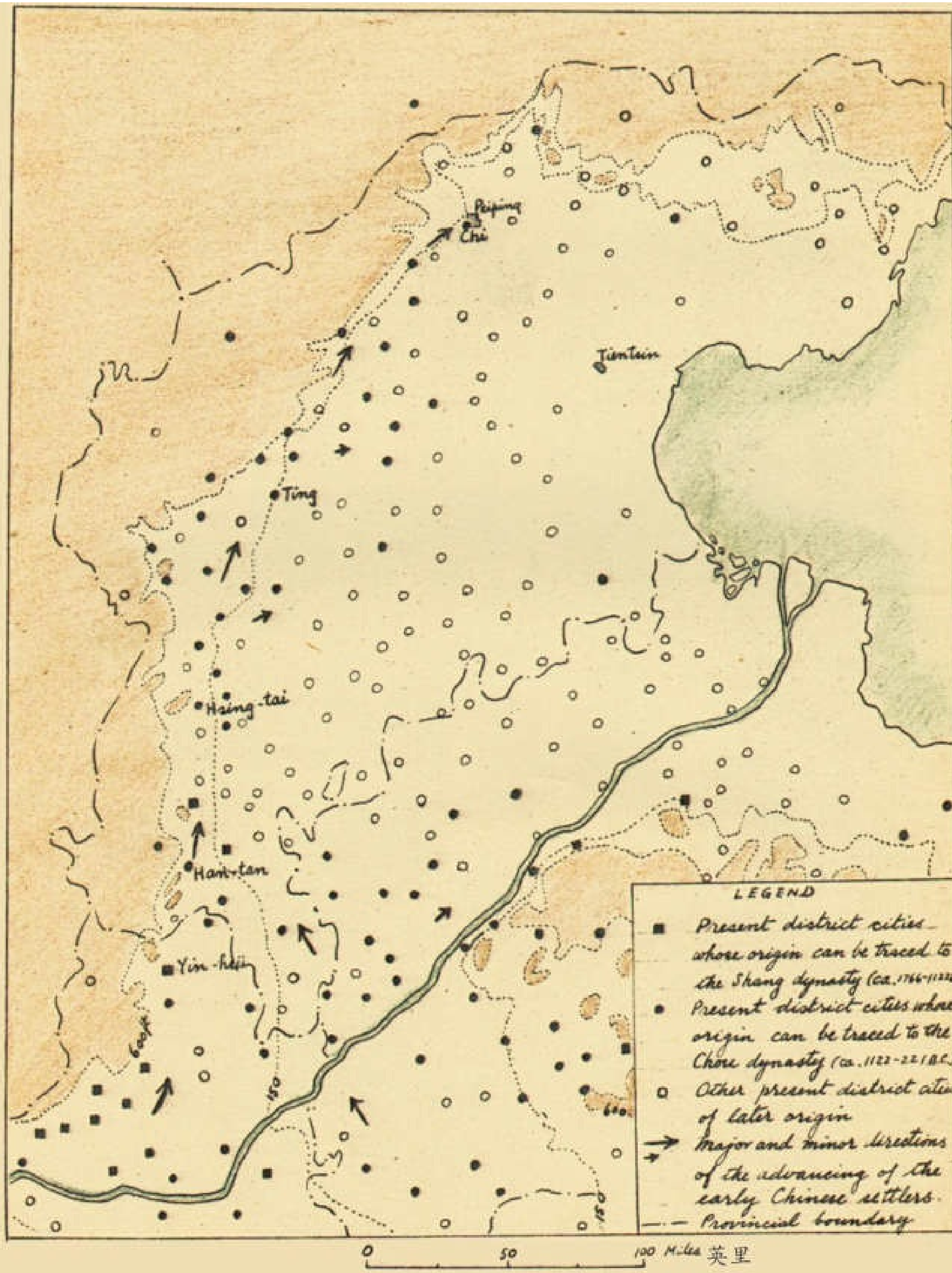
在今河北省北部，还有另一个湖，名为西淀，它与这条古代大道及西面群山的距离与大陆泽相当。此湖或许形成很晚，而且明显是由于多条河流的洪水汇聚所致，它的形成恰好反映了平原地区排水的缓慢。而如果这一情形在今天发生，在古代也同样可能发生。

西淀这一名称显然源于其姊妹湖——东淀。东淀在《大清一统舆图》中便有标注，但现已干涸。[28] 西淀东北有一片大沼泽，名为文安洼。文安洼东北，有另一浅湖——三角淀。这两者在《大清一统舆图》及现代地图中均有标注。无论形成早晚，这些湖泊的存在都足以表明，当中国古代先民沿着这条日后注定要成为交通要道的狭窄低地向北行进时，可能曾有更多湖泊沼泽在大平原上星罗棋布。前面提到的大陆泽无疑是其中最大的一个，所以特别值得一提，其他的则被略去了。在过去两三千年中，平原上的大规模开垦及集约种植等农业活动，必定对古代

湖泊、沼泽的排水发挥过重要作用，尽管在夏季时，洪水作为一种反作用力会不时在平原上形成一些季节性的湖泊。[29]

B 平原上早期居民点的分布与古代大道的关系

可以推测，大道发展起来以后，便有永久居民点自然而然地相继形成。另有一些资料可以用来确定这些早期居民点形成的时间。举例来说，如果逐一追溯今天大致均匀分布在平原上的县城[30]，便可以清楚地看到，沿着大平原西部边缘地带分布的县城较之平原中心地区的县城，其出现时间早出很多。下面的地图（图11）中特别标出了那些可以上溯到早期历史阶段的商周两代的县城。无一例外地，它们全部沿这大平原西部边缘地带集中分布。[31] 正是从这一边缘地带开始，古代先民不仅向北行进，还向东进入到平原的中心地区。在弄清这一事实之后，就不难理解为什么古代大平原上最早兴起的重要城市，都相继在这条大道经过的狭长地带上诞生。在这些重要的城市中，商代后期重要的都城殷、战国时期赵国都城邯郸、周代早期的地方政治中心邢台和定县，以及燕国都城蓟城，尤为著名。



■ 可追溯到商代（约公元前1766—前1122）的现代城市

● 可追溯到周代（约公元前1122—前221）的现代城市

○ 其他出现时间更晚的现代城市

→ 古代先民向北迁移的主要和次要方向

—·— 省界线

Peiping 北平	Tientsin 天津	Ting 定县	Chi 蓟
Hsing-tai 邢台	Han-tan 邯郸	Yin-hsü 殷墟	

图11　古代南北大道及华北平原居民点分布图

C　古代大道的进一步发展与蓟城的兴起

在所有沿古代大道兴起的重要城市中，尽管蓟城[32]位置最为靠北，但它绝不是这条大道的终点。公元前三世纪，燕国已经占据大平原北方和东北方的领土，建于这片新领土外围的燕长城也已完工。在早期历史上，要到达这些边远地带，大平原北部必定修筑过道路，但是，如导言所述，由于这一地区地形条件限制，在早期交通条件下，只有三条主要道路易于穿行：（1）西北路，由今南口通往燕山山脉中的山谷；（2）东北路，由古北口进入今热河省；（3）东路，与蓟城南部的古道相似，这条道路一面为燕山山脉所限，一面为洪泛平原所阻。（图12）

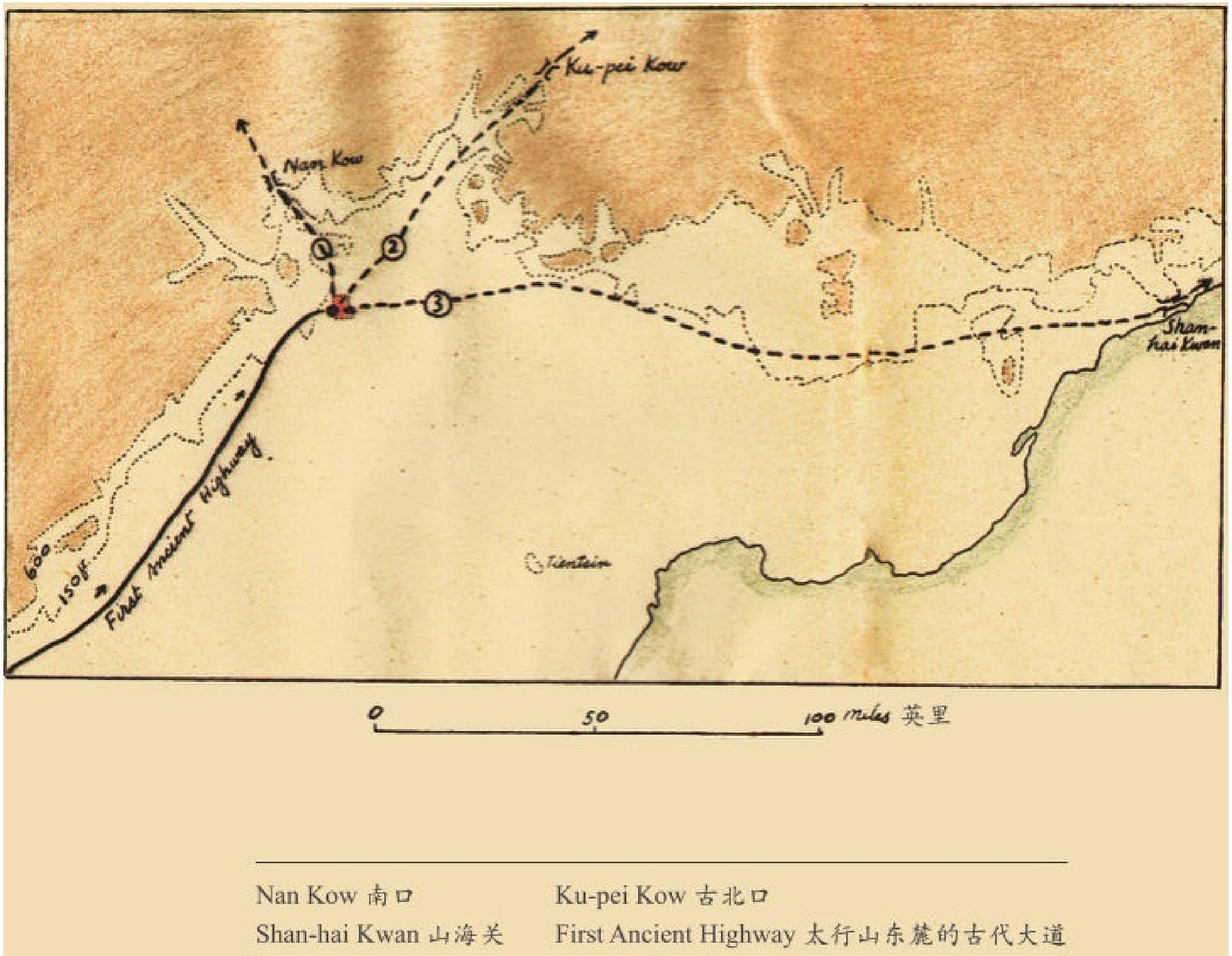


图12　经过北平城的古代道路

这三条主要道路中，最后一条尤为重要，因为沿着这条道路，可以到达海边，即今山海关所在地，接着可由沿海低地进入辽河谷地，即燕国领土最远的角落。如果没有这些道路的充分发展，燕国便不可能征服并巩固其北方及东北方的边疆领土。直到这一地域扩张时期结束后，才有蓟城作为燕国都城的正式记载。因此，我们便可以推测，蓟城的兴起，很大程度上是由于它位于太行山脚下的第一条古道旁，其后来的发展自然得益于向北方和东北方边远地区辐射的新道路。这样一来，蓟城就不再是古道大道的一个终点，而成为了中原地区与边疆地区之间的交通枢纽。因为这样的地理优势，蓟城成为一个兴起的边疆封国的政治中

心，也就不足为奇了。

第二章　秦汉时期（公元前**221—**公元**220**）的蓟城

商业拓展阶段

1　政治地位和地理位置

燕国的辉煌岁月自公元前三世纪初开始，并没有持续很长时间。因为公元前三世纪中叶，战国七雄中另一个位于边疆的诸侯国秦日益强大，开始有计划地扩张，首先侵占了周人最初兴起的渭河谷地。随后，在不到30年的时间里，秦国所向披靡，逐一吞并了其他诸侯国，包括以洛阳为中心的周天子王畿地区。秦军于公元前226年占领蓟城，[33] 燕国于公元前222年向秦国投降。[34] 一年之后（即公元前221年），秦王统一全国，在都城咸阳[35] 称帝，为秦始皇帝。在中国，由此建立的中央集权帝制统治延续至二十世纪初才彻底结束，但秦朝本身只存在了短短15年（公元前221—前207）。秦朝灭亡后，天下经过了一个短暂的混乱时期，汉朝的建立又恢复了国家秩序，并维持统治长达四百余年，其间，仅因王莽篡权在公元9年至公元25年间有一个短暂的中断。汉朝的前半段一般被称为前汉或西汉（公元前202—公元8），定都于距秦咸阳仅数英里之遥的长安；而由于汉朝的后半段将都城东迁至周代晚期的王畿地区所在地洛阳，所以被称为后汉或东汉（25—220）。

在秦汉两朝中央集权的统治下，与蓟城地位及发展密切相关的一些重要信息值得注意。首先，秦始皇废除了分封制。他不再将地方行政权力交给宗室子弟，而是创立了由中央直接控制的复杂官僚体系。秦始皇将国家划分为若干郡，郡下设县，每一郡、县均由皇帝直接任命官员管辖。虽然郡和县作为地方行政单位，并不算创新，但是，秦始皇首次将这些地方行政单位纳入一个有组织的体系，并统一运用于整个国家。[36] 此时，蓟城成为广阳郡的郡治，广阳郡恰好处于北平湾内，位于平原之上，这片地区可能就是原燕国的核心地域。曾置于燕国辖下的五郡，上

谷、渔阳、右北平、辽西、辽东，为秦沿用，与广阳郡同属中央直接管辖。[37] 郡，因此成为了有别于分封诸侯国的另一种地方行政单位。

然而，汉朝时曾经重新实行分封制，后世一些朝代也加以效仿，只是都不像周代时那样完全采用分封，而是郡、国并行。汉朝时蓟城先后三次作为分封诸侯国的治所，诸侯国先是采用旧国名燕（公元前202—前127、公元前117—前80），后又改用新国名广阳（公元前73—公元37）。[38] 其地域范围与秦广阳郡大致相同，实际政治地位也与郡相当，虽然依然称为“国”，但其地位与战国时期的燕国不可同日而语。当然，诸侯国与郡还是不同的，因为它的行政长官并不是普通官员，而是宗室子弟。

汉朝时的另一行政区划变动，是将郡国合并为数州，即今天省的最初形态。[39] 封国燕及另外九郡组成了幽州，其地域范围与战国时期的燕国几乎一样，只是增加了新征服的朝鲜北部领土。[40] 与此同时，蓟城也变为州治所。[41] 但是，州牧只是司监察之职的官员，并没有实际的行政权力，州治所的地位对于当时的蓟城来说，并没有提升其政治的重要性。

秦始皇的统一不仅限于政治上的统一。在称帝后不久，他便采取一系列新措施，如统一全国度量衡，规定器物制作标准，统一马车轨距，统一文字及书写方法。这些措施达到了双重目的，既巩固统一，又促进繁荣。如同罗马帝国一样，秦朝修筑了宽阔的驰道，方便皇帝出行、军队调动，以利商业发展。有记载说：“秦为驰道，东穷燕齐，南极吴楚，道广五十步，三丈而树。”[42] 汉朝时，陆路交通进一步发展，蓟城在秦汉时期的国家道路网中明显占据重要地位，但其政治地位仍旧只是一个边疆城市而已。

此外，秦汉两朝四面出征，攻占新的疆域，这里我们主要关注的还是与早期诸侯国燕相邻的地区。上一章中已经提到，燕国疆域已包括辽河下游地区，秦朝在东北方向没有什么疆域拓展，只将燕长城东段延长

至鸭绿江口。[43] 西汉初期，朝鲜在辽河下游兴起，出于政治、战略上的考虑，汉武帝派军于公元前108年攻占朝鲜，将其领地划分为乐浪、玄菟、真番、临屯四郡。（见图13）随之而来的自然是汉族移民及文化渗透。位于今平阳附近的原朝鲜国都城变为乐浪郡的郡治，并建起了汉族富人居住区。在那些居住区的墓葬中，发现了众多反映当时文明发展的陪葬品，包括官府监造的精美漆器，它们都是当时王朝边疆地区鼎盛时期的见证。[44]

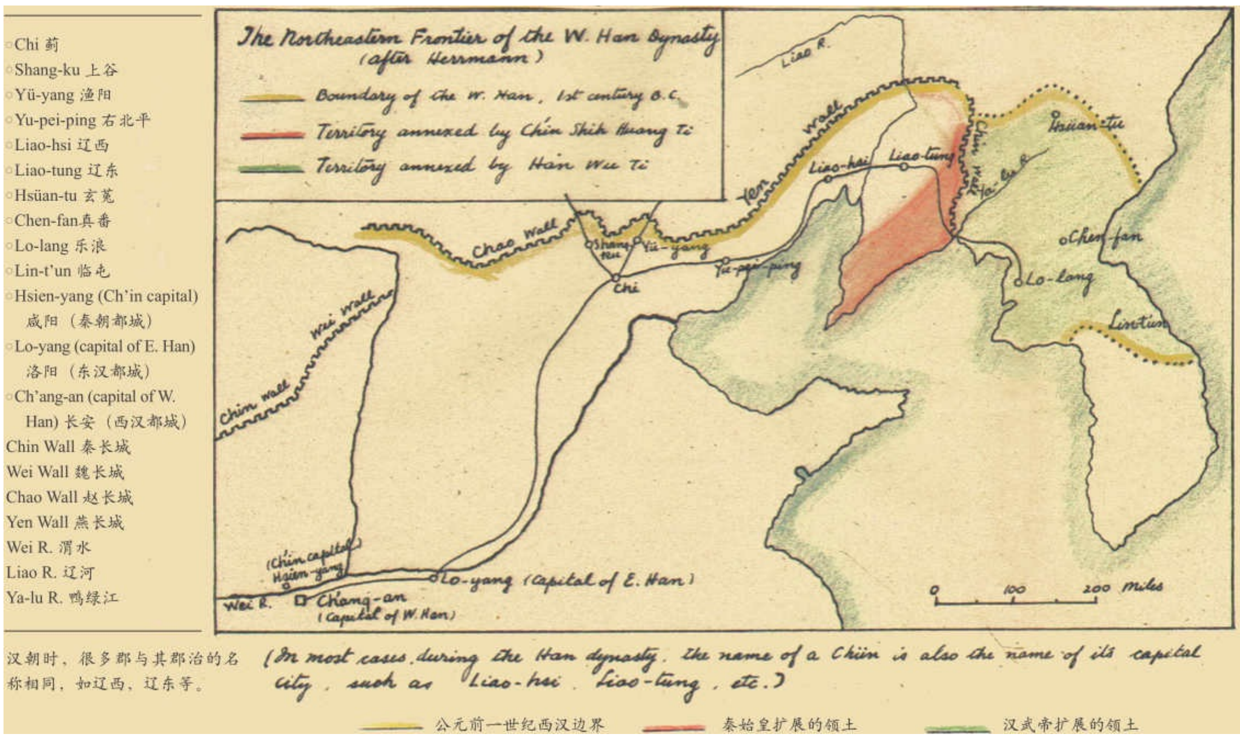


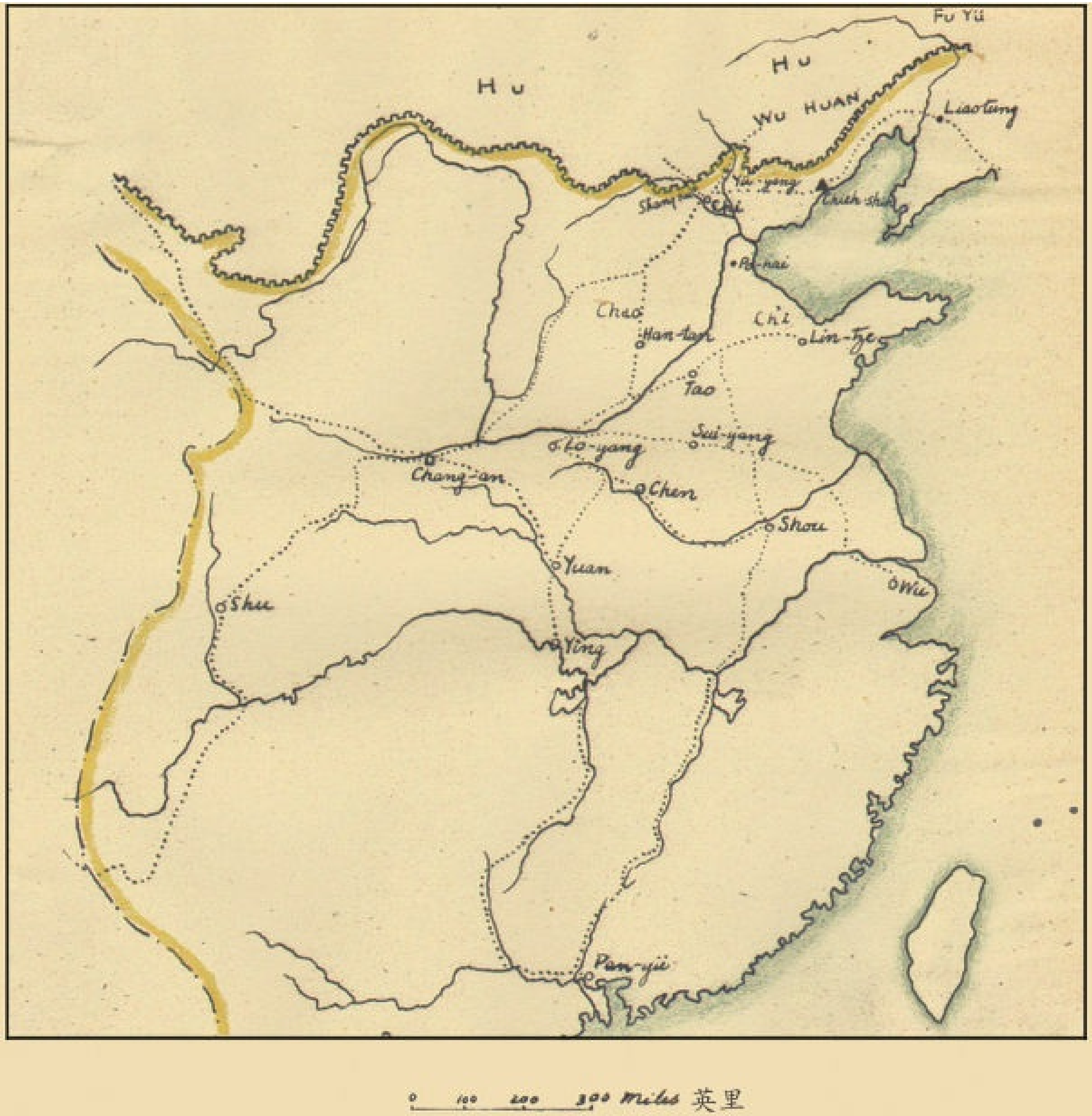
图13　西汉时期东北边疆示意图（据艾伯特·赫尔曼）

2　边疆都会

在大一统的秦汉两朝，商业发展受到高度重视，先秦分封制度的消亡加速了商人阶级的兴起。周代后期，也就是战国时期，曾经兴盛的分封制开始衰落，中国开始了早期商业的发展，但是直到西汉全国规模的国内贸易才开始形成。当时的著名史学家司马迁在《史记》中有这样的总结："汉兴，海内为一，开关梁，驰山泽之禁，是以富商大贾周流天下，交易之物莫不通，得其所欲。"[45]

这一新发展在地理上的反映，就是在全国各地自然兴起了一批商业城市。这在当时另一部经济著作《盐铁论》中有专门记载："自京师东西南北，历山川，经郡国，诸殷富大都，无非街衢五通，商贾之所臻，万物之所殖者。"[46]

司马迁在《史记》中列举了当时最重要的商业城市，下图显示了其分布的情况。（图14）



Hu 胡	Fu Yü 夫余	Wu Huan 乌桓	▲Chieh-shih 碣石
●Liao-tung 辽东	●Yü-yang 渔阳	●Shang-ku 上谷	●Po-hai 渤海
Chao 赵	Ch'i 齐	○Wu 吴	○Shu 蜀
○Chi 蓟	○Han-tan 邯郸	○Lin-tze 临淄	○Tao 陶
○Sui-yang 睢阳	○Lo-yang 洛阳	○Chang-an 长安	○Chen 陈
○Shou 寿	○Yuan 宛	○Ying 郢	○Pan-yü 番禺

图14　西汉时期商业城市分布图

图14　中的一些城市在周代晚期便已因发达的商业而闻名，如临淄、邯郸、郢、陶等地，然而大部分还是新兴的商业中心，蓟城是其中非常重要的一个。据《盐铁论》记载，“燕之涿、蓟，富冠海内，[47] 为天下名都。”[48] 更详细的描述仍可见于《史记》，司马迁用“燕”这个名称取代了“蓟”这一城市名，他记载道：

夫燕亦勃、碣之间一都会也，南通齐、赵，东北边胡。上谷至辽东，地踔远，……有鱼盐枣栗之饶。北临乌桓、夫馀，东绾濊貉、朝鲜、真番之利。[49]

这段话十分有趣，不仅描述了蓟城是一个商业都会，而且还概述了促使其成为商业都会的诸多因素。首先，最值得关注的是当地的物产资源。按书中所列，鱼、盐、枣、栗是该地区盛产的主要产品。这些物品都是当地的特产，因此得以提及。[50] 枣和栗子若非了解其真正的重要性，哪一样似乎都没有什么价值。其实，汉代以前很长时间，燕这个地区已经因出产枣和栗子而闻名，这在《战国策》中便有记载：“［燕］民虽不由田作，枣栗之实，足食于民。”[51] 到了汉朝，栗树种植已经发展成为一个兴旺的产业，对此司马迁也有记载：“燕秦 [52] 千栗树，此其人皆与千户侯等。”[53] 原因便是此时枣、栗和鱼、盐一样，人们都拿来进行贸易，都是因在别处有所需求而具有商业价值的当地产品。

然而，蓟城发展成为商业都会，主要原因还是其优越的地理位置，而不是其物产资源。其区位优势有二，一是同北方游牧民族地区的关系，一是与东北方南满及朝鲜北部的关系。蓟城位于北方边疆，易于从山口进入游牧民族地区，因此可以与草原游牧民族进行贸易，这一点是它得天独厚的优势，是地处平原地区的其他城市所无法比拟的。当时，如马、牛、羊、毛毡等畜牧产品被视为北方游牧地区的重要财富，其价值被汉人看重，也被史学家们津津乐道。与此同时，中原的农产品以及

其他奢侈品在北方游牧民族中也有很大的需求。虽然进行商品交换的贸易市场应当位于边界附近，但蓟城必定是一个集散中心，汇集了来自平原地区的中原货物，同时又将北方的畜牧产品分销到平原各地。《后汉书》记载，由汉朝官员监管的官方贸易市场位于今南口和张家口之间谷地中的上谷郡，[54]蓟城控制着通往这个市场的唯一道路。建立这些官方市场可能会有一些政治原因，[55]但是这些市场其实并不能作为中原地区和北方游牧民族贸易关系开端的反映，因为自由贸易在此之前必定已经长期存在了。

此外，汉朝在东北地区领土的扩张大大开拓了蓟城的贸易前景。来自新征服领土的物产，如东北森林地区盛产的皮毛，在中原市场极受欢迎。因此，司马迁才会有“东绾濊貉、朝鲜、真番之利”的说法。另外，前文所述及的迅速兴旺的汉族移民聚落也必定促进了内地与边疆之间的商品交流。当时，可供商人们行走的、来往边疆地区的唯一通道，就是那条穿过今山海关沿着滨海低地由蓟城通往辽河下游的道路，此外再无其他陆上通道。这条道路与沿太行山东麓修筑的南北大道通过蓟城相连接，并在秦始皇时期得到大力修缮。[56]此外，秦朝国都与蓟城之间还有一条捷径可以联系，这条支路在秦朝得到充分发展。这条支路很可能是在距渭河流入黄河的河口不远的地方跨过黄河，然后沿着汾河河谷向东北方抵达太原，从太原转而向东，穿过井陉关以后，与太行山东麓的南北大道在正定交汇。[57]这样我们便发现，在那一时期，帝国中心与东北方遥远的边疆地区便由这条古代大道及其支路绝妙地连接了起来。（图15）

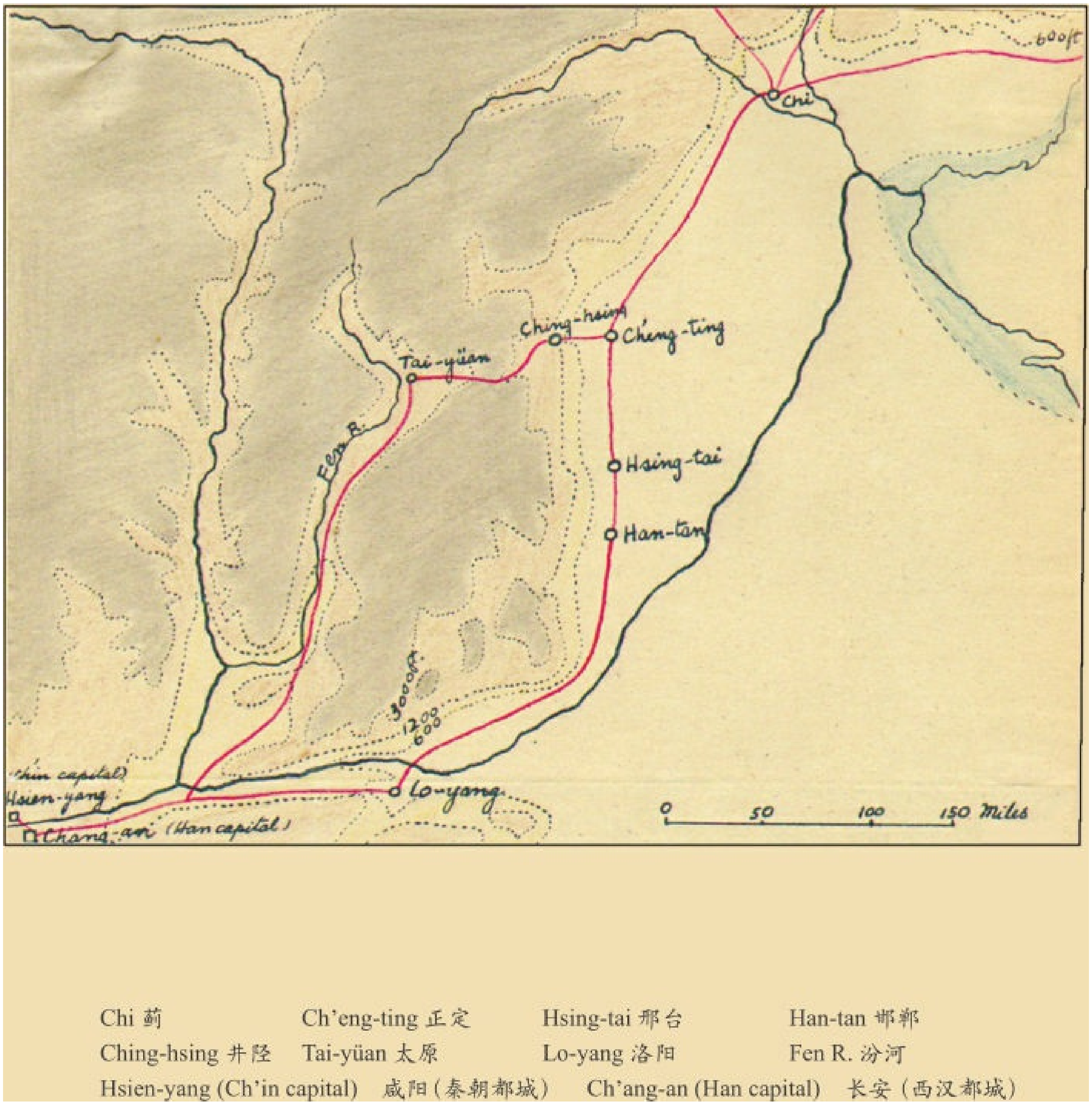


图15　历史上华北地区的古代道路和山口分布图

此后，蓟城不仅成为与北方游牧区往来道路的交汇点，而且成为帝国中心与边疆地区之间交通线上一个至关重要的枢纽。正是这条大道，在王朝统一前便使蓟城开始兴起；也正是这条大道，在统一之后的和平年代里，给蓟城带来了商业的繁荣。[58]

第三章　隋统一前黑暗时期（**221—589**）的蓟城

蓟城与地方水利建设

1 政治地理

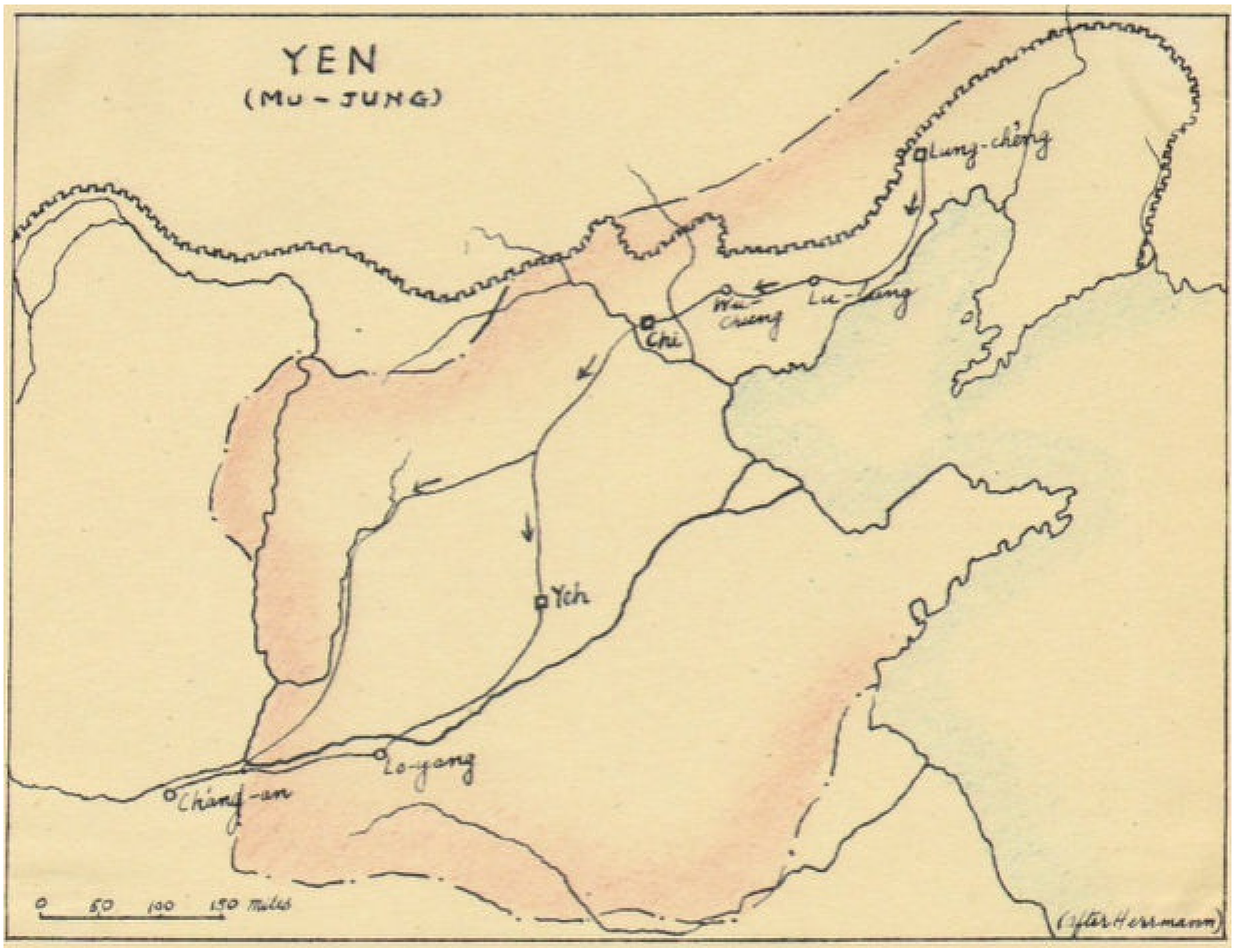
公元二世纪初，大汉王朝开始衰落，并最终于公元220年土崩瓦解。随之而来的是内战及外族入侵，乱世持续了长达四百年之久。为了确切了解蓟城当时的情况，必须对这个时期那些相继出现的小王朝作一个总体的概述。

首先，是近半个世纪的三国时期[59]，魏（220─265）、蜀（221─263）、吴（222─280）三足鼎立，并最终在280年由西晋统一。西晋定都于洛阳，其统一十分松散。随着北方游牧民族的入侵，西晋灭亡，国家又处于分裂之中。随后，西晋统治者向东南退守，于长江流域建立起东晋王朝（317─419）。此后，从420年至589年，南方又有四个短暂的朝代先后出现，[60]在中国历史上统称为南朝，它们都已经超出了本研究的范围，不再赘述。

与此同时，北方的政治背景比南方更加复杂多样。301年至440年，十六个小国在北方相继建立，由于这些小国多为北方少数民族所建，史称五胡十六国。[61] 最后，在混乱中兴起的鲜卑族拓跋氏建立的北魏（386─534）统一了中国北方，并维持了近一百年的统治（440─534），其都城先定于平城（今大同），后迁往代表当时地理中心的洛阳。[62] 北魏于534年灭亡之后，其疆域一分为二，由东魏（535─550）和西魏（535─556）分别统治，后又为北齐（550─577）和北周（557─581）所替代。这些朝代统称北朝，与南朝相对应。这个北方多国混战的漫长时期可谓中国历史上的黑暗时期，最后，隋朝于589年统一全国，终于结束了分裂的状况。就本文而言，我们最关心的问题便是，在这个战乱的年代里，蓟城的情况是怎样的。

在政治方面，蓟城先后处于不同的政权统治之下：三国时期的曹魏（220—265）、西晋（265—316）、羯族建立的后赵（319—351）、鲜卑族慕容氏建立的前燕（321—370）、氐族建立的前秦（351—394）、鲜卑族慕容氏建立的后燕（384—409）、鲜卑族拓跋氏建立的北魏（386—534）、东魏（535—550）、北齐（550—577），最后是北周（557—581）。在不同政权统治之下，蓟城的地方行政地位可参见附录中的《北平历史沿革表》，此处不再赘述。在此期间，蓟城曾短暂地作为前燕的都城（352—357），这一史实特别值得一提，因为在接下来的历史中，蓟城又多次成为都城。前燕由鲜卑族慕容氏建立，其最早定都今朝阳市（当时称为龙城或和龙），位于满洲平原的西南边缘。随着前燕的南侵，它的都城也于352年迁至蓟城，接着又于357年南迁至邺城（今安阳）。前燕都城的这一迁移路线，不仅反映了慕容氏入侵的方向，而且显示了其入侵的路线。最初的都城龙城非常靠近海岸低地的北端，由此可以通过山海关进入满洲平原，这一线的交通道路很早就已经开辟了，慕容氏的主力也正是取道这里南下的。当然还有一些兵力可能是取道燕山山脉当中的小径。蓟城之所以一度成为慕容氏的临时都城，无疑与这条为其南下提供便利的东北道路相关，而这条道路在后来几个世纪中也愈发重要。[63] 此外，蓟城不仅仅是北方、东北方各条道路的汇聚点，更是通往平原心脏地区的古代大道的起点。因此，慕容氏在蓟城短暂停留后，从此处出发继续其征服之旅，直至完全占领黄河下游与山西高原。征战结束后，前燕都城便沿古道向南迁移至了较为中心的地方。（图16）这里可以观察到一个有趣的现象，北方游牧民族沿古代大道的入侵过程，恰好是中原王朝向北方和东北方扩张领土过程的反转，蓟城在这两个过程中均保持着其重要的交通枢纽地位。中原王朝统一、强大时，蓟城是中原民族向边远地区扩散的通道；而当中原处于分裂、虚弱状况时，蓟城便容易被北方入侵者控制，继而成为其征服大平原其他地区最便捷的军事基地。在之后几个世纪里，随着边疆形势的发展，

这种情形愈发明显。现在，我们还是先转移一下注意力，看看在这个黑暗时代，蓟城发展的另一侧面，即当地水利的发展情况。



YEN (Mu Jung) 燕（慕容）

○Lung-ch'eng 龙城	○Lu-lung 卢龙	○Wu-chung 无终
○Chi 蓟	○Yeh 邺	○Lo-yang 洛阳
○Ch'ang-an 长安		

图16　十六国时期慕容鲜卑分布与迁移图

2 地方水利建设的开端

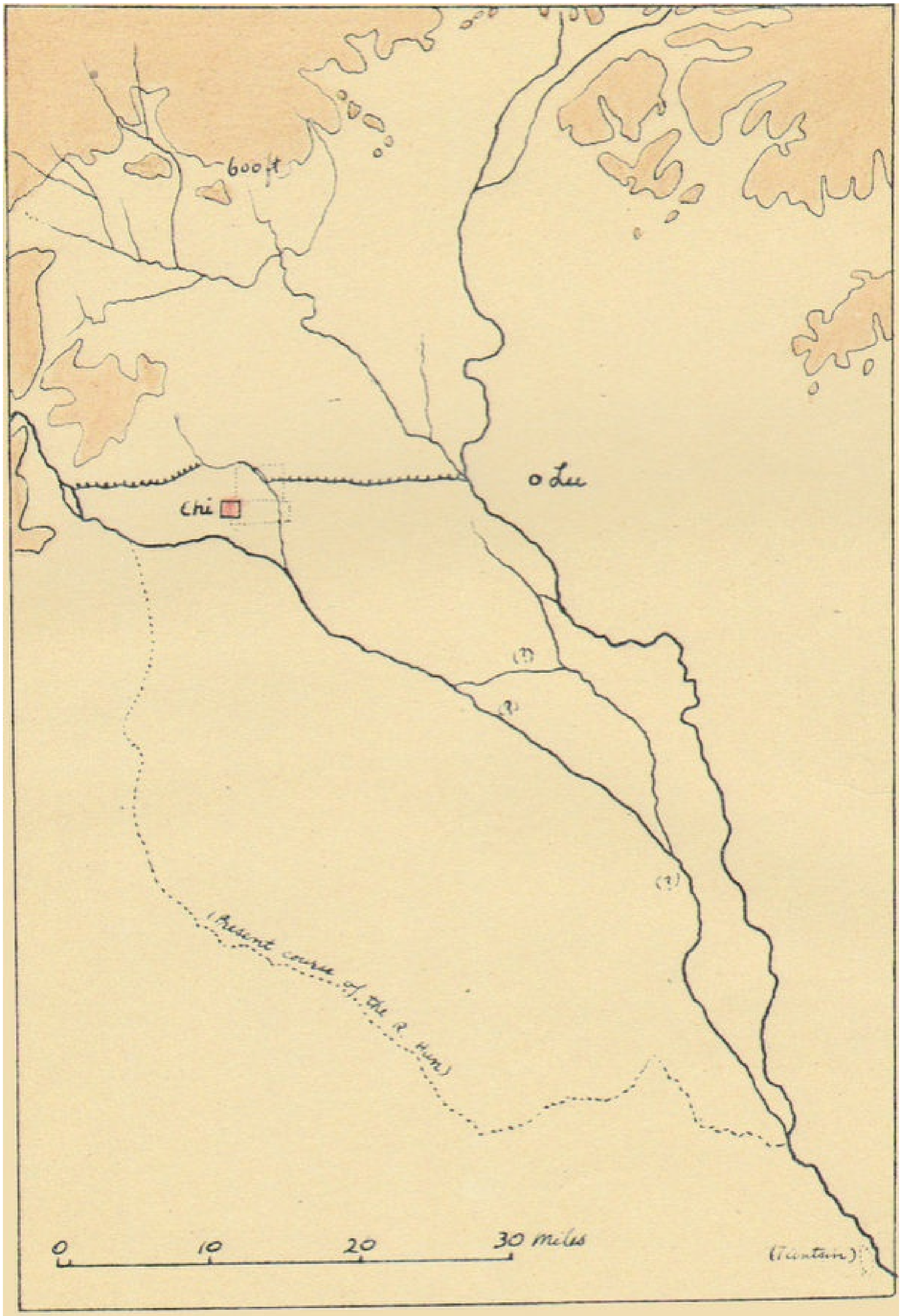
水利在中国农业发展中具有极其重要的地位，特别是在华北地区，因为这里不仅年均降雨量较少，而且降雨量与降雨时间的波动都很大。[64] 华北地区干旱频发，直接后果便是庄稼无收，百姓饥荒；夏季降水过量则会导致洪灾，同样会引起饥荒，但洪泛区主要局限于平原上河道之间的低洼地区。因此，华北的大部分地区，有水利建设便能确保农业的持续发展，哪里有成功的水利灌溉，哪里的繁荣便有了保障。[65] 这对于理解中国历史上的重要农业地区的兴衰，是至关重要的。[66] 尽管北平湾自古以来即为汉族定居地，尽管这里种植庄稼的历史悠久，但是，人们并没有像种植水稻所需的那样对土地进行精耕细作，来发展本地农业。公元三世纪中叶，蓟城第一次开始兴建大型水利工程。蓟城当时是曹魏分封国燕国的都城。[67] 公元250年，驻守蓟城的镇北将军刘靖设计了一个新的灌溉方案，在他的组织下，整个工程得以顺利实施。工程包括三个部分：第一，沿浑河（当时称为灅水或清泉河）东岸，在今石景山（当时称为梁山）脚下修筑戾陵堰；第二，修筑人工水道车箱渠，在戾陵堰将浑河与蓟城东北的高梁河连接起来；最终，使高梁河成为运河，以利灌溉。从此，蓟城的北部、东北部、东部地区均开始了水稻种植，当地人民大受其益。[68]

十二年后（262），戾陵堰重修，工程大大拓展，从城东北穿过昌平区，直抵东边的潞水，灌溉总面积数倍于原工程。[69] 扩建三年后（265），魏国为晋朝所代，但蓟城仍是分封国的都城。[70] 西晋（265—316）期间，在镇北将军刘靖幼子刘宏的领导下，戾陵堰于295年又进一步作了大规模修缮。[71]

晋朝持续时间并不长，北方游牧民族很快相继入侵中原，晋朝短暂的统一结束，由此开始了十六国的动荡时代。在那些黑暗岁月里，没有关于这一伟大水利工程的任何资料留存下来。直至北魏（386—534）晚期，公元521年，北魏幽州刺史裴延儁再次修复了这项早已被人遗忘的工程。[72] 继裴延儁之后，是另一位幽州刺史、北齐（550—577）的斛律羡，或许是因为戾陵堰已修复无望，他放弃了原先的工程，而将高梁河水与北面的易荆水连接起来，代替原来导引自西面的浑河，从而造就了一个全新的水利灌溉体系。[73] 从历史记载看，这项工程是在那个黑暗年代里人们为将蓟城发展成为灌溉农业区所作的最后尝试。

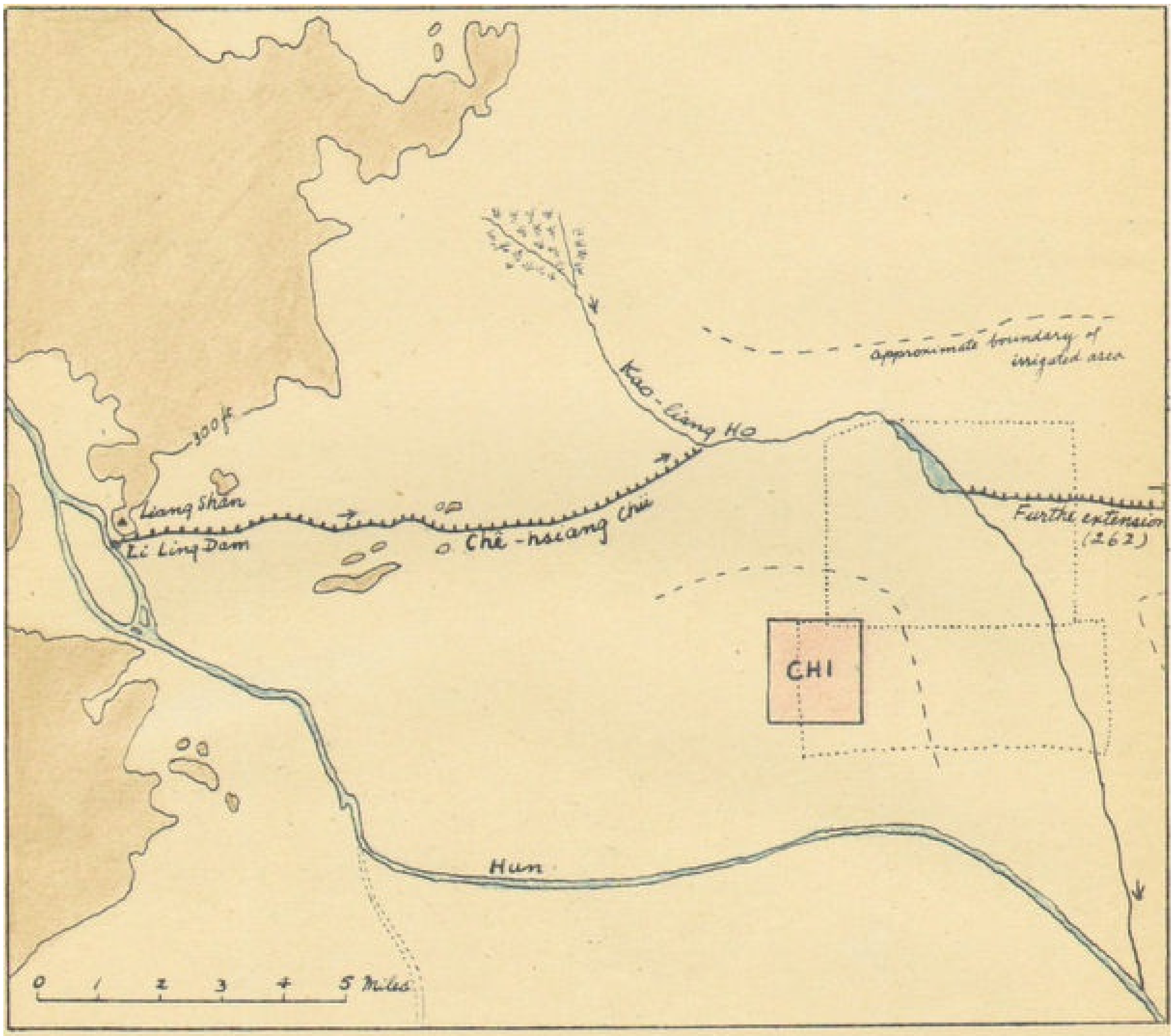
对水利工程的发展作了简要的了解之后，有必要考察一下这项工程的地理基础。首先，需要注意的是，当时的河流水系与今日有所不同。这一点可以参见重新绘制的地图，图上标识了当时蓟城所处位置及水系。[74] 如今的浑河河道当时位于蓟城的正南方，在城东南与高梁河汇合后，再向东南，分为数支，最终于今武清地区汇入笥沟。[75] 如果主要考虑蓟城及周边的灌溉需求，浑河确是一个取之不尽的水源，然而，由于水流湍急，很难被导引和控制。另一方面，高梁河只是由城西北郊的几条小溪发源的一条小河，无法为大规模灌溉提供足量的水源。在石景山脚下修筑戾陵堰，将浑河河水较容易控制的一段引流，便使这个难题得到了解决。过了戾陵堰，浑河河水被引入了与之几乎垂直的人工河道车箱渠。[76] 车箱渠是沿平原的缓坡开凿的，由西北至东南向蓟城倾斜，可能流经零散分布在蓟城和西山山脉之间的平原上的低矮丘陵，如今天的八宝山。[77] 浑河水通过这一人工渠道，流入高梁河的天然河道。这项重要的灌溉工程也正是沿着高梁河规划的，当时一定开凿了无数沟洫和排水渠，多余的水流会很容易地排回到浑河主河道中。整个水利工程及其后来的进展大致可以从下面两幅图中看出（图17、18）。最后，当斛律羡在六世纪下半叶重新规划地方灌溉工程时，将高梁河与北面的易荆水连接了起来，或许因为当时车箱渠已经完全淤塞，所以就没有利用这条

人工水道。由于资料缺乏，这项新的水利工程究竟是如何完成的，并不容易说清。但是，这一新工程不可能像早先的工程那样规模浩大，因为易荆水也是一条小河，没有大量的水源可供使用。



Chi 蓟 Lu 潞 Tientsin 天津 Recent course of the R. Hun 现代浑河河道

图17　三国时期北平平原上水利工程分布图



CHI 蓟	Kao-liang Ho 高梁河	Liang Shan 梁山
Li Ling Dam 戾陵堰	Che-hsiang Chü 车箱渠	Hun 浑河

Further extension 车箱渠下游河道

Approximate boundary of the irrigated area 灌溉区域的大致边界

图18　北魏时期北平平原上水利工程分布图

如果考虑这一时期的政治背景，便不难发现，修建这一水利工程与北方军事形势是息息相关的。自大汉帝国衰落以来，北方边界一线游牧民族时时进犯，带来的威胁不断加剧。要捍卫北方边疆，蓟城的位置就变得格外重要。和平时期，这里一直是交通的枢纽；在战争年代，这里则是最便捷的军事行动基地，对处于防御地位的中原如此，对进犯的游牧民族亦然。然而，对于中原方面来说，有一个大为不利的因素：要防御游牧民随时可能发起的突袭，就必须长期驻防，而长期驻防对于政府来说是一个长期而巨大的财政消耗。对于镇北将军刘靖，这是要解决的头等大事。刘靖坐镇蓟城，大量的军队也必定驻守此地。据传记记载，他是一位颇有能力的将军，[78] 他进一步扩建了防御工事，充分巩固了战略据点。与此同时，他还规划并建设了当地的水利灌溉工程。工程的成功意味着政府投入的增加，反过来，投入的增加也巩固了边疆的防御。即使我们没有确切的文献证明刘靖的策略的确如此，但这已然体现在他的工程中了。而且，在这一时期修复当地水利灌溉工程的最后一人斛律羡的传记中，也有如下详细记载：

羡以北虏屡犯边，须备不虞，自库堆戍东拒于海，随山屈曲二千余里，其间二百里中凡有险要，或斩山筑城，或断谷起障，并置立戍逻五十余所。又导高梁水北合易京，东会于潞，因以灌田。边储岁积，转漕用省，公私获利焉。[79]

这段黑暗岁月结束不久，便没有关于当地水利工程的进一步记载，很难说后来在此基础上又有什么发展。这意味着工程整个就此消失了，还是意味着它缩小到如此不重要的地步？这里无法给出确切的回答。然而，初建于这一时期的人工水道在六个世纪之后却获得了重生，尽管其主要目的不再是灌溉，而是交通运输。这一问题将在第六章中详细论述。

第四章　隋唐至契丹占据时期（590—937）的幽州

在边疆斗争中的关键地位

隋朝（581—618）的建立，标志着中国自公元三世纪至六世纪的漫长分裂时期的结束。589年，国家再次统一。然而，隋朝的统治时间很短暂，仅仅三十年后便被唐朝取代。此后，唐朝的统治持续了三百余年。

隋唐时期，中国的疆域向南部和西部都有所扩张，范围甚至超过了汉代。但是，在东北部的情形却有所不同。公元四、五、六世纪的分裂时期，在辽河与朝鲜北部之间的边远地区，兴起了一个名为高句丽的王国。隋朝统一后不久，第二任皇帝隋炀帝连续发动了三次远征，讨伐高句丽，结果仅使高句丽统治者作出了有限的让步。这几次远征的代价极大，劳民伤财，最后成为隋朝灭亡的重要原因。

接下来在唐朝时，第二任皇帝唐太宗（627—649在位）与隋炀帝一样，也一心拓展疆域。虽然他在西征中亚时所向披靡，但却同样没能在东北方成功降服高句丽王国。直到太宗之子高宗（650—683在位）时期，高句丽才向唐朝臣服（668），这也标志着隋唐时期疆域扩展达到顶峰。此后不久，边疆斗争的重点又有了转移。七世纪末、八世纪初，以契丹为主的一些北方部落开始不断进犯中原，唐朝政府不得不采取防御措施，由此便产生了节度使一职，负责边疆地区的军务。而正是一些节度使权力膨胀、野心勃勃，最终威胁到了唐朝自身的安全。从边疆史的角度考虑，可以将隋唐两朝持续的三个世纪大致划分为两个时期，一是公元七世纪的对外扩张时期，一是从公元八世纪直至907年唐朝灭亡

的边疆防御时期。907年以后，强大的少数民族再次趁机入侵，使国家又一次陷入了内部战乱。这里并不准备详细论述边疆的历史，只是为了解幽州当时的地理情况提供一个背景。下面将按边疆历史发展的不同时期，分三部分探讨幽州城的情况。

1　对外扩张时期（589—690）的军事重镇幽州[80]

隋朝时期及唐朝早期，激进的外交政策占全面主导地位，蓟城（当时已正式更名“幽州”）因其优越的地理位置，自然成为远征东北边疆的军事基地。当时，为运输军需品及补给物资，隋炀帝于608年准备首次远征高句丽王国前，下令开凿人工运河永济渠，将国家的中心与幽州连接了起来，这也反映了幽州作为军事基地的特殊功能。据《隋书》记载，当时开凿永济渠动用了百万以上的男女劳工。工程首先在位于今河南省内的黄河北侧支流沁水开凿运河，将沁水向东北方向引导，使发源于太行山脉的其他几条河流汇入其中，再于今天津汇入浑河。这样，从黄河便可以乘船抵达数百里以外的幽州了。今天大运河的一段，卫河下游，被认为是永济渠的最初河道。黄河以南另有一条运河——通济渠，比永济渠早两年开凿，其部分河道与黄河平行，将西边的洛阳与东南部的长江三角洲连接起来。[81]洛阳当时是国家的政治中心，而长江三角洲同今天一样，是最富饶的农业区。隋炀帝于611年至612年发动第一次远征时，是由离长江北岸不远的名城江都出发，乘船沿人工运河前往幽州的，行程一千英里（约1609公里）。据记载，当时在涿州郡治为涿郡聚集了一百多万大军；几百艘船只从长江、淮河流域调集至此，专门用来运输大米及其他军需物资。[82] 613年和614年，隋炀帝发动后两次远征时，情形也大致如此。[83]正因如此，幽州集中了大量财富，变得空前繁荣。[84]但是，我们关注的重点并不是军事活动，而是运河的开凿，这是先前古代陆上大道之外的另外一条水上交通线，将国家的中心与蓟城联系起来。虽然这条运河在此后的时间里并未延续下来，但它实际上成为后来中国大运河的前身。（图19）

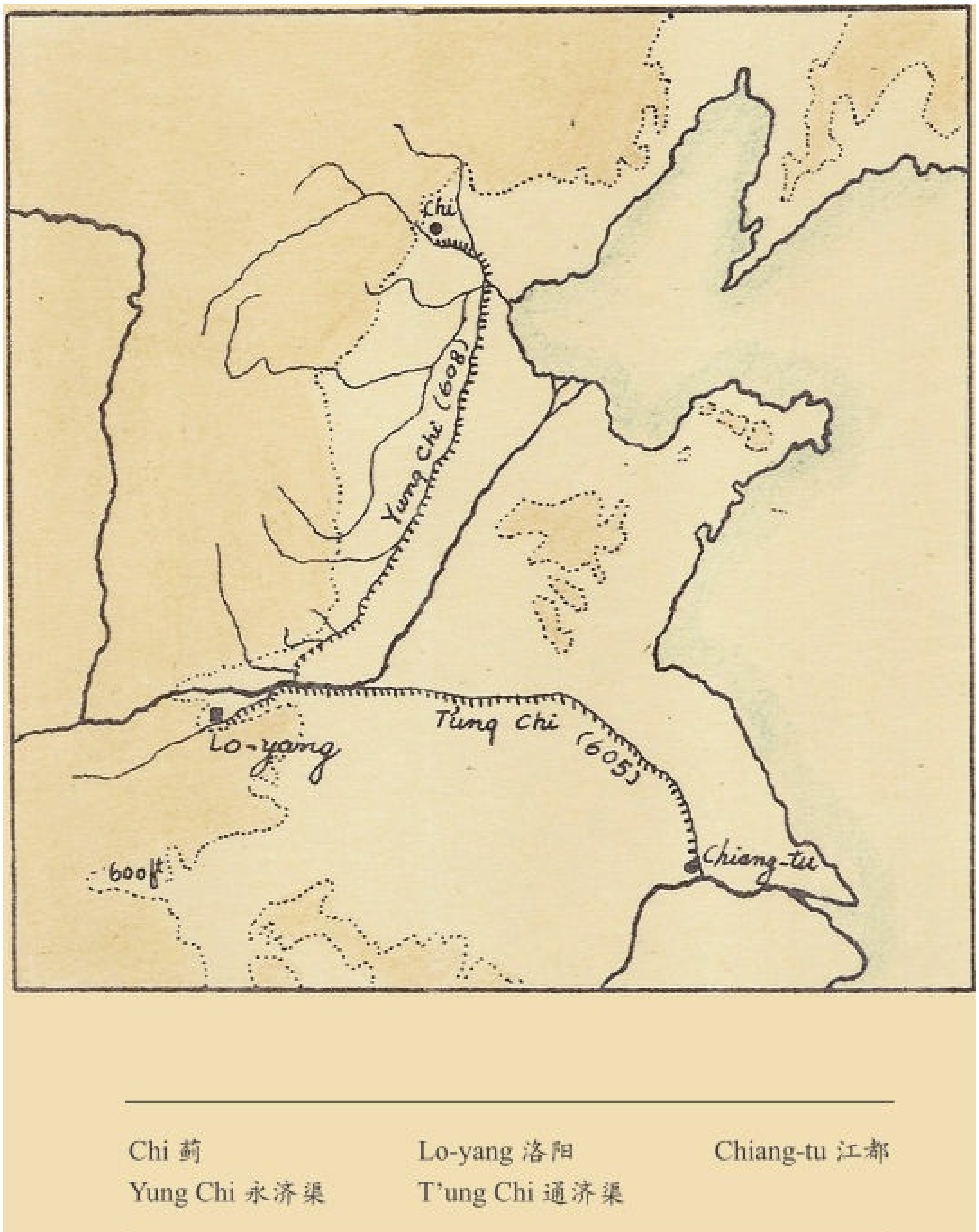


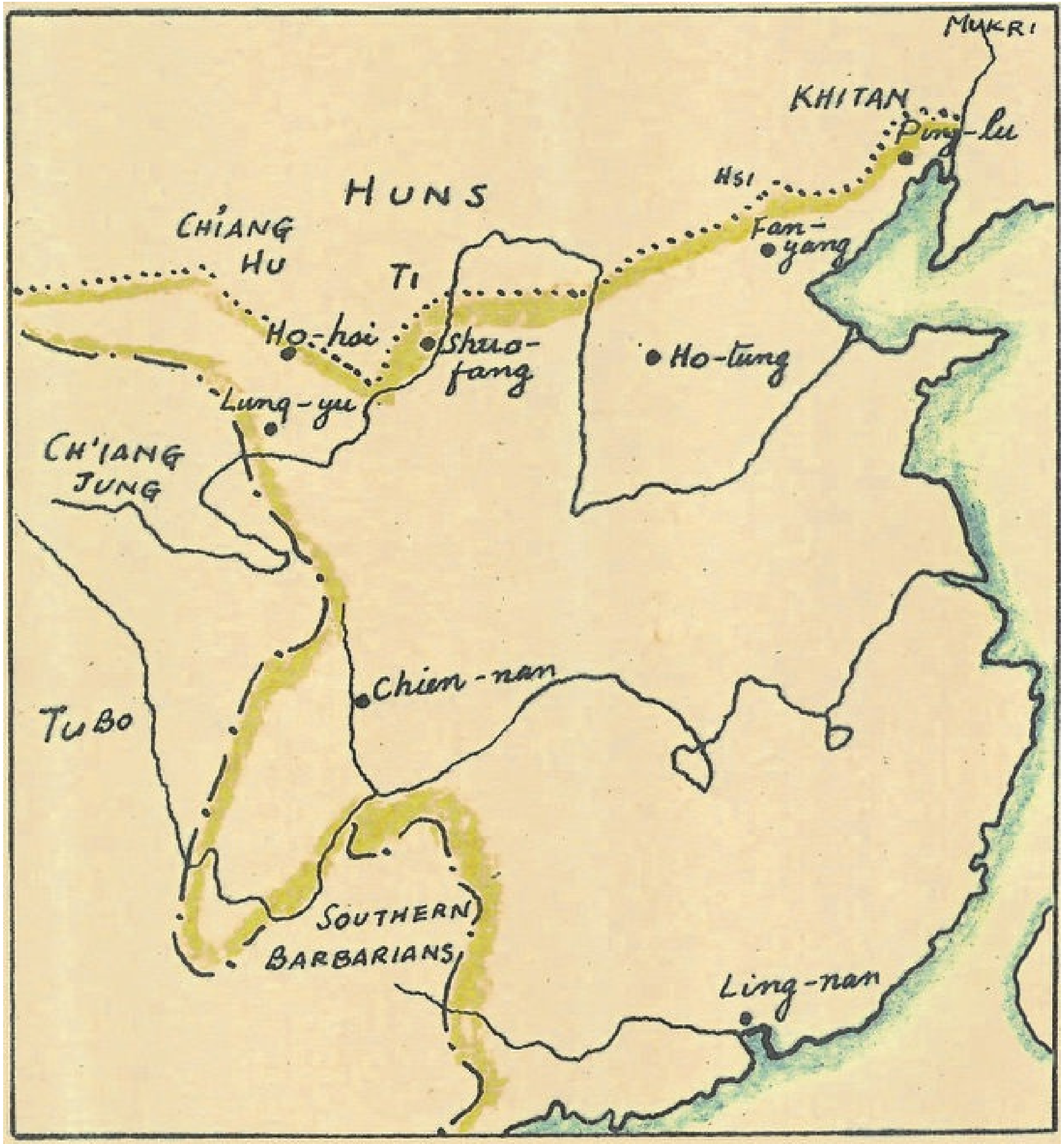
图19　隋唐时期的大运河

唐朝初年，当唐太宗又一次试图收复高句丽领土时，再度将幽州作为重要的军事基地。[85] 但是，这一次涉及幽州地理情况的记载很少，只有一些关于利用运河运输军事物资的记录。[86] 有一点特别值得一提：

645年，太宗从东北战场铩羽而归，在幽州重整军备，为悼念在战争中死难的将士，他下令在城内修建了一座寺庙，命名为“悯忠寺”。[87] 今天的法源寺正是在悯忠寺原址上修建的，此寺也就成为确定蓟城或幽州旧址的最重要证明。[88]

2 边疆防御时期（**690—907**）的幽州

公元八世纪上半叶，唐朝仍处在疆域开拓的巅峰时期，沿边疆地带设置了十个藩镇。这些藩镇，除了位于今偏远的新疆境内的安西、北庭外，其余均在下图中标示出来。（图20）



Mukri 靺鞨	Khitan 契丹	Hsi 奚
Ti 狄	Huns 匈奴	Ch'iang Hu 羌胡
Ch'iang Jung 羌戎	Tu Bo 吐蕃	Southern Barbarians 南蛮
• Ping-lu 平卢	• Fan-yang 范阳	• Ho-tung 河东
• Shuo-fang 朔方	• Ho-hsi 河西	• Lung-yu 陇右
• Chien-nan 剑南	• Ling-nan 岭南	

图20　唐朝节度使分布图

每个藩镇均有一定数量的军队驻守，由节度使统领，后来节度使的权力扩展到民政事务方面。幽州，当时被称为范阳，便是这类边疆藩镇之一，地方长官为范阳节度使。从驻军数量上看，范阳是十个边疆藩镇中最为重要的一个。[89]设立这些藩镇的初衷是为了防范外族入侵，范阳所在地则主要面临的是契丹人的骚扰。

根据中国文献的记载，契丹人祖先为突厥—蒙古族属，分布在满洲南部和东蒙之间、以辽河（当时称潢河）上游为中心的地区。自七世纪末开始，契丹人就一直威胁着中原王朝的边疆，特别是幽州以北及东北的边疆地区。中国历史上，在北部边疆一线，朝廷始终期望能够确定一个严格的、绝对的界线，界线以内是真正的、完全的汉人，至于与汉族模式背道而驰的一切，则都应被排除在外。长城的修筑正是这一思想的集中体现。[90]但是，这一思想从未真正实现过。首先，朝廷不可能将边疆百姓全都禁锢在国土以内，特别是在国家处于动荡时。关于这种禁锢造成的影响在下一章将会论述。其次，这样的界线也不可能阻止从草原地区来到中原寻求出路的外族部落，以及随之而来的通过和平方式传播的异族文化。况且，唐朝政府遇到危急情况时，也总是毫不犹豫地向外族伸手求援。唐朝有不少声名显赫的将领并不是汉人，因此，由一位来自营州的胡汉混血将领担任驻守边疆、防御契丹的重任，似乎也不足为奇了。这位将领正是安禄山，唐朝历史上最声名狼藉的人之一。

742年，安禄山被任命为平卢节度使（治所在营州），744年兼任范阳节度使（治所在幽州），751年又兼任河东节度使（治所在太原）。（见图20）如此一来，从鄂尔多斯河套地区到满洲南部辽河下游，这整条北部的边疆地带，都在安禄山的管辖之下。[91]在安禄山权力达到顶峰时，他不在营州或是太原，而是坐镇幽州，这个地理位置优越、历史地位重要的城市。也正是在幽州，他最终在755年举起反叛大旗，沿着早

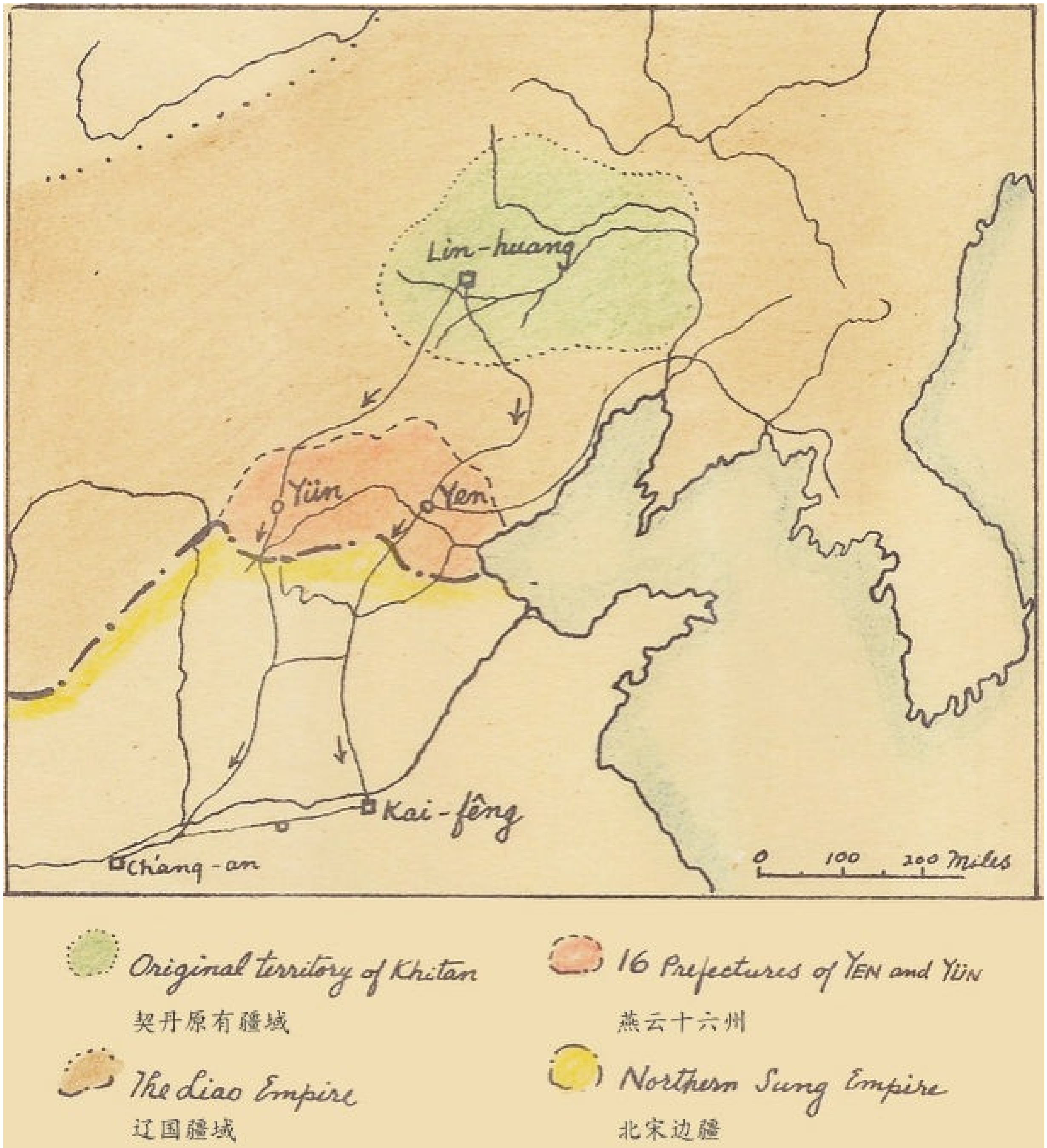
期中国先民行走过的古代大道，反向西南而下，攻陷唐东都洛阳，并在数月之内占领了长安。当时，他自称大燕皇帝（756），将幽州定为都城。[92] 从政治角度讲，这不过是叛臣犯上作乱，但从地理角度看，这反映了代表集权中心的王朝都城至高无上的地位，遭到从边疆城市发展起来的地方势力的严重挑战。最终，这一边疆城市的重要性不断提高，不但盖过了国都长安的辉煌，还夺去了其政治上的领导地位，成为了新的国家中心。

3　契丹人占领幽州（938）

安禄山的叛乱于763年被镇压。历史学家认为，这次叛乱是唐朝由盛而衰的分水岭。虽然唐朝政府在平定叛乱之后又持续统治了一个半世纪，但它的政治史却充满屈辱。最终，在907年，唐朝最后一位皇帝逊位于将军朱温，朱温建立新的王朝，五代（后梁，907—923；后唐，923—936；后晋，936—946；后汉，947—950；后周，951—960）时期从此开始。虽然这些相继产生的朝代被认为是中原王朝的正统延续，但是它们的统治范围仅局限于黄河流域，其他地方则分裂为众多小国，且由外族统治。其中一个小国沿用过"燕国"这一历史地名，[93] 但是，这个燕国只存在了三年（911—913）就被后唐所灭。这一动荡时期直至十世纪下半叶才宣告结束。960年，宋朝取代后周，随后逐渐完成了国家的局部统一。然而，宋朝在最终征服众小国之后却发现，以幽州为中心的极其重要的北方边疆地区，已被契丹占据，而非中原王朝领土，幽州也已经成为契丹的陪都。这一切是如何发生的呢？

在后唐末期的936年，突厥出身的无赖将军石敬瑭发动叛乱，并向契丹求援。在契丹的协助下，石敬瑭推翻后唐，建立后晋，其地域包括山西、陕西高地和华北平原的大部。[94] 作为答谢，石敬瑭于938年将包括北方边疆最重要的军事重镇在内的十六个州割让给契丹，其中包括后来被宋人命名为燕山府的幽州和今称大同的云州两大城市，统称"燕云十六州"。[95] 从下面的图（图21）中可以清楚地看到，燕云十六州的地理位置对于中原防御而言是多么的关键，这里控制着河套地区与渤海湾地区之间从契丹人原有领土通向中原地区所有重要的交通道路。幽州在地理上的重要性已于前一章充分论述，而云州不论在当时还是现在，都

和幽州一样同处边关要塞，只是重要性略逊于幽州。当时云州已经成为从草原地区进入太原的最重要门户，太原是山西高原的心脏，从这里又可以轻易抵达东面的大平原以及西南方的渭河流域。[96]了解了幽州、云州两地的重要性，就不难明白这一地区为什么会以这两个城市来代表。正因如此，割让燕云十六州给契丹这一事件，被认为是中国边疆历史上最致命的错误。宋朝统治者一次次举兵企图收复失地，但均无功而返。契丹人也抓紧时间在这片新的土地上安定下来，并将其作为进一步入侵中原的最佳立足之地。很快，幽州被立为契丹陪都，称南京。[97]这也标志着这座古老城市开始进入一个新的时代。



Lin-huang 临潢	Kai-feng 开封	Ch'ang-an 长安
Yün 云州	Yen 燕山府	

图21　辽国疆域变化图

注释

1　此处所示周代的起始年代很可能是不对的，正确的时间或许应该大大晚于公元前1122年。由于至少存在两套不同的纪年体系，所以中国历史早期纪年存在相当程度的不确定性，而这两套纪年体系直到周代才接近准确。下文关于商代的起讫年代同样如此。

2　“燕”作名词是“燕子”的意思，作形容词意为“喜悦、欢快”。燕京（“京”即京城）之名起源于此，公元八世纪才被人们用来指这座城市，以表示其悠久的历史（参见附录一：《北平历史沿革表》），直至今日，“燕”仍被用作北平地区的雅称。

3　顾颉刚、史念海：《中国疆域沿革史》，上海：商务印书馆，1938，第37—39页。

4　同导言注14 引欧文·拉铁摩尔书，第275—278页。

5　西汉时，朝廷组织过多次远征，主动出击与匈奴作战，但其主要目的仅仅是驱逐游牧民族远离边疆地区，并无占领其土地的意图。

6　《春秋左传》、《穀梁传》，庄公三十年。

7　Owen Lattimore, "Origins of the Great Wall of China: A Frontier Concept in Theory and Practice," *Geographical Review* , New York, vol. XXVII, Oct. 1937, pp. 529-549.

8　苏秦语，见《战国策》，《国学基本丛书》本，第29卷，第55页。

9　辽东，辽河以东之意。但实际上，辽河并不是辽东的西界。

10　郦道元：《水经注》，《四部备要》本，第11卷，第2页。

11　但是，此处也产生了一个与滹沱河相关的问题：今天的滹沱河下游位于易水以南80英里（约128.7公里）处，并几乎与易水平行。那么这两条平行的河水又如何同时界定燕国边界？《战国策》引文可能只是泛泛而论，并没有确定其边界；也可能是由于滹沱河河道变迁所致。近年的记录表明滹沱河下游经

常改道。现在，滹沱河已成为子牙河的支流，子牙河又在今天津西南与大清河交汇。战国时期，滹沱河可能沿今天猪龙河的方向流向东北，并在易水之下汇入大清河。倘若是这样，那么滹沱河、易水同时被看做燕国的边界，也可以理解。

12　司马迁：《史记·匈奴列传》。

13　《礼记》中记载，蓟最初也是分封诸侯国之一，与燕国同时建立（参见《乐记》）。据《史记正义》记载，蓟国为燕国所灭，蓟遂成为燕国都城（见司马迁《史记·周本纪》）。但这些记载似乎都不可靠。最早明确蓟城是燕国都城的记录见于《战国策》，其中将蓟丘与燕国都城宫殿一并提及（同注8引书，第30卷，第73页）。但是，此“丘”是否位于城中并未提及。据郦道元在后世所记，蓟丘位于当时的蓟城西北角，他也试图论述这座城市就是因蓟丘而得名蓟的（同注10 引郦道元书，第13卷，第21页）。至于郦道元如何得出这一结论，并无记载。

14　《韩非子·有度》。

15　司马光：《资治通鉴》，《四部备要》本，第4卷，第9页。

16　沃恩·科尼什在*The Great Capitals*（1923, pp. 2-3）中首先指出了这条古代大道修筑的地理背景，但未作详细论述。在不同时期，沿着这一南北大道修建的几座桥梁可以反映出这条大道在南北交通中的重大意义。其中，1192年建于北平近郊的卢沟桥（亦称马可·波罗桥）（参见《金史·河渠志》和《顺天府志》）和河北赵县（原赵州）的安济桥最为著名。卢沟桥将在附录四中述及。安济桥则以“赵州大石拱桥”闻名，由伟大的建筑师李春建造于隋朝，一直保存至今，作为中国北方的建筑杰作，受到人们的一致称赞。它还是当地传说和民间故事中一个为人津津乐道的主题。可参考1897年版的《赵州志》（第1卷，第29—30页；第16卷，第1—2页），以及梁思成的《赵县大石桥》（载《中国营造学社汇刊》，1934年，第5卷，第1期）。

17　其中最重要的是井陉。“井陉”意为深如水井的峡谷，是对这一重要关口的生动描述。从地质学观点对这一山口所作的描述，参见导言注3　引翁文灏

书，第62—63页。

18 唯一的例外是位于山西高原中部狭窄的汾河谷地，最初人们由南面来到这里定居。但是汾河与太行山脉之间地势崎岖，山峰常常高达4000英尺（约1219.2米），五台山最高峰达10000英尺（约3048米）。这一地区年均降雨量比华北平原低四五英寸（约100—130毫米）。

19 Albert Herrmann (艾伯特·赫尔曼), *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China* , Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series 1, Harvard University Press, 1935, p.15.

20 同导言注11 引葛德石书，第169页。

21 李四光：《中国地势变迁小史》，上海：商务印书馆，第40页及地图。

22 丁文江：《芜湖以下扬子江流域地质报告》，1919；H. von Heidenstam, Report on the Yangtze Estuary, 1917，引自导言注3 引翁文灏书，第45—46页。

23 见理雅各（James Legge）的译作The Chinese Classics, vol, III, *The Shoo King* （书经），part 1.

24 1934年初夏，笔者在河北省南部考察了五天，从内丘县出发，徒步东行，穿过大陆泽原始湖床的中心。当时那里已完全成为耕地，村庄占据着高地，如海岛般分布其间。笔者注意到，一些村庄外仍有小船放在平缓的坡地上，但目力所及并没有可供航行的水道，笔者猜测这些船会在夏季洪水时用到。

25 《大清一统舆图》，地质图，南幅1，西幅1。

26 两湖在《中国地质总图》中均标识为沼泽地。参见北平—济南幅（北幅J-20），载*Geological Survey, China* , 1922—1924。

27 据照相缩印，《畿辅通志》，1884，上海：商务印书馆，第3291页。

28 同注25 引书，帝都地图。

29 华北平原上的湖泊沼泽地的开垦以及由此引起的地形地貌改变想必会

引起地理学者的兴趣。但至今尚无人进行这样的研究。

30 即最小的行政单位治所所在。

31 这幅地图是依据顾祖禹的巨著《读史方舆纪要》中逐县给出的资料绘制而成的。顾氏著作是笔者当下能够找到的唯一一部论述全面的著作。

32 蓟城最初的选址很可能与浑河上的永久性渡口密切相关，该渡口可以被看做北平湾的南大门。无论如何，早期城址不大可能太过往东，因为那里地势低洼，常常受到洪水的威胁。

33 贝勒士奈德（E. Bretchneider）在其名作《北京及周边考古历史研究》（Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and Its Environs）中写道，蓟城为始皇帝所灭（*Chinese Recorder* , vol. 1, 1875, no. 3, p. 165）。后来的作家也有相同的叙述，例如库寿龄（Samuel Couline）的*The Encyclopedia Sinica*（1917, p. 427）和普意雅（Bouillard Georges）的“Note succincte sur l'historique du territoire de Peking et sur les diverses enceintes de cette ville”（*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* , Stockholm, no. 1, 1929, p. 41）。然而，这种说法在任何中文文献中均未得见，有关这一历史时期，最重要的史书，司马迁的《史记》中仅有一句提到：“（秦始皇）二十一年……取燕蓟城。”（《史记·始皇本纪》）

34 燕国在战国群雄中最后一个被秦国征服，因为燕国位于边境地区，距渭河谷地最远。从这一点也可以看出秦“远交近攻”的整体策略。

35 咸阳古城址位于今咸阳东北约4英里（约6.4公里），西安西北18英里（约29公里）处。

36 详细论述参见顾炎武：《日知录》，《四部备要》本，第17卷，第15页。

37 全祖望：《汉书地理志稽疑》，《丛书集成》本，第1卷，第6—7页。

38 参见附录一：《北平历史沿革表》。

39 顾颉刚、史念海：《中国疆域沿革史》，1938，第80—86、90—102页。

40　详见下文论述。

41　幽州包含的其他九郡为：上谷郡、渔阳郡、右北平郡、辽西郡、辽东郡、玄菟郡、乐浪郡、涿郡、渤海郡。同前引顾颉刚、史念海书，第102页。

42　钱穆：《国史大纲》，上卷，第85页。燕、齐、吴、楚等地名大致指以下地区：燕，今河北省北部；齐，今山东省北部；吴，今江苏省南部；楚，今湖北省。

43　鸭绿江现为中国与朝鲜的界河。

44　Kenneth Scott Latourette (赖德烈), *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, 1934, vol.1, p.132.

45　司马迁：《史记·货殖列传》，《四部备要》本，第129卷，第5页。

46　桓宽：《盐铁论》，《四部备要》本，第1卷，第6页。该论述的时间是汉昭帝始元六年，即公元前81年。

47　此描述可能有所夸张。

48　同注46 引桓宽书，第6—7页。

49　同注45 引司马迁书，第129卷，第7页。

“勃”指地处今河北省南部沿海的渤海郡，“碣”指河北省东南角之碣石。“胡”彼时为游牧民族的通称。“夫余”和“乌桓”是分布于满洲中部和西部的游牧部落的名称。“濊貊”、“朝鲜”和“真番”都处在满洲东南部与朝鲜北部接壤地区。

50　《战国策》，《国学基本丛书》本，第29卷，第55页。

51　燕地还生产小麦及谷物等农产品，自给自足，并不用来贸易，故不在此处赘述。

52　此处的秦，指秦国于战国时期所据之地，即渭河谷地。这句话表明，当时渭河谷地同燕地一样，也因盛产栗子而闻名。

53　同前引司马迁书，第129卷，第11页。时至今日，北平的栗子依然十分著名。

54　《乌桓传》，《四部备要》本，第120卷，第3页。

55 建立这些正规市场，是为了通过向游牧民提供其无法从其他地方获得的产品，来维持和他们的贸易关系，从而对他们进行安抚，否则游牧民族的进犯和抢掠是无法避免的。明代（1368—1644）对待蒙古人的政策也是如此，这样，便使长城沿线所谓的马市发展到了空前规模，详见侯仁之：《明代宣大山西三镇马市考》，载《燕京学报》，第23期，1938，第183–237页。

56 秦始皇曾于公元前215年出巡，到达华北平原东北角的碣石，其子秦二世也于公元前209年到过这里。他们必定是取道穿过蓟城的大道，因为并无其他道路。见注45 引司马迁书，《始皇本纪》及《二世本纪》。

57 就在这条路上，秦国军队攻占了今山西省。公元前247年，秦在此置太原郡，治所就在晋阳（今太原市西南）。在秦军征战大平原的过程中，曾于公元前229年在井陉打了决定性的一仗，见《史记·六国年表》。这条支路在秦始皇公元前221年统一全国后又进行了进一步修缮。公元前210年，秦始皇最后一次（即第五次）巡视全国，由今山东省返回时，薨于途中的邢台附近。他的遗体由随从经井陉、太原运回都城咸阳，这可能就是他原定的返回线路。见注31 引顾祖禹书，第10卷，第6页。

58 从图11可以看出，汉朝时，大平原上大部分郡的治所和分封国的都城都集中在这条南北大道沿线，这一显著的现象证明了这条古代大道持久的重要性。

59 在三国时期，每一国都代表着一个自然地理区域。北方的魏国，基于黄河中游谷地，管理边疆军事问题，同时处理与北方游牧民族的贸易。南方沿长江流域，是位于三峡上游巴蜀盆地的蜀国，和长江中下游的吴国。

60 这四个朝代为宋（420—478）、齐（479—501）、梁（502—557）、陈（558—588）。这些朝代的都城均为今南京。

61 五个少数民族依次为匈奴、鲜卑、羯、狄、羌。匈奴是汉语中对蒙古西鞑靼人的称呼，后者被认为是匈奴人和突厥人的祖先。鲜卑、羯、狄或许是蒙古族的不同部落。羌则是藏族游牧民的一个部落。

62 此处可以看出拓跋氏入侵的路线，他们从北方和西北方南下，取道平

城（大同），而非蓟城（北平），作为其进入中原的根据地。下文的论述还将比较游牧民慕容氏从东北入侵的路线。

63 前燕建立者慕容俊的入侵路线在《晋书·载记》中有记载：“永和五年，（慕容俊）僭即燕王位……明年，俊率三军南伐，出自卢龙，次于无终。石季龙幽州刺史王午弃城走，留其将王他守蓟。俊攻陷其城，斩他，因而都之。”这段记载被于敏中在《日下旧闻考》（第2卷，第19页）中引用。卢龙和无终两地都位于蓟城于山海关之间的大道沿途。

64 同导言注11 引葛德石书，第169页。

65 灌溉对于正常年份的水稻种植至关重要，在干旱年份对小麦、小米的种植也十分关键。在没有河流、泉水的地方，也可采用井水灌溉。

66 渭河流域的农业发展是最好的例子。见冀朝鼎：《中国历史上的基本经济区与水利事业的发展》，1936，第5章。

67 见附录一：《北平历史沿革表》。

68 同注10 引郦道元书，第14卷，第7页。亦可见陈寿：《三国志·魏志·刘靖传》。

69 同前引郦道元书，第14卷，第7—8页。

70 见附录一：《北平历史沿革表》。

71 以上有关此水利工程初期及其后续扩建的记载，出自《水经注》第14卷。《水经注》的资料来源则是公元295年于蓟城东城门内树立的一块石碑碑文，记录了刘靖及其后代为当地百姓所作的贡献，石碑名为刘靖碑。

72 《魏书·裴延俊传》，《四部备要》本，第69卷，第3页。有关戾陵堰重建的时间，见注31 引顾祖禹书，第11卷，第3页。

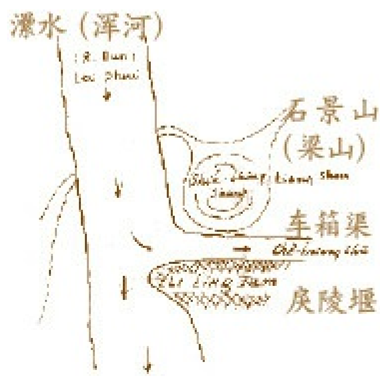
73 《北齐书·斛律羡传》，《四部备要》本，第17卷，第5页。

74 见附录四。

75 武清当时称雍奴。见注10 引郦道元书，第13卷，第22页。

76 《水经注》中对戾陵堰的修筑方法作过描述，但因用语模糊而难以理解。当然，这里可以大致绘制一幅图表显示修建戾陵堰时可能采用的方法。现

今，戾陵堰旧址上修建了新坝，从浑河引水灌溉相邻地区，即石芦（石景山—卢沟桥）灌溉沟渠。



77　已经废弃的十二世纪运河的河床（金口河，见第六章）仍然可见于蓟城西郊。该河的开凿经过八宝山，其河道很可能便是车箱渠的废弃河道。

78　同注10引郦道元书。

79　《北齐书·斛律金传附子羡传》，第17卷，第5页。

80　“幽州”这个地名在隋唐以前一直被用作省级行政区名称，到了隋唐时期，被用作州与县之间的一级行政区划府的名称。幽州府的政治地位与郡等同，蓟城一向是该府治所，故此时也被称为幽州。但是，幽州这个地名曾两度被更改，先是改为涿郡（607─617），后又改为范阳（742─757），这两个地名也都曾用来指代蓟城。唐朝结束后，幽州这个称谓，无论是作为州还是府，都不再使用了。

81　有关这两条运河开凿的情况，可参见《隋书·炀帝本纪》，大业元年三月及大业四年四月。郑肇经在《中国水利史》中对此也有简略记载，第200─201页。

82　同注15引司马光书，第181卷，第13─14、17页。

83　《隋书·炀帝本纪》。

84　同前引司马光书，第182卷，第1─4页。

85　《旧唐书·太宗本纪》，贞观十九年四月。

86　《旧唐书·韦挺传》，《四部备要》本，第77卷，第1─2页。

87 孙承泽：《春明梦余录》。

88 见附录二。

89 十藩镇驻军分布情况如下表：

节度使名称	驻军总数
河西（治凉州）	73000
范阳（治幽州）	91000
陇右（治鄯州）	75000
剑南（治成都）	30900
安西（治龟兹）	24000
朔方（治灵州）	64900
河东（治太原）	55000
北庭（治北庭）	20000
平卢（治营州）	37000
岭南（治广州）	25400

见钱穆：《国史大纲》，1940，第317—318页。

90 同导言注14 引欧文·拉铁摩尔书，第472—475页。

91 传统历史学家认为，说安禄山有如此重要的历史地位，是唐朝政府的一个政治阴谋。但是，安禄山通晓六种边疆地区语言，而北部边疆地区长久以来都是胡人聚居的区域，任命一名土生土长又经验丰富的武将，通过外交和军事进行管理，并不见得不好。见陈寅恪：《唐代政治史述论稿》，上篇，1943，第36页。

92 《旧唐书·安禄山传》。

93 《五代史·刘守光传》，《四部备要》本，135卷，第2页。

94 同第1章注19 引艾伯特·赫尔曼书，第41页。

95 侯仁之：《燕云十六州考》，载《禹贡》（半月刊，北平），第4卷，第3—4期。

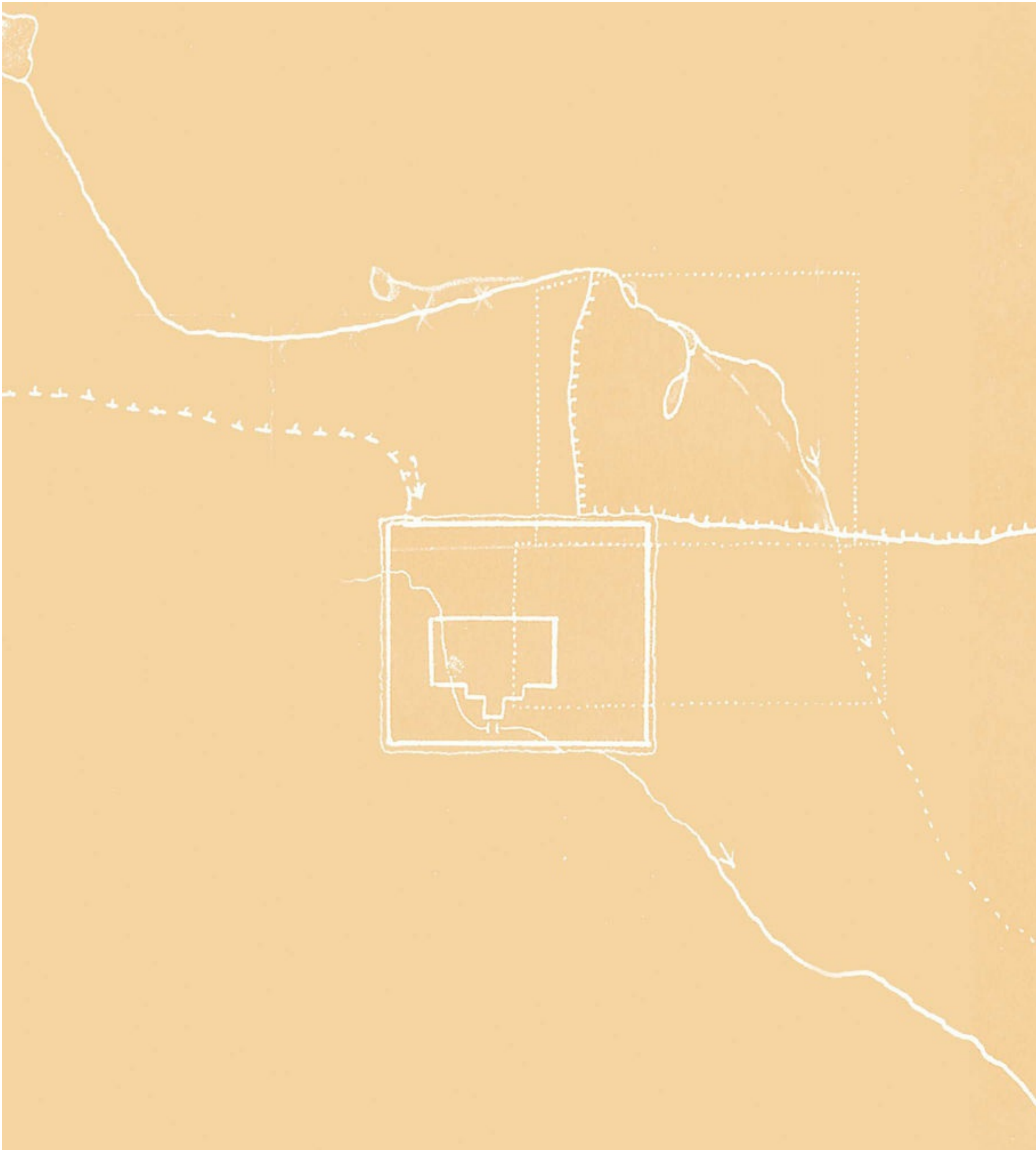
96 云州曾为北魏（386—534）都城，当时称平城。见前一章论述。

97 契丹的其他三个陪都为：1）东京，今东北南部的辽阳；2）西京，即

云州，今大同；3）中京，与上京同处今热河省。

第二部分

过渡阶段：形成中的国家中心



第五章　辽（916—1125）南京城（938—1122）

契丹占据幽州及其周边地区，只是东北方游牧民族入侵中原的开始。由于这一系列的入侵，幽州在全国范围内的重要地位开始凸显，因为作为进军华北平原的门户，东北入侵者必须经过幽州，只有牢牢地控制住这里，他们才有可能取得成功。这里，我们也再一次看到幽州在联系东北交通道路方面的重要性。

契丹之后是女真人的入侵，女真之后是蒙古，尽管蒙古人在统治中国一个世纪之后被逐出中原，但随后中原王朝在东北边疆满洲骑兵的进攻下再次失守。这些入侵者无一例外在中原成功建立了异族统治的王朝：契丹人建立的辽（916—1125），女真人建立的金（1115—1234），蒙古人建立的元（1279—1368），满洲人建立的清（1644—1911）——满洲人的统治直到20世纪初才结束。这是中原王朝边疆历史上的一个新时期，因为有史以来国家的东北方首次遭遇到如此连续不断的侵略。然而，契丹人、女真人的入侵和蒙古人、满洲人的入侵还是有所不同，前者只是占领了部分的领土，分别与占据其余疆域的中原王朝北宋（960—1126）、南宋（1127—1279）持续地作战；与此相比，其后的侵略者，事实上征服了整个国家。如果说辽、金只是代表了异族统治的过渡阶段，元和清的统治则可以看做这一过程的最终完成。这在一个新的国家中心的形成中得到了很好的体现。在辽、金统治时期，幽州作为北方的政治、军事重镇迅速发展，但是并没有超越北宋之开封或南宋之临安（后称杭州，今杭县）[1] 而具有绝对至高无上的地位。这种南北中心

并立的局面一直持续，至元朝最终统一中国，这座城市才成为王朝的唯一首都。也就是说，在古都长安渐渐衰落之后，它终于取代长安成为王朝时代后半期全国最重要的政治中心。

这一章及下一章将讲述辽和金如何为这座城市成为国家的中心铺平了道路，以及在这一时期，城市自身经历的变化。

1 作为文化交流重镇的幽州

前一章已经特别强调过唐幽州城的重要军事意义。然而，事情还有另一个方面值得注意，即自盛唐以来，幽州城已经成为契丹部落接受汉族地区文化影响的重要地区。起初，唐王朝的宗主国身份依旧为契丹所承认，契丹曾屡次派遣使节前来向唐朝廷朝贡。契丹使团往往由数目庞大的首领及随从组成，但是按规矩，只有契丹首领才有资格在幽州地方军事长官的陪同下前往首都长安，其他随从则必须在幽州城等候。[2] 因此，幽州成为汉族人与契丹人的通商贸易中心。在占领幽州城之前，契丹人已对它十分熟悉，并通过这座城市了解了汉族及其生活方式。

随后，唐王朝开始衰落，契丹却日益强盛，并最终成为唐朝的强大敌人。在唐末五代之际，中国政局十分动荡，人民流离失所，尤其是幽州地区的人民在军阀刘仁恭及其子刘守光（曾于911─913年建立北方小国燕）的严苛统治下，痛苦不堪，甚至逃至契丹属地避难。与此同时，契丹在其杰出首领耶律阿保机的带领下，抓住中原动荡时机，不但收留汉族难民，而且对边陲城镇发动攻击，掳掠人口。因此，长城以北契丹属地的汉族人口迅速增长，有的转而在契丹为官、为奴。契丹朝廷采用了汉族管理体制与官僚制度，并任命汉人为高层官员，这些官员将汉族官职与宫廷礼仪带入契丹，促进了少数民族的汉化。[3] 此外，农耕方式被广泛传播到契丹属地，定居生活也开始普及，有些城市甚至仿照幽州城建成有城墙的形式。[4] 也就是说，契丹在占领幽州很久之前，已经在汉族移民的帮助下，开始形成一种文化融合的生活方式，并且学习了汉族王朝的行政体制。[5]“这和所谓的在汉地同化异族侵略者并不是一个概念，”梅谷（Franz Michael）在类似的文章里提到过，“这种变化不是征

服中原之后才发生的，而是在称霸之前就已经开始，‘野蛮民族’只有在政治组织上完全汉化，才有可能征服并统治全中国。”[6] 这是关于中原地区近千年来外族入侵问题研究的一个重要观点。了解到这一点，就不难明白为什么契丹统治者早已准备好将幽州城据为己有，并很快将其确定为陪都。正是在幽州城，契丹开始受到中原文化的影响，并希望占据这片土地。

2　陪都南京

如前所述，公元938年 [7] ，辽在幽州城建立陪都，因其位于辽国疆域南部，因而称为南京，公元1022年后又称燕京。 [8] 也许“燕京”更为人们所熟知，因为这一地名有着悠久的传统，而“燕”这一古老的名字也在历史上被反复使用。直到1122年被女真人攻陷前，南京城一直作为辽代的一个地方政治中心。 [9] 在将近二百年的时间里，辽南京城一直维持着相对太平的生活。据《辽国志》记载，辽南京城的人口可能达到30万之多。 [10] 尽管这一数字很难说确切，但辽南京城的繁荣是显而易见的。下面这段引述来自宋朝官员许亢宗，他于1125年被遣往东北松花江流域的金会宁城时，途经辽南京城，留下了一段描绘这座城市画面的生动记载：

> 户口安堵，人物繁庶，大康广陌，皆有条理。州宅用契丹旧内，壮丽夐绝。城北有三市，陆海百货，萃于其中。僧居佛宇，冠于北方；锦绣组绮，精绝天下。膏腴蔬蓏 ，果实稻粱之类，靡不毕出；而桑柘麻麦，羊豕雉兔，不问可知。水甘土厚，人多技艺，民尚气节。秀者则向学读书，次则习骑射，耐劳苦。未割弃以前，其中人与夷狄斗，胜负相当。城后远望，数十里间，宛然一带，回环缭绕，形势雄杰，真用武之国。 [11]

这些描述或许有夸大之处，但是整体叙述是比较可靠的，其中许多细节也可以在其他记载中得到证实。拿佛教寺院来说，当时的学者洪皓有如下记载：“燕京兰若相望，大者三十有六，然皆律院。南僧至，始立四禅院。” [12] 《辽史》中也有类似的记载，虽然较为简略，但也不应被忽视：“南京，又曰燕京，……坊市、廨舍、寺观、盖不胜书。” [13] 不过，

需要引起注意的不仅仅是寺庙和建筑，还有前引许亢宗记述里“陆海百货，萃于其中”的市场。这些市场的历史可以追溯到契丹占领幽州之初，《辽史》中即有明确记载：“太宗得燕，置南京，城北有市，百物山偫 。”[14] 从中我们就可以得知，辽南京城内形成了一些重要的市场，并且相当繁荣。考证这一时期城市商业的发展和财富的累积想必十分有趣，但史料的缺乏限制了这种研究。

最后，还要谈一下关于城市本身的一些建制。据信，辽南京城与唐幽州城几无二致，[15] 大致呈长方形，每面开二门。据记载，唐幽州城南北九里，东西七里。[16] 每座城门都有其名，然而城门位置已无可考。

宫城位于南京城西南角，被宫墙围起，一般被称为皇城。[17] 皇城西墙应当与大城西墙的一段重合，并与大城共用一座西城门，即显西门。[18] 这也许是《辽史》中特别记载皇城西门从不开启的原因。[19]

通往皇宫的正门由位于皇城南面的三个并排的大门组成，正中为南端门，两侧旁门分别为左掖门（后称千秋门）和右掖门（后称万春门）。皇城另一边则有子北门，顾名思义，是向北开的门。[20] 此外，皇城应该还有东门，但并没有相关记载。

皇城内殿宇众多，其中元和殿最为重要。[21] 另一座名为仁政殿的宫殿直到金朝仍保存完好。[22] 在皇城西南角和东北角分别伫立着凉殿和燕角楼。[23] 在今天的北平城南的西门内，仍有一条以燕角楼命名的小巷，有理由认为这里就是辽代皇城的东北角原址所在。[24] 如果确实，我们或许可以在下图中重现辽南京城及其皇城布局。[25] （图22）

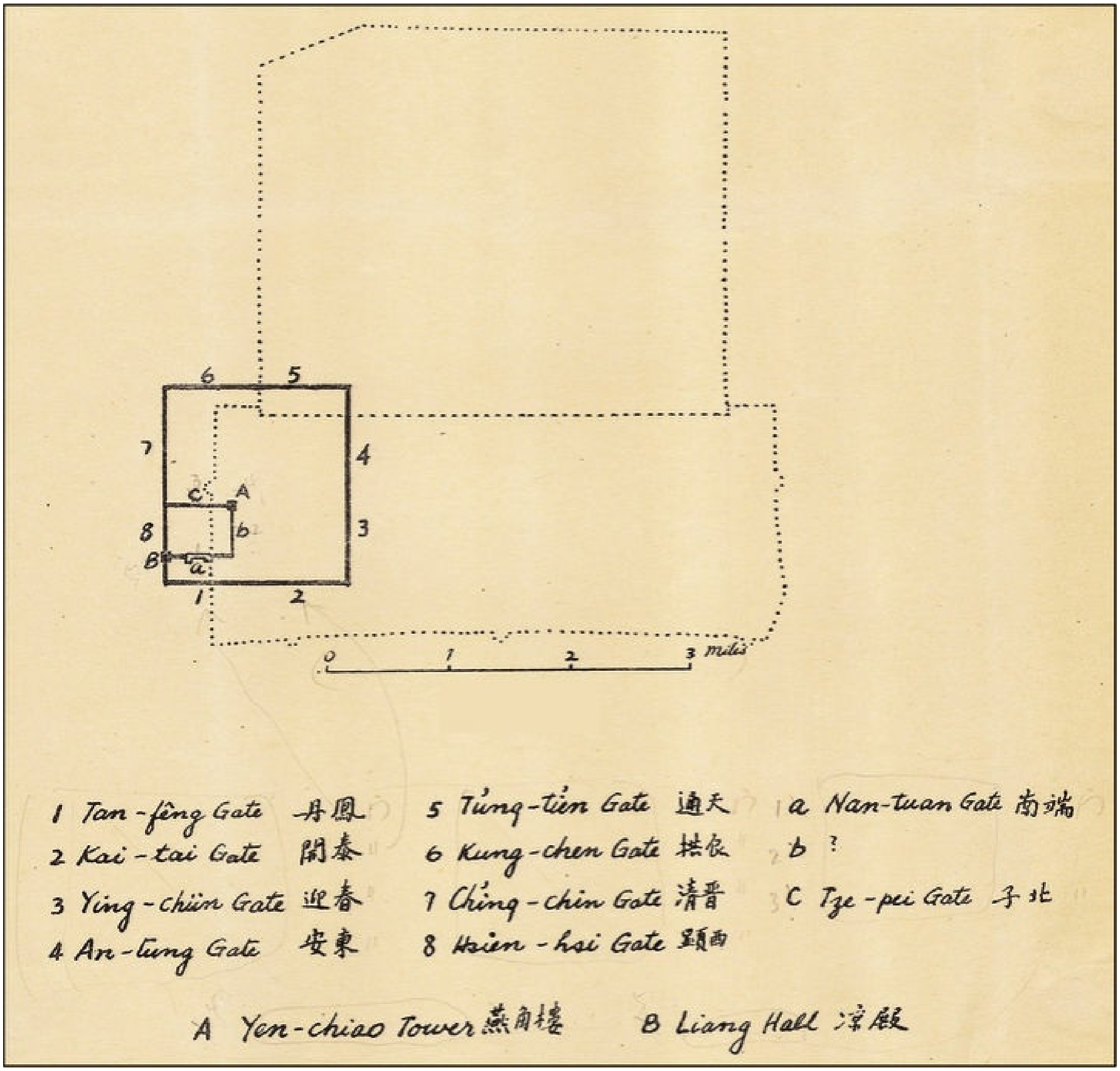


图22　辽南京相对位置及城门分布图

皇宫之外，辽南京城被划分为众多被称为“坊”的居住区，每一坊都有其名称。当然这在历史上也并不新鲜，辽代有些坊名可以追溯到唐幽州城时期。南宋官员路振曾于公元1008年到此游历，他特意提到城内的坊：“城凡二十六坊，坊有门楼，大署其额，有罽宾、肃慎、卢龙等坊，并唐时旧名。”[26]

由此可以得出结论，尽管辽南京城成为陪都，但与幽州城相比，其

城市形制并没有实质改变。[27] 直到公元十二世纪，第二个游牧民族女真人的入侵，才有了一个新的城市出现。

第六章　金（1115—1234）中都城（1151—1215）

1　女真人的入侵

尽管契丹人吞并燕云十六州并在幽州城建立陪都长达二百年之久，但是他们并没有能够进一步南下，逾越大清河。一个重要的原因是，都城设在开封的北宋王朝，在新发展起来的物产极其丰富的长江三角洲的支持下，实力足以与契丹人抗衡。宋辽对峙，战争不断，但一方始终未能征服另一方，直到比双方都更强大的女真人出现。

女真人为通古斯满族的一支，最早活动在中国东北松花江流域，附属于契丹，十二世纪初日渐强盛起来，最终摆脱了契丹统治。公元1115年，女真首领完颜阿骨打正式建国称帝，国号为金，取黄金之意。很快，金与北宋结成同盟，共同抗辽。1122年，在强大迅猛的女真铁骑进攻下，金军势如破竹，辽南京城失陷。转年，按照盟约规定，北宋收回燕云地区，并将辽南京改称燕山府。这个名字也反映出中国人对于“燕”这一历史名词的特殊情感。然而，这只是极短暂的安定。两年之后，即1125年，金人骑兵卷土重来，占领燕山府，并继续挥师南下。1126年，北宋都城开封被金军攻破，徽、钦二帝成为金人阶下之囚。北宋最终战败，王朝就此灭亡。与此同时，宗室公子及官僚逃过长江，在临安（今杭县）建都，史称南宋（1127—1279）。北宋王朝灭亡后，北方的侵略者马不停蹄地继续南下，渡过黄河，将势力范围扩大到淮水沿岸。经过将近三十年的巩固，金朝在华北平原的政治、军事统治转入相对稳定，于是金朝第四个皇帝金海陵王听从其汉族官员的建议，把首都从远在松花江上的会宁府，迁移至原辽南京城、北宋燕山府，并将其命名为中都，意为中心的都城。[28] 这是北平历史上第一次成为真正的王朝首都，王朝实际的统治中心。在此之前，它最多只是作为陪都出现。不

管怎样，金朝并没有强大到可以一统中原。南宋王朝在长江流域保持着独立的政权，首都临安也由于其富庶的经济，与中都争夺着国家政治中心的地位。这一竞争关系持续了大约一百二十年，直到第三个游牧民族的入侵。蒙古人于公元1234年灭金，随后于1279年灭南宋，并建立了第一个由北方游牧民族统治的全国性政权。

2　金中都，旧址上的新城

辽南京城在唐幽州城的基础上没有太多实际改变，但是金中都城则是在原城址上建立起来的一座全新的城市。1150年，金中都动工扩建，[29] 1152年开始营建规模宏大的宫城。[30] 辽朝未被损毁的宫殿，也被并入新的规划。[31] 一些辽时的旧建筑，尤其是仁政殿，也成为金朝宫廷的重要建筑。[32] 金朝新建的宫殿苑囿面积远远大于辽时，而且极尽奢华装饰。[33] 金中都城的规划建设深受北宋开封城的影响，但是整体建制过于奢侈，以至当时一些到访过中都的汉人认为它太过炫耀，并谴责其“离经叛道”。[34] 然而，金朝营建宫殿时开始使用的各色琉璃瓦，这在日后中国建筑中被广泛采用。[35] 看到清朝建筑中以黄、蓝、绿为主色的宫殿屋顶在华北灿烂的阳光下熠熠生辉，便可以想见当时的金朝宫殿会是多么华丽壮观。但是这处皇宫命途不济，在第三个游牧民族入侵者——蒙古人——的肆意践踏下尽数被毁，金人的作用仅仅是为后来者铺平了发展的道路。

许亢宗有过如下记载：“契丹旧内，壮丽绝。”见注11 和注25 。

金中都与辽南京一样，皇宫之外的空间被划分为若干坊。金中都的坊数由辽南京的26个增加到62个，但是城市的总人口却无从得知。[36] 如今，金中都城的部分城垣遗址依然可见。[37] 城址大略呈方形，周长近12英里（约19.3公里）。[38] 每边各有三个城门，但除了北面的会城门还可以从保留下来的同名村推测其原址之外，其他城门如今都已很难考证出它们的确切位置了。

在大城的中央修建了宫城的新围墙，周长9里30步，也就是大约3英里（约4.8公里）。[39] 位于宫城南面的正门叫应天门，从应天门向南有宽

阔的御道连接皇城南门宣阳门，御道贯穿三条平行的道路，两侧种植柳树。沿着中轴线御道的两旁，从应天门前到宣阳门内，为东西并列的千步廊。宫城正东为宣华门，正西为玉华门，正北为拱辰门。在宫城西侧辟有同乐园，园中有一组建筑及一个引旧日洗马沟上游之水而成的人工湖。同乐园东面是皇宫中的主要建筑，是皇帝处理政务及起居之所。图23是根据当时人的记述绘制的金中都简图，可以帮助我们建立对金中都的直观印象。

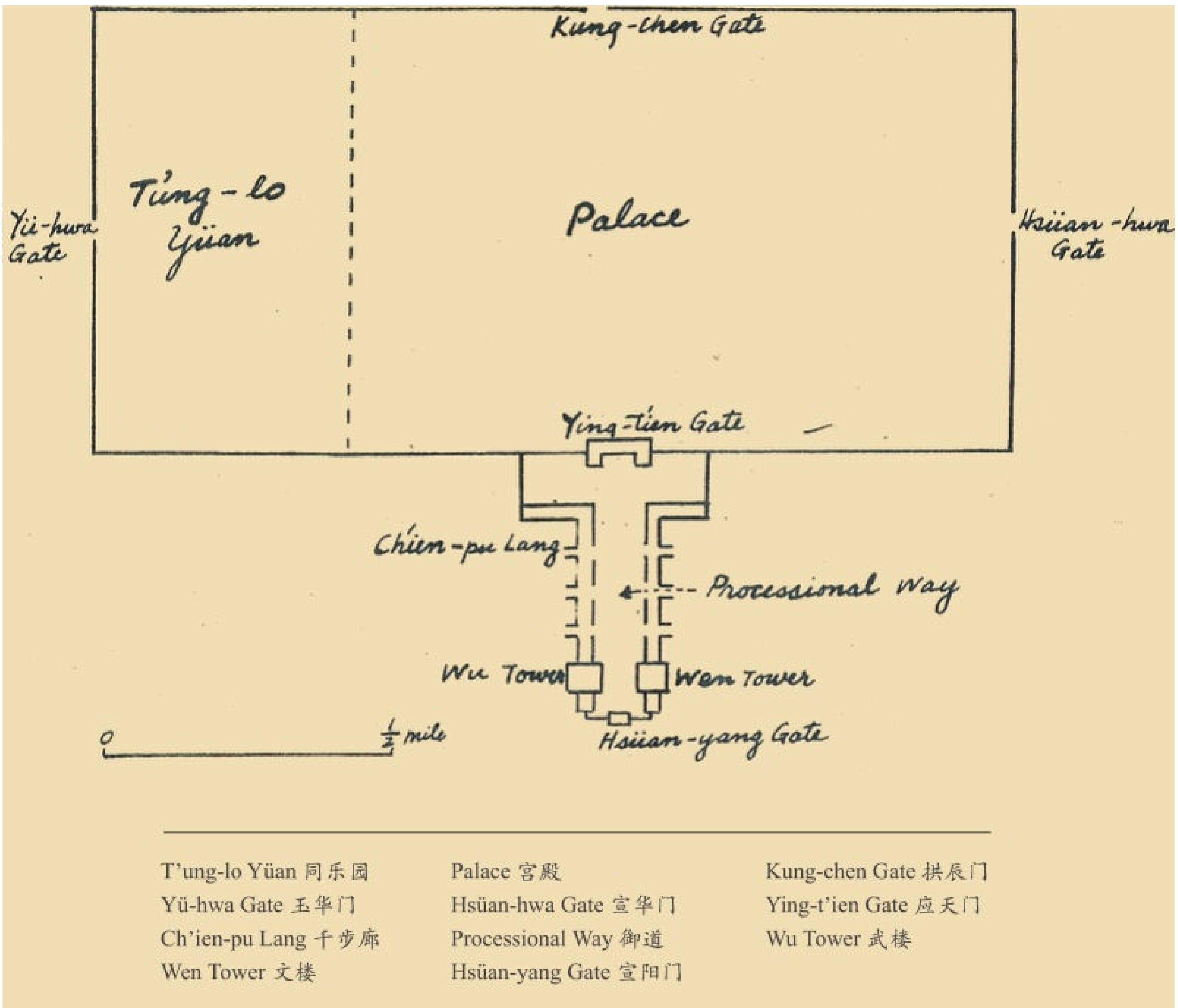
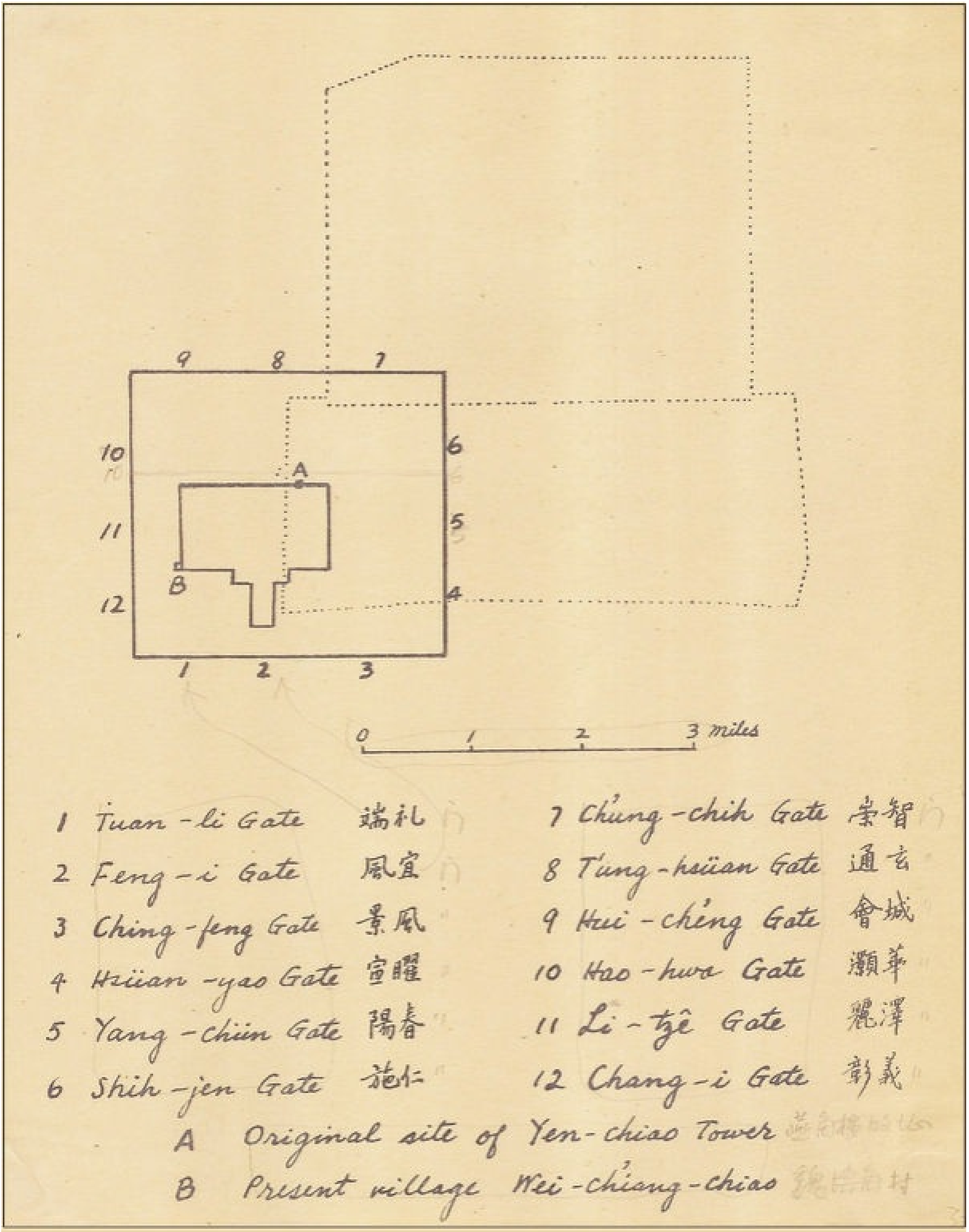


图23　金中都复原图

然而，事实上金中都皇城的位置是很难确定的。它的北界应大致与

辽南京城的北墙相当，但东、西、南三面则大大拓展了。如此一来，辽代皇宫就被完全并入了金中都之中。[40] 上图大致呈现了金皇城在中都城里的相对位置（图24）。[41] 以这张图为基础，笔者将探讨一个以前从未被深入研究过的有趣问题，即金中都内部以及郊区的水道系统。



A 燕角楼故址　　B 魏墙角村

图24　金中都相对位置及城门分布图

3 水道

当时，南宋官员经常受遣出使金中都，其中一些使节曾对他们在金中都所见的情况留下了详尽的记载。比如，南宋官员楼钥在金中都建成十年后，也就是1169年[42]第一次来到这里，他对中都城有生动的描述：

> 过卢沟河至燕山城外，……城濠外土岸高厚，夹道植柳甚整，……经端礼门外方至南门。过城壕，上大石桥，……次入丰宜门……。又过龙津桥……。龙津雄壮特甚，……桥下一水，清深东流……。次入宣阳门，……由西门入会同馆，馆在内廊之西。[43]

这段记载有两个有趣的地方：首先，它提到了护城河；第二，它明确表示有一条水清且深的河流从龙津桥下向东流过。关于护城河将在下文中再论，现在先来看看流经龙津桥下的这条河。这条河流事实上对于研究金中都内部的水道是个十分重要的线索。因为记载中这条河水是向东流的，所以它的上游应向城市西郊溯源。这便让笔者确信，这条从龙津桥下流过的河流并不是一条人工河道，而是辽故城外旧日的洗马沟。洗马沟流贯金中都皇城西部，并注入新建的苑囿同乐园中的人工湖。尽管中都城被毁已久，古河床现在还依稀可见。如今，这里只有在夏天的雨季会有积水，其下游由一条不知何时开凿的沟渠导入今日外城的护城河内。这条河水与沟渠连接处，有一个地方名叫南河泡子，长久以来被人们认为是金朝同乐园内人工湖的原址。[44]自汉代以来，宫殿附近一般会开凿半人工的湖泊，用以点缀景观。[45]因此可以设想，最初开始规划扩建城市时，原来唐、辽时期位于旧城之外的水道已经被考虑在内了。也就是说，在建造中都城及宫殿时，洗马沟被有意纳入了城内，以便为

皇城提供水源。所以，金朝对辽南京城的改建，是进一步适应了原有的地理环境。上面的描述在下图中可以看得更为清楚。（图25）

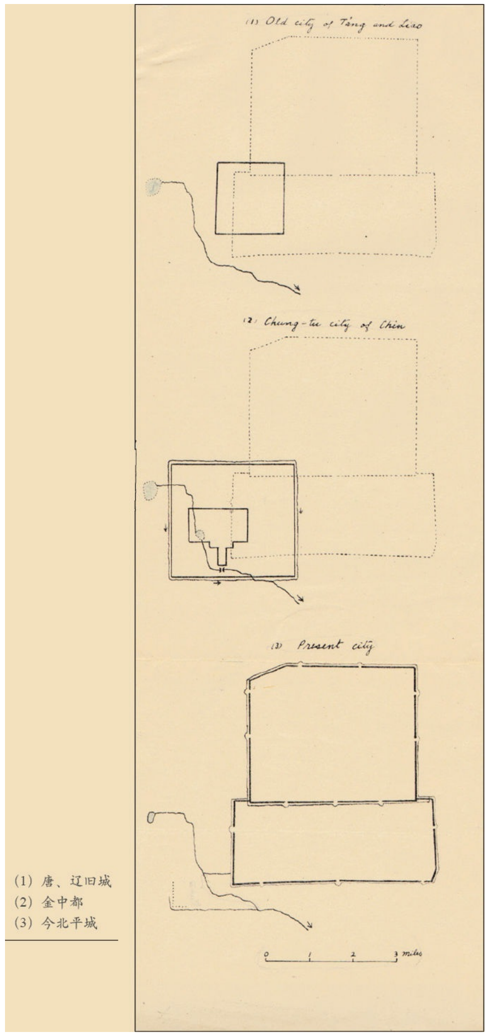
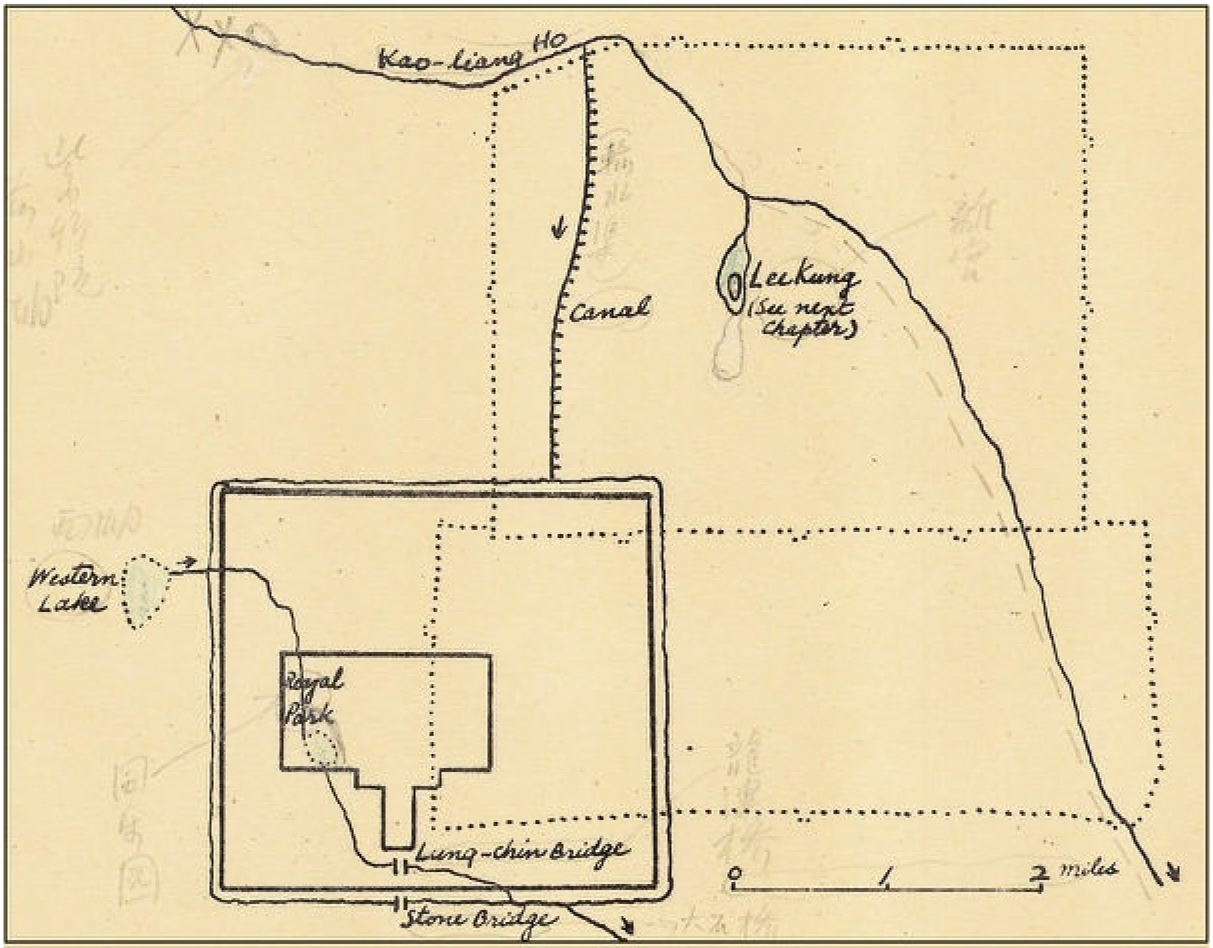


图25　辽南京、金中都、明清北京城城址变迁及其与水道的相对位置示意图

洗马沟的上源，旧称西湖，即今天的莲花池。[46] 辽代时，莲花池也经由车箱渠从卢沟河引水。[47] 但是，这条当时被称为桑干河的卢沟河支流，可能在辽末金初就已经断流。金朝中都建城时，曾环绕城墙开挖了一条护城河，其中沿南城墙开凿的一段，遗址一直留存至今。那么，护城河是如何引水的呢？

由于洗马沟大部分流经金中都城内，其上游自然要为新建的护城河

所截断，因此护城河至少有部分水源是从这里引入。但是，洗马沟的汇水区相当有限，除它之外，护城河必定还有其他水源。这让笔者想起后世也曾向皇宫供水的另一条古河——高梁河——也可能在中都城北与护城河相连。就在不久前，在今天的北平内城的北部偏西处，仍有一条干涸的古河道，或者说是沟渠的遗存，与西城墙大致平行。[48] 虽然河道源头现已无法追溯，但是河道与汗八里城市规划格局并不一致，因此可以推断，这条河道的形成早于汗八里的修建。这条河道一直保存到了相当晚近的时间，夏天降雨过多时，一直作为排水泄洪之用。笔者认为，这可能是金代开凿的一条河道，目的是将高梁河的河水引至中都城北护城河。[49] 遗憾的是，这一点无法由任何文献记载直接确认。不过，在楼钥到访中都的一年后（1170），另一位南宋官员范成大明确提到，龙津桥下流淌的河水是从西山引流入城的。[50] 由于高梁河的源头正是来自西山脚下，所以上述假设与范成大所提供的资料完全吻合。除了范成大到访后两年才重新开挖的车箱渠外，不太可能有其他河道能将西山之水直接引入城内。倘若情况的确如此，那么便可以在下面的地图上复原中都城内外的各条水道：



Kao-liang Ho 高梁河	Canal 水道	Lee Kung 离宫
Western Lake 西湖	Royal Park 同乐园	Lung-chin Bridge 龙津桥
Stone Bridge 大石桥		

图26　金中都城内外水道示意图

4　漕运

其实，上图中还应该加上金朝时各条用以漕运的运河。中都城成为金朝的政治中心，而金朝的统治范围已经南抵淮河，所以，如何将华北平原地区征收的粮食运至中都，便成为金朝统治者最关心的事情之一。前一章已经论述过军需物资如何通过运河从平原心脏地带运输到位于边疆的军事基地——古城幽州。此时，向中都运输粮食也是通过同样的方式来实现的，当然不再是为了军用，而是为了供应都城所需的庞大开支。事实上，水路的良好通达是中都城被选作金朝首都的一个主要因素。[51] 限于篇幅，在这里不宜对金朝时平原上运河系统的发展作更详细的论述。不管怎样，隋炀帝时开凿的这条运河都是粮食运输的主要渠道。唯一不同的是，用作大运河最末一段河道的不再是浑河（或称卢沟河），而是白河，因为这个时候浑河不再流经城南近郊。这样一来，位于白河西岸、金中都正东15英里（约24.1公里）　的通州便成了平原粮食的集散地。但是，从通州到中都并没有可以用来运输粮食的天然河道。于是，如前文所述，又开凿了一条人工运河，先将高梁河水引入北护城河，然后再于城东南角将护城河与通州北的白河连接起来，使上述问题得以解决。原来位于中都东郊的高梁河下游河道已不存在，可以想见，它的消失正是由于开凿运河并导流河水造成的。由于中都城海拔高程比通州高出约60英尺（约18.3米）　，所以在运河上修建了若干个闸坝以利漕运，[52] 但即便如此，遭运的设想也不能完全奏效，因为高梁河本身就不算大河，可供引流的河水也十分有限。因此，1172年，沿车箱渠古河道又兴修了金口河。不同于以前从石景山以南引水，金口河是从石景山以北引出卢沟河水，然后导入中都北护城河。[53] 车箱渠的最初功用是灌

溉，此时重开，则是为了向高梁河供水，用于漕运。但是，由于石景山以北的车箱渠比中都城海拔高出约120英尺（约36.6米），故水流过急，夏季时中都城常受洪水威胁。因此，这一河道于1187年再度中断。粮食由船只运至通州后，换马车运往中都，而高梁河除了向都城供水以外，便主要用于灌溉了。[54] 下图（图27）中标示出了高梁河河道和中都的金口河。

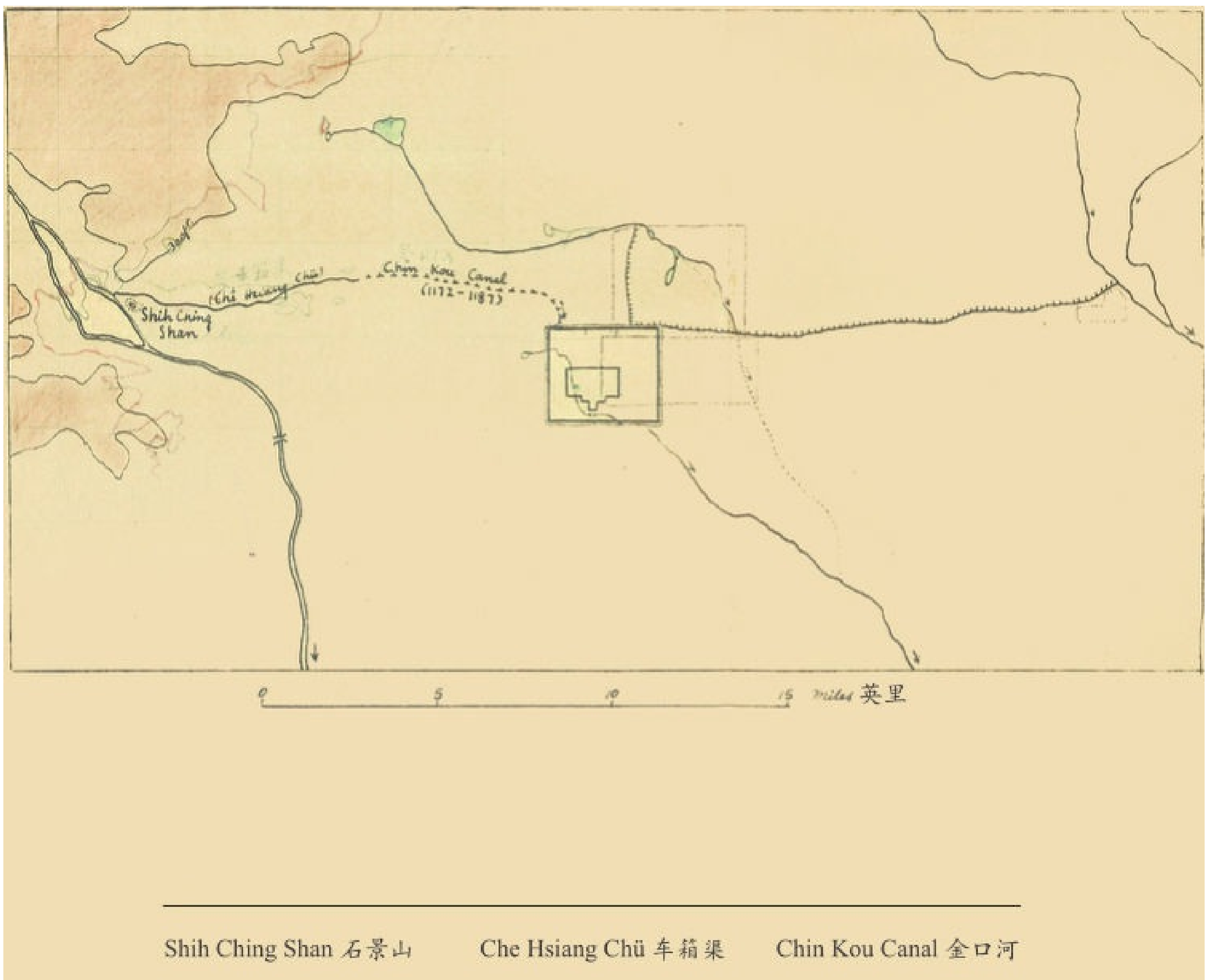


图27 金代高梁河、金口河位置示意图

这几条运河的开凿是北平城市发展史上意义重大的事件，因为它们可以同沟通了北平湾与长江流域的大运河相连通。尽管卢沟河与高梁河

在此之前都曾在北平近郊长期用于灌溉，但其意义只是地方性的。卢沟河也曾在七世纪为运输的目的而两度运河化，但也只是临时之举，没有什么持久的价值。在金中都周边修建运河的过程表明了人们为建成一个永久性水道系统的努力，以便粮食收入可以便捷地运入都城。这里不再只是一个地区性的中心，它开始了向国家都城发展的新进程。

注释

1　杭县在民国初年之前一直被称为杭州。见导言注8 。

2　陈陆：《辽幽州市容举例》，《中和月刊》，1941，北平，第9期，第39页。

3　《辽史》之《韩延徽传》、《康默记传》。

4　不同文献对此均有记载：

《旧五代史·契丹传》记载“：天祐末，阿保机乃自称皇帝，署中国官号。其俗旧随畜牧，素无邑屋，得燕人所教，乃为城郭宫室之制于漠北，距幽州三千里，名其邑曰西楼邑。”（《四部备要》本，第137卷，第2页。）这可能是契丹固有领地上所建的最早的城市。

《新五代史·四夷附录》中也有关于其他定居点兴起的类似记载：“刘守光暴虐，幽、涿之人多亡入契丹。阿保机乘间入塞，攻陷城邑，俘其人民，依唐州县置城以居之。……汉城在炭山东南滦河上，有盐铁之利，乃后魏滑盐县也。其地可植五谷，阿保机率汉人耕种，为治城郭邑屋廛市，如幽州制度，汉人安之，不复思归。”（《四部备要》本，第72卷，第1—2页。）

《辽史》在记载契丹都城临潢府的起源时，从契丹人的角度也有一小段记载：“太祖天赞初南攻燕、蓟，以所俘大户散居潢水之北，县临潢水，故以名。地宜种植。户三千五百。”

5　有趣的是，在契丹人占领幽州之前二十年，耶律阿保机便下令在其都城临潢府修建一座孔庙，及若干寺院、道观，这确切反映了契丹统治者对汉族文明的向往。见《辽史·太祖纪》，神册三年（918）。

6 Franz Michael, *The Origin of the Manchu Rule in China* , Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942, p. 3.

7 即耶律阿保机之子、辽代第二个皇帝辽太宗在位第三年。

8 即辽圣宗在位第五年。见《辽史·圣宗本纪》。

9 《金史·太宗本纪》，天辅六年十一月。

10 叶隆礼：《辽国志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第5卷，第3页。

11 同样的记载见前引叶隆礼书及宇文懋昭的《大金国志》（扫叶山房本，1797，第40卷，第2页）。

12 引自注2 陈陆文，第48页。

13 《辽史·地理志》。

14 《辽史·食货志下》。

15 见附录三。

16 同上。

17 《辽史·地理志》。

18 见注25 。例如，唐长安城的皇城北墙便与北城墙重合。

19 《辽史·地理志》。另见奉宽：《燕京故城考》，第890页。

20 《辽史》之《圣宗本纪》、《地理志》。

21 可能是前朝留存建筑，见赵翼：《廿二史劄记》，第27卷，第12—13页。

22 见注32 。

23 《辽史·地理志》。

24 震钧：《天咫偶闻》，第1卷，第23页。

25 四门名称均载于《辽史·地理志》，但其相对位置未见记载。现有排列，除西墙两门以外，均以那波利贞的研究（《辽金南京燕京故城疆域考》，第92—94页）为依据。然而，那波利贞的论述也未涉及西门。朱偰在《元大都宫殿图考》中对上述城门进行了研究，同意那波利贞的看法，其地图显示，沿城西墙，清晋门为南门，显西门为北门（同前引那波利贞书，第55页）。但是

笔者则倾向于反过来，因为《辽史》中记载，内城（亦即皇城）位于辽南京城西南隅，其西门叫做“显西门”，与南京城西门之一同名。或许内城修建时，就是与大城共用一门的。由于内城处于大城的西南角，很明显，显西门一定是西墙上的南门，而非北门。

26 引自注2 陈陆文，第46—47页。

27 详见附录三。

28 同注11 引宇文懋昭书，第13卷，第2页。与此同时，金朝建立四个陪都，分别是位于今热河省的北京大定府、西京大同府、东京辽阳府、南京开封府。

29 见附录三。

30 同注11 引宇文懋昭书，第13卷，第2页。

31 金人占领辽南京城后三年，即1125年，

32 《金史·地理志》记载：“仁政门……内有仁政殿。”《世宗本纪》里还记载，世宗皇帝曾对众臣说：“宫殿制度，苟务华饰，必不坚固。今仁政殿辽时所建，全无华饰，但见它处岁岁修完，惟此殿如旧，以此见虚华无实者，不能经久也。”据《金史·地理志》记载，除仁政殿外，辽代主要宫殿到了金朝也得以保留。

33 下列著述中可见金代宫殿修建的详尽描述：1）楼钥：《北行日录》，《知不足斋丛书》本，第181种。2）范成大：《揽辔录》，《丛书集成》本，第4—5页。3）周：《北辕录》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第29卷，第12—13页。

34 金海陵王于1151年派遣制图人员前去复制北宋宫殿蓝图，作兴建中都宫殿之用。见前引周烨 书及《金图经》（引自《日下旧闻考》，第29卷，第7页）。开封的宫殿从未重建过，笔者不确定金朝宫殿多大程度模仿了开封。笔者曾考察过开封的宫殿遗址，但由于其遭到破坏过于严重，未能绘制详细的平面图。

35 同前引周烨 书。另见朱启钤：《建筑——以北京城的演进为基础的历

史概述》，载陈衡哲编，《中国文化论集》，上海：太平洋关系学会中国分会，1931，第122页。

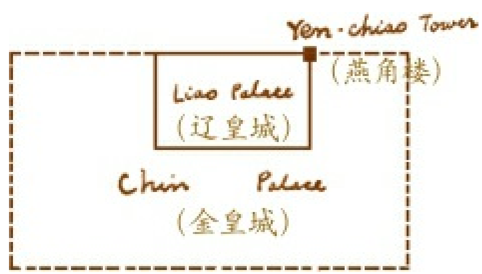
36　金中都城内所有坊的名录可见《元一统志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第37卷，第21─22页。

37　见附录三。

38　莫仑道夫（O. F. von Möllendorff）于1876年将留存的各处残迹连接起来，对中都城进行过丈量，作了如下记载：“倘若我们将这些残迹连接起来，北南墙各长4905米，东西墙各长4453米，周长为18716米。”（"Ancient Beijing, Addenda et Corigenda to Dr. Bretschneider's pamphlet inscribed *Archaeological and Historical Research on Peking and Its Environs* ," *Chinese Review* , vol v, July 1876-June 1877, pp. 383-386.）

39　同注11 引宇文懋昭书，第13卷，第2页，笔者不能确定当时的里的确切长度，按照如今里的长度，9里30步大约为3英里。据下文资料复原的皇城，周长也基本上是3英里。

40　这一事实从下图可以看出：



金皇宫北墙不会比辽皇宫更加靠北，否则，辽皇宫东北角的“燕角楼”便不可能存留下来；同时，也不可能太靠南，因为辽仁政殿保留在金皇宫之中（见注32 ）。所以，将辽皇宫纳入新规划中，最为方便的做法就是保持北墙不动，仅在其余三边进行延伸。大概正是辽皇宫东面的扩建导致了中都城的向东扩展。南面和西面的扩建，见下一注释。

41　1）十二个城门的相对位置的根据是奉宽的研究（《燕京故城考》，载《燕京学报》，第5期，1929，第891─897页）。2）西墙位于现魏墙角村正

北。那波利贞倾向于认为魏墙角村所处位置是辽国皇城西墙一角楼的原址，未意识到这一位置实际上位于辽南京城西墙之外（前引那波利贞书，第2章，第84页及地图）。如果说魏墙角村位于金代皇宫的西南角，倒是很有可能。这一假定与洗马沟流经金代皇城内的事实也完全吻合。见下文论述。3）在今天的北平南城西南角外，还有一些古代建筑基址的遗迹，呈两条南北向平行线排列。奉宽认为这是辽皇城南门前道路原址。但是笔者却认为，这应该是通往金皇宫的“千步廊”中间夹的御道之所在，因为根据笔者自己的重绘图，辽皇宫并没有那么靠南。现在，位于这里的村庄名为“夹道”村，也表明这里确是古代道路的遗址。4）没有任何资料可以确定东墙的位置。

42　中都于1150年开始扩建，1159年完工，见第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第3卷，第2页，及《金史·熙宗本纪》。

43　同注33　引楼钥书，第31—32页。另一南宋官员范成大于一年之后的1170年也到访过中都城，亦有类似记载，见同一注释引范成大书，第3页。

44　同注24 引震钧文，第10卷，第21页，及注41 引奉宽文，第900页。

45　同注35 引朱启钤文，第118—119页。

46　见附录四。最早对北平郊区古河道进行实地考察的贝勒士奈德曾说：“莲花池水在古代似乎流经金中都城。”（"Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and Its Environs," *Chinese Recorder* , vol. 6, 1875, p. 380.）

47　见附录四。

48　见1915年北京地图。现在，沿此古运河修建了一条路，名为“北沟沿”。

49　这条运河位于西直门大街外的北段早已被填上，其南段则在明代时，因城市的扩建加长。现在，这一段也修成了路，叫“南沟沿”。

50　范成大：《石湖集》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第37卷，第20页。

51　同注11 引宇文懋昭书，第13卷，第2页。

52　关于这条运河的记载见于《金史·河渠志》，但确切水道与修建年月并无记录。

53　这条运河的河床遗迹是在七十多年前，贝勒士奈德在莫仑道夫博士陪同下最先考察到的，详细描述可见前者的“Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and Its Environs”。莫仑道夫又作过进一步的补充（见注38引书），但却错误地认为，金代运河流过中都城南郊后，在通州以南的高丽庄汇入白河，其实他所指的运河是后世修建的。见下一章论述。

54　《金史·河渠志》。

第三部分

王朝都城



第七章 元（1260—1368）大都[1] 城（1267—1368）

1　都城新址

1215年，蒙古人攻陷金中都，这是唐朝灭亡以来第三个入侵中原的游牧民族。蒙古人将中都城作为其军事基地，将金朝统治者驱赶至黄河以南，又于1234年将其残余兵力全部剿灭。[2] 26年之后，蒙古部落首领忽必烈汗在距中都西北200英里（约321.9公里） 的开平[3]即位称帝，建立了蒙古族统治的元朝。南宋政府则维持至1279年被蒙古人所灭。从此，在元朝统治下，中国再次成为一个统一、繁荣而强大的帝国。

灭亡南宋之前，忽必烈汗已于1264年将元朝都城从今外蒙古的和林[4] 迁至金中都。三年之后（1267），他下令在中都东北修建一座新城，西方人称这座新城为“汗八里”（Khanbaliq），汉语里则叫“大都”。

对于一个地理学者来说，需要回答的一个首要问题是：为什么选择这里作为新城址？1275年，在汗八里新城的兴建过程中，马可·波罗曾到访此地，并在他的游记里提到如下一个有趣的事情：

> ……金中都城自古即以庄严华丽著称。……但是，大汗有术士禀报，说此城将来会出现反叛，扰乱帝政，于是决定另建新都，与旧都隔河相望，并将旧城居民迁往刚刚建成的新城。[5]

这一段记载中关于舍弃金中都旧址的原因，十分有趣，因为此事在中文文献中并没有任何记载。但是，新城位置是否也由这些术士选定，他却并未提及。根据可靠的史料记载，在汗八里兴建之前很久，已有一座离宫[6] 建在此处了。[7] 这一离宫的历史最早可以追溯至十二世纪晚期，关于这座离宫的最早记载之一是这样说的：

> 京城北离宫有太宁宫，大定十九年建，后更为寿宁，又更为寿安，明昌二

年更为万宁宫。琼林苑有横翠殿。宁德宫西园有瑶光台，又有琼华岛，又有瑶光楼。[8]

从上述宫、殿、苑、楼、台、岛等的数量看，离宫必定金碧辉煌。不幸的是，如此壮丽的杰作已不复存在，只有琼华岛尚存。[9] 这就是今皇城之内北海之上雄伟伫立的那座岛屿（见照片，图28b）。

这座岛很早就引起了人们的兴趣，也产生了一些关于它的趣闻传说。最早的传说之一由元朝著名学者陶宗仪记录了下来，他写道：

> 浙省参政赤德尔尝云：“……闻故老言，国家起朔漠日，塞上有一山，形势雄伟。金人望气者谓此山有王气，……乃大发卒凿掘，辇运至幽州城北，积累成山，因开挑海子，栽植花木，营构宫殿，以为游幸之所。未几，金亡，世皇徙都之。至元四年，兴筑宫城，山适在禁中，遂赐今名云。[10]

很明显，这则关于移山的传说纯属虚构，但是其后半部分也有一定的真实性，不应忽略。上述传说中所提及的山实际上应当就是建于湖东岸的人工岛，湖或许也是纯人工湖，但是，笔者倾向认为，在进行有计划的人工挖掘造湖之前，就存在一个较小的天然湖面，湖水则由源于城西北泉水的高梁河注入。这一小湖引起了金朝皇帝们的注意，于是被进一步挖掘扩大，并在湖边兴建了离宫，最终整片区域都变成了豪华园林。以上推测是基于这样一种假设，即此处是高梁河水道最初流经的地方。[11] 进一步的史料表明，此处的湖和岛也引起了忽必烈的兴趣，他下令以这里为核心兴建新城。[12] 由此可得出这样的结论，即原本位于金中都城东北的湖和离宫是决定元皇宫选址的主要地理因素；而元皇宫又成为了皇城城墙及整座汗八里城围绕的核心。这是研究新城形态发展的关键点，下文有关汗八里设计规划的论述将会更清楚地阐述这一点。

2　一座精心规划的城市

汗八里自兴建之初便是一座精心规划的城市，其基本格局在以后的几个世纪里只有过很小的改变。汗八里规划的主要特征是，皇城的外围大致呈方形。皇城共有15座城门，正门称作棂星门，位于南城墙的正中，[13] 皇城的棂星门正南是大城的丽正门。[14] 两门之间，是一条两侧建有“千步廊”的御道，这与金中都的形制一样。[15] 靠近皇城的中心是一池湖水，在修建宫殿时开凿了一条专用水道，将西北郊的玉泉山泉水引入湖中。[16] （图28a、图32）这条水道按照礼制被命名为金水河。[17] 开河的同时，湖面也必定有所扩大，并以汉代长安城的太液池为它命名。[18]

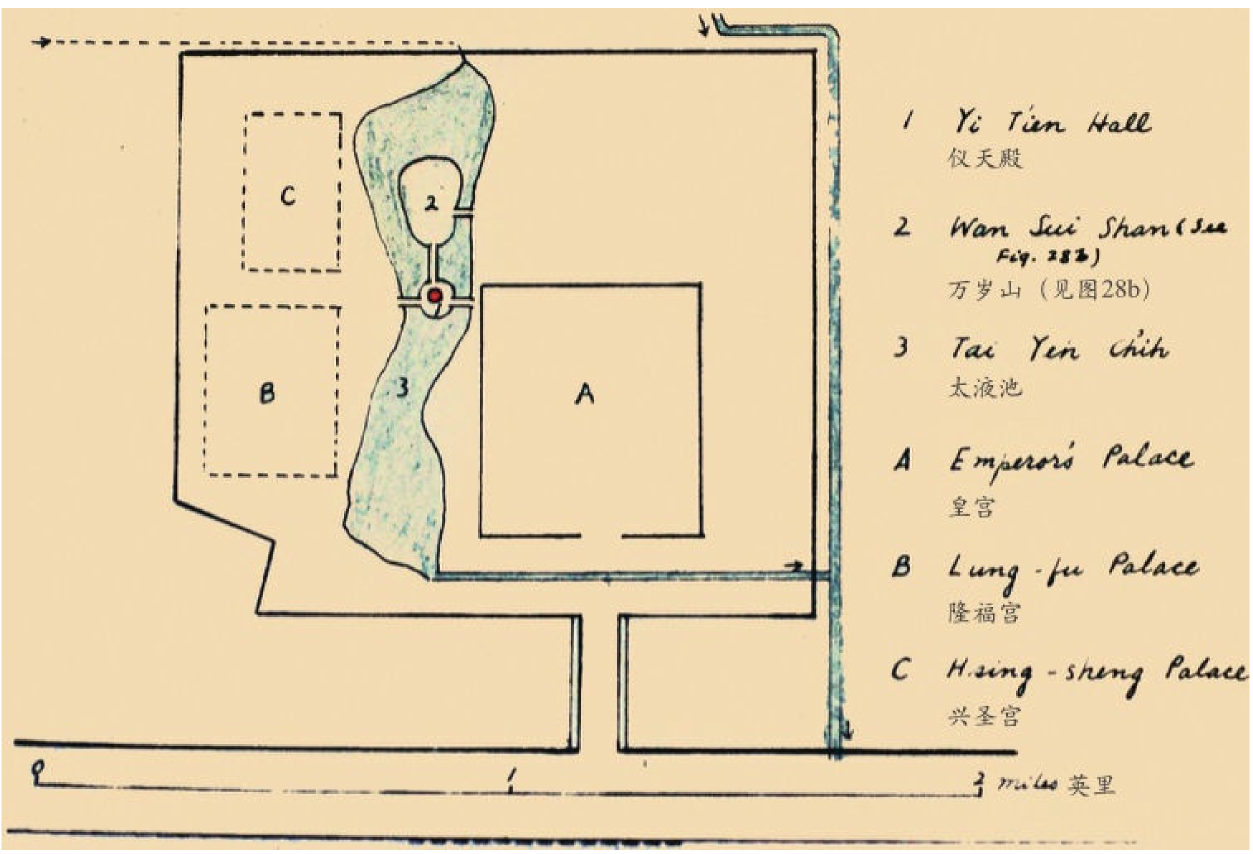


图28a　汗八里皇城布局示意图

A　皇城

皇宫沿着湖东岸建造，[19] 在其正北面原金朝离宫的位置，建起一座豪华的园林——“灵囿”。[20] 湖西岸是隆福宫，其北面则是兴圣宫，两宫在不同时期用途不同。[21] 湖中央有一座岛，名为万岁山，在玉尔爵士（Sir Henry Yule）译注的《马可·波罗行记》中被称为“绿山”。为了将此处建成秀绝皇城的景观，忽必烈对它给予了极大的关注。这里的美景给马可·波罗留下了很深的印象，他在游记中作了如下的描述：

> 皇宫以北，约一射之地，有一座小山，由湖底挖出的淤泥堆成。高足百步，方圆一里。山覆以不落叶树木，四季常绿。……他还下令整座小山都铺满碧绿的天青矿石，[22] 使人远远望去，不仅树木全绿，而且小山也绿色一片。所见之物，无一不绿，因而山称为绿山。确确实实，山名起得恰如其分。山顶是一座精巧的宫殿，从里到外全为绿色，如此这般，山、树、宫殿构成了一幅迷人图景，色彩一致协调，人们看见无不心旷神怡！大汗下令兴建此处美景以舒心养神、愉悦身心。[23]

这座在数百年前就令马可·波罗赞叹有加的美丽小岛，虽然经过后世的种种罹难，但得以保存下来，至今仍是这座城市里的伟大奇观（见照片，图28b）。



图28b　今琼华岛鸟瞰图

小岛稍南另有一小岛，相比之下小而又小。小岛上东西各有一桥，通往湖岸（据记载，西桥为一吊桥），为皇宫与其他两宫之间的唯一通道。另有第三座桥连接两座小岛，较小的岛上有仪天殿，实际上象征了整个皇宫规划的重心。喜仁龙曾说："这个园林是中国式家园的理想中心。"[24] 这里，在元朝皇宫的规划中，可以看到这种理念的一个完美体现，只是其规模更为宏大。从下文的草绘图（图29）可以看出位于中心位置的岛与湖，与两侧和谐有序排列的宫殿的相对位置。

B　大城

汗八里的外城墙修建于皇城之外，呈长方形，南北约4.5英里（约7.2公里），东西约3英里（约4.8公里），四围周长约为16英里（约25.7公里）。[25] 城门共11座，北边两座，其余每面各三座。[26] 城墙全由泥土

夹在木板间夯筑而成，城墙顶部有城垛，多用砖砌成。[27] 在确定城墙时，大致遵循如下原则：第一，在积水潭东北岸建钟楼，以确定大城的几何中心，[28] 并于稍南建鼓楼。第二，钟鼓楼坐落在皇城中轴线延长线上，因此这条中轴线与东西城墙等距，钟楼还与南北城墙等距。这样的布局在图29中清楚可见。

图29　汗八里平面设计图

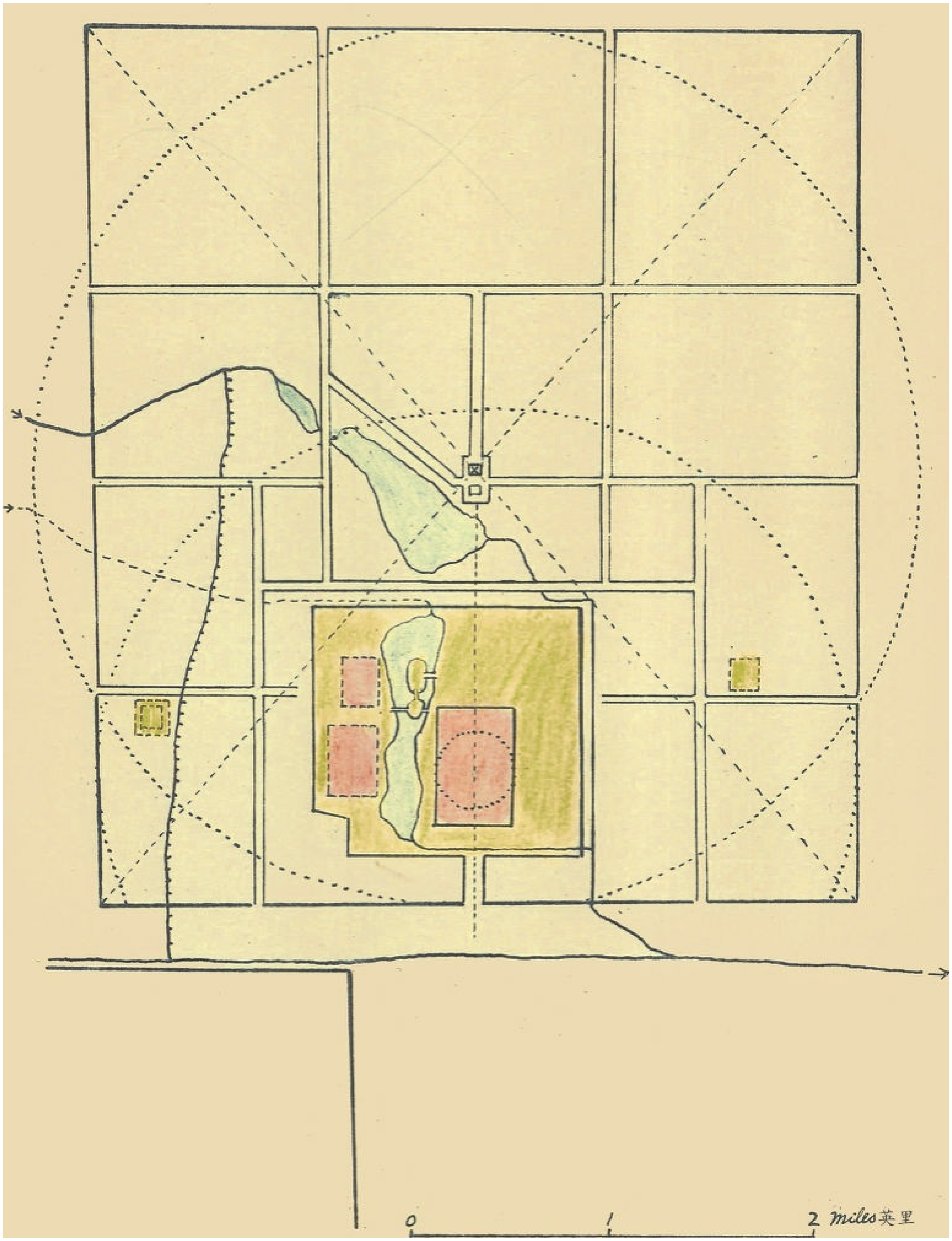


图29　汗八里平面设计图

钟鼓楼附近集中了汗八里城内的主要市场。[29] 马可·波罗特别提到过钟鼓楼："城中央，有大钟，每夜撞击三次。之后，若非有妇人生产、病患所需，凡人不得外出。" [30] 如今，北平城北仍然有钟楼和鼓楼，现存的钟鼓楼建于1420年，比元代钟鼓楼位置稍偏东。（见下一章论述。）

钟楼、鼓楼之外，还有另外两组礼制建筑——太庙和社稷坛，它们对于研究汗八里城市规划具有特殊意义。这一点将在后文论述。（太庙和社稷坛在日后也均作过迁移。）

汗八里建成后不久，原中都城居民便被命令迁往新都，官员、富户优先搬迁。根据规定，每家分地8亩（约1.25—1.5英亩）。倘若某家土地超过8亩，或有人在其所分得的土地上无力建房盖屋，则他人就可以在此处安居。这一规定颁布于1285年。[31] 三年之后（1288），城内居民区被划分为50坊，每一坊名均由当时的大学者虞集命名。[32] 所有的坊均由正东西、正南北向的笔直街道分割开来。按规定，主要街道宽24步，次要街道宽12步。此外，还有大大小小的胡同四百多条。[33] 这样，我们便可以知道，汗八里不仅皇宫规划良好，而且整个城市空间也都布局井然，尽管各部分并非从一开始就同时加以利用。马可·波罗曾这样描述道：

> 街道笔直宽阔，放眼看去，从一端可以看到另一端。全城上下都分布有漂亮的宫殿、许多高级优雅的旅店客栈和雅致精巧的房屋。房屋全都修建在方形地块上，四面笔直；雄伟宽敞的宫殿所在之处，庭院和花园以精当的大小比例分布。所有地块均分在不同人家名下，每一方形地块均有街道环绕，以利交通；因此，整个城市均由大小方块排列而成，一如棋盘。布局之完美精巧，无法用语言完全描绘。[34]

这样规则的"棋盘"式城市规划，的确是这个新兴城市的另一个显著

特点。但是也不得不承认，受一些政治、地理条件所限，它必定也有不太规则之处。而且，由于近几百年间城市遭受的战争及其他各种破坏，不规则之处也越来越多。重建、修缮工作也非常随意。而且随着人口的增加，大多数坊也不得不被分割成了更小的居住区。然而，最初城市规划的主要特点仍然可从今天主要街道的布局中看出，城内大量的古老街区也显现出早期坊的界线。下面是依据王壁文的研究绘制而成的汗八里规划图（图29）。

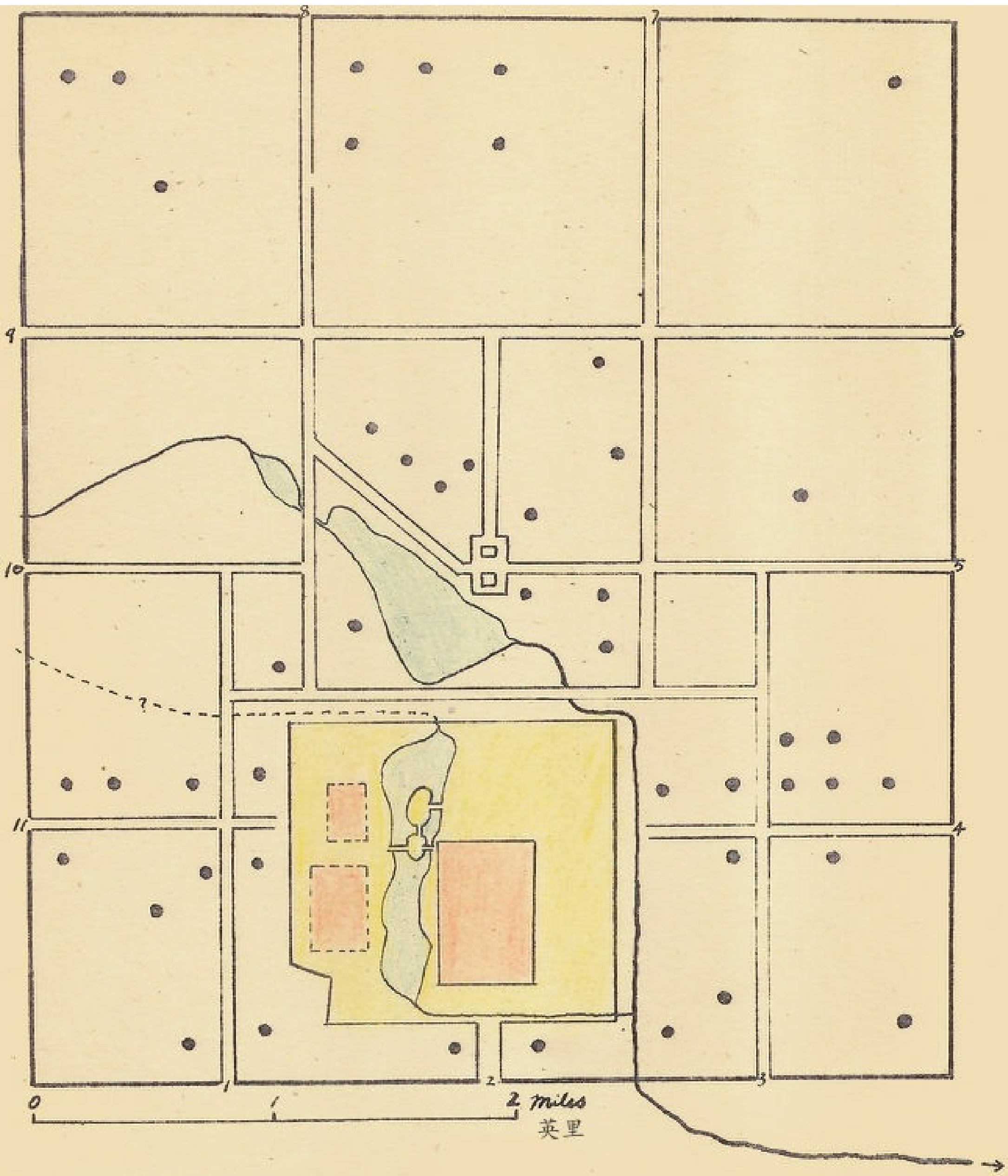
很明显，汗八里是根据确定的规划建成的，与罗马城的规划更为接近，而不像欧洲中世纪的城市那样，房屋拥挤、街巷狭窄曲折。汗八里的建城规划值得进一步研究。

眼下的第一个问题是：汗八里的规划是从何而来的？大约14年前，村田治郎博士发表过一篇有趣的文章，探讨汗八里的城市规划问题。[35] 文章中，村田阐述了他的理论，即这座城市的基本布局绝非汉族式的，而是蒙古式的，他认为位于伏尔加河畔的拔都（成吉思汗之孙）的宫廷即是最好的例证。村田的主要依据，是十三世纪中期曾在前来东方途中到访过拔都宫廷的法国修士鲁布鲁克（William de Rubruquis）的描述：

> 我第一次看到拔都的宫廷时，便被那里的情景震惊了……宫廷在当地语言中被称为“斡耳朵”，意为“中间”，因为那里首领的住所就在人们的正中间，只有正南面没有臣民或下等人居住，因为宫廷之门朝南。左右两边，各家门户视地段方便远近排列延伸，其房屋不与宫廷直接正对。[36]

由于汗八里的皇城亦位于大城东西城墙之间的正中位置，大门朝南，其门前没有太多空间可用，所以村田治郎认为皇城肯定是仿照拔都的“斡耳朵”宫廷修建的。他甚至大胆解释说，这一仿建是有意为之，为的是提醒皇室后裔，铭记自己的祖先在他们最先崛起的地方——北方蛮荒高地上的生活方式。这种猜测不管多么有趣，也无法令人信服。因为

我们看不出来汗八里城内的元代皇宫和中都城内的金代皇宫有什么根本性的区别。而且，我们现在已经确知，在汗八里城正南至少有过居住区“坊”——五云坊和万宝坊，分别位于“千步廊”的东西两侧（图30）。[37] 因此，汗八里规划的这一部分与鲁布鲁克关于拔都的“（宫廷）正南面没有臣民或下等人居住”这一描述不符。



1 Shung-ch'ing Gate 順承
2 Li-cheng Gate 麗正
3 Wen-ming Gate 文明
4 Chung-jen Gate 崇仁
5 Chi-hwa Gate 齊化
6 Kuang-hsi Gate 光熙
7 An-chen Gate 安貞
8 Chien-te Gate 健德
9 Su-ch'ing Gate 肅清
10 Ho-i Gate 和義
11 Ping-tzŭ Gate 平則

Each dot represents approximately the centre of a fang.

每个圆点大致位于一坊的中心

图30　汗八里的坊和城门

村田治郎辅以另一证据支持该理论，他提到负责修建新都的有一位名叫也黑迭儿的外国建筑师。这确有其事，而且除了也黑迭儿以外，还有其他一些外国建筑师受雇参与建城。[38] 但是需要注意，负责汗八里主要规划的并非外国人，而是汉族人刘秉忠。据记载，刘秉忠通晓中国经籍，受命负责宫廷的礼仪事务。可以推测，他是希望保留汉族传统的。[39] 事实上，由于他的个人偏好，他负责规划的新城几乎体现了中国都城理想体系的所有基本特征，而这些东西早在最晚成书于公元前一世纪的中国重要经典著作《周礼》中就阐明了："方九里，旁三门。国中九经九纬，经涂九轨。左祖右社，[40] 面朝后市，市朝一夫。"[41]

此处可以看到，都城的规划在遥远的中国古代便已有形制设定，而这一理想体系在兴建汗八里时得到了切实贯彻，只有稍许修改。汗八里最重要的建筑物，如皇宫、太庙、社稷坛以及主要市场等，均按此理想布局排列，也就是说，皇宫位于中央，太庙、社稷坛分布左（东）右（西），市场居后。[42] 尽管汗八里并非严格的正方形，尽管其北城墙上只有两座城门而非三座，但是，可以说它依旧保持了理想体系中最根本的格局。汗八里的皇城确实不在城市中心，但这一微小变动是为适应地理条件所致，因为如前文所述，皇城位置是由湖的位置决定的。而且，由于金中都城仍在旧址，大城正南并无什么剩余空间可以利用，所以，皇城也必然建在大城的南半部。

汗八里主要街道的排列与理想规划几近一致。《周礼》中言及的"方格网"得以完美实现。由此可见汗八里规划的来由是多么古老。这绝对是一座中国的城市，正是在这座城市的规划中，有关古代都城规划的经典思想在中国历史上第一次得到了充分的体现。[43]

3 人口及其分布

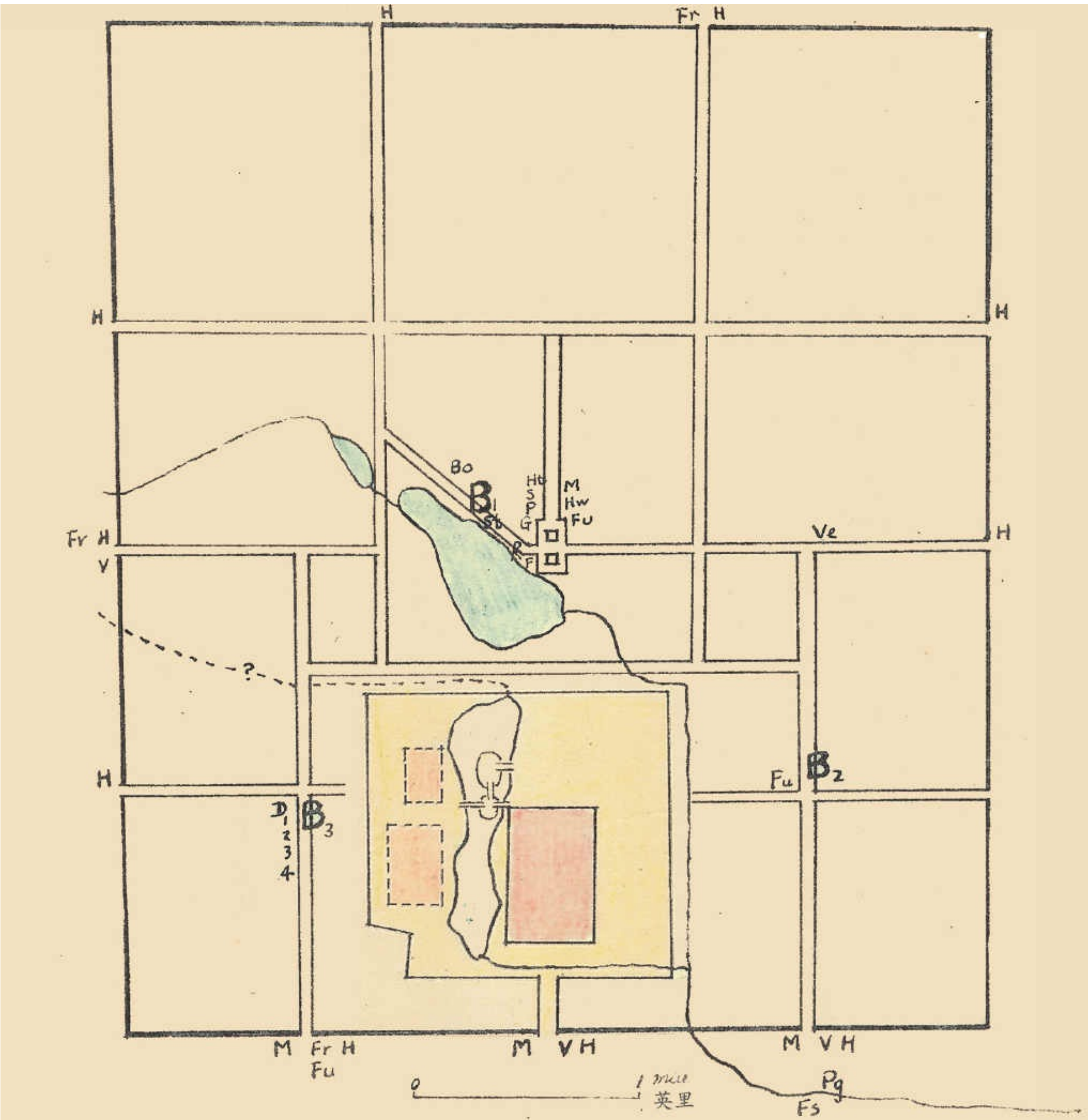
汗八里规模宏大、规划有序，其实际居住人口有多少则是另一个有趣的问题。据马可·波罗描述，“汗八里房屋之多、城墙内外人口之众，似乎完全超出了可能。”[44] 但遗憾的是，他并没有给出任何具体数字或估算，中国史料中也无相关记载。但有一点是确定的：旧城里依然有很多居民，其总数超过迁往新城的人数。马可·波罗还写道：“每一城门之外均有一片关厢……关厢面积广大，所纳人口多于城内。每座城门外的关厢都向两侧延伸，直至与邻厢相连，同时都绵延至城外三、四英里（约4.8—6.4公里）。”[45] 笔者并不认为汗八里每一关厢大小一致，如马可·波罗所说的那样按照同样的形式扩展，因为他的记叙不加评判，似乎有些夸张。但是可以想象，汗八里的西南郊必定异常宽广，因为汗八里正是在这里与金中都旧城相连接。中都旧城仍保留着最初的形状，其边界由四围城墙清晰廓定，在当时中国的文献记录中它被称为南城，常常提及。随着时间的推移，旧城居民自然而然地向新城流动。最终，中都外郭城墙的东北段已不再起防御保卫作用，而是成了一道障碍，并且事实上已经断开。汗八里南城墙外及中都城墙东北角外的区域已然成为现代北平城不可或缺的一部分，惯称外城（或称南城，西方人称为汉城）。外城的规划与今位于汗八里原址上的内城（或称北城，西方人称鞑靼城）的齐整规划形成了鲜明对比。[46] 外城唯一的突出特征是贯穿城西部的东西向笔直长街，这条街道很有可能指示了一条消失已久的辽、金旧城的大街原址所在。因此，如果说如今北平内城这种整齐的规划是植根于过去的话，那么外城的无序也可以从过去寻根溯源。[47]

当然，我们关注的还不是汗八里郊外或旧城的人口，而是这座精心

规划的城市本身的人口。要查明汗八里城内居民人口总数已不可能，但是其相对分布情况并非完全无法知晓。因为，居民整体情况可从坊的分布上看出来。12年前（1936），中国营造学会会员王壁文撰写了《元大都城坊考》一文，尝试对坊的原址逐一进行研究。他发现，元代早期的50个坊里，只有19个无法确定位置。[48] 元代后期，坊的总数又增加了25个，其中无考的只有9个。 [49] 根据他的研究结果，笔者绘制了一幅地图，标识这47个位置可考的坊分布情况。笔者在绘制这幅地图的过程中有进一步的修正。（图30）

尽管由于75个坊中有28个无法确定位置，所以根据这幅地图所作出的推论需要有所保留，但是，如果从上图中挑出三个显著的坊分布密集区域，似乎一目了然。三个区域均以一个十字路口为中心，且都临近一组都城中最为重要的礼制建筑群。第一区域位于皇城正北，其十字路口矗立着钟楼、鼓楼，这里也是大都城的几何中心。第二、三个区域分别位于皇城东西，前者临近太庙，后者则在社稷坛周边。

此外，汗八里的集市和市场大多数分布在这三个区域里。据记载，全城共有三个集市。一个在第一区钟鼓楼以西；另一个可能位于第二区十字路口稍北；最后一个紧邻第三区十字路口南边。[50] 另一处记载则提到，城内共有四十多个市场，经营各种不同商品。[51] 其中大多数都可大致确定位置，可参见以下图示。（图31）



B	Bazaar 集市	F	Flour 面市	Hw	Hardware 铁器市
Bo	Boots 靴市	Fr	Fruit 果市	M	Miscellaneous articles 杂货市
D	Domesticated animals 牲畜市场	Fs	Fish 鱼市	P	Poultry 鹅鸭市
1	Sheep 羊市	Fu	Fuel 柴炭市	Pg	Pig 猪市
2	Horse 马市	G	Pearl, Precious stones, 沙剌市	R	Satin 缎子市
3	Cow 牛市		Silver. Gold 金银市	St	Stationary 文籍市
4	Camel 骆驼市	H	Hay 草市	V	Vegetable 菜市
5	Mule and Donkey 驴骡市	Ht	Hats 帽子市	Ve	Vehicles 车市

Markets which cannot be located: Grocer's market (1), Fuel and Hay market (2), Vegetable market (1), Miscellaneous market (1), Poultry (Pigeon) market (1), Coal market (1).

Besides, there were three markets in the old (i.e. Chin) city and one market in the west suburb which are not indicated here.

另有若干不能确定位置的市场，有柴草市、菜市、杂货市、鸽市、煤市等。此外，位于老城（金中都）内的三个市场和一个位于西郊城外市场未能在图上标明。

图31　汗八里城内集市分布图

从下图可以看出，城内集市最集中的是钟鼓楼周边，这里无疑是全城最重要的贸易中心，大多数商品在这里都有出售。[52]除此之外，上文提及的第二、三区域的两个十字路口则可以视作两个次中心，其中第三区的路口基本上是一个牲畜市场。城外，在每座城门附近才有市场，乡下的农民们可以把蔬菜、水果、燃料[53]、干草之类的农产品运到这里方便地出售，以满足城市居民的需求。这类市场中，最重要的位于南城门外，如上文所述，未经规划的居住区已经在那里形成。

总的来说，汗八里城中人口似乎不是均匀地分布的。与靠近皇宫的区域比较，北城的居住人口应当最少。依据皇城位置，又可将南城分为三块，分别就是上文讨论过的第一、二、三区。正是从这样一种分割，最终产生了沿用至今的习惯称谓，即北城（皇城以北地区）、东城（皇城以东地区）、西城（皇城以西地区）等。

4 全国的中心

元朝统治者不仅兴建了新城，而且还使其成为中华帝国真正的都城。蒙古人与先前的契丹人、女真人不同，他们不是只占领了国家的部分领土，而是征服了全国。这是中国历史上首次由非汉族统治者建立的全国范围的政权。

本研究已经阐明，作为早期居民点的北平本质上是一个边疆城市，它不仅位于华北平原最北端，而且还是从南方延伸过来的古代大道的分叉点，一条向北，另一条通向东北。十世纪起，北方游牧民开始持续入侵，在这个漫长时期，北平则主要是中原王朝北疆防御的前哨，和中原地区向北方、东北方征战的军事基地。但是，契丹人占领幽州之后，于938年将其作为陪都，情况便发生了根本性的变化。从那以后，北平便不再是一个中原地区的边疆城市，而是变成了游牧民族据以向南入侵的一个政治中心。随着游牧民族在中原地区占据农耕土地比例的增加，其重要性也随之提升。当蒙古人最终征服全国的时候，这座城市成为统一大帝国唯一适合的都城，因为这个大帝国既容纳了南方的农耕百姓，也容纳了北方的游牧民族。此处，让我们来看看地理条件在历史背后所发挥的功用。对于北方的游牧民族征服者来说，这里确实是一个非常便捷的行政中心，通往北方高原和南方平原的条条大路在这里会合。虽然地处平原，但实际上，这座城市仍处在高原地区目力所及之处，从这里，蒙古人既可轻易地与其故土保持直接联系，又可对中原地区实施全面控制。[54] 也正是因为这个大帝国的建立，汗八里才成为一座伟大的首都。因此，L. W. 莱德（L. W. Lyde）说，“北京是中华帝国全盛时期的最佳中心。”[55]

虽然从政治角度来说，这座城市位置绝佳，但它距离当时的主要经济中心长江流域太远了。自唐朝（618—907）以来，长江下游地区便已经发展成了中国有史以来最重要的农业区。[56] 正是依靠这一地区的经济资源，北宋、南宋两朝才有能力与辽、金入侵者经年持久地作战。在元统治者最终征服全国、国家恢复和平的时候，他们发现，国家税收必须主要依赖长江下游地区，税收的主要表现形式便是中国历史上所称的“漕粮”。[57] 但是，如何将“漕粮”从数百英里以外的长江下游运输到汗八里，是一件让人非常头疼的难题。这也不是一个新问题了，金朝统治者也曾面临过同样的问题，只是程度较轻罢了。当时他们占据了华北大平原，需要从平原的其他地区运送小麦及其他粮食供给中都城。如前一章所述，他们依靠兴建水运系统解决了这个难题。元朝统治者仿照金朝的做法，实施了一个更加雄心勃勃的计划——将汗八里与长江下游联系起来。如隋朝时的工程一样，元朝人将一系列河道开凿成运河，经进一步改进后，便有了今天的大运河（图43）。如此一来，大运河便成为连接北方新兴政治中心与南方经济中心的一条至关重要的纽带，这条纽带持续了几百年，历经明、清两朝。[58] 元朝时，海运也曾在内陆运河之外用来输送漕粮；但是海运船只仅能到达今天津港附近，货物还要在这里转装运河船只才能运抵京城。不过，我们这里主要关注的并非整个运输系统，而是那段将汗八里与通州以北的白河连接起来的大运河末段。前一章已经提到，金朝统治者已在中都和通州之间开通了一条运河，其供水的主要来源是高梁河。但是，兴建汗八里时，不仅高梁河下游河段被圈进城墙以内，而且其主要水源玉泉山泉水也由人工开凿的金水河引流，完全注入皇城内的湖里。[59] 因此，高梁河的水量大大减少了，极有可能变成了一条微不足道的河流，只能依靠瓮山（今称万寿山）脚下的小湖获得一点补给，为当地灌溉提供少量水源。[60]

因此，汗八里开始兴建二十多年后的1291年，杰出的工程师郭守敬上奏元朝皇帝忽必烈，提出修复由都城通往通州的金代运河时，必须寻

找新的水源。[61] 郭守敬提议修筑一道与北平湾西面大致平行的水坝，将位于汗八里西北约20英里（约32.2公里） 的白浮村附近的神山泉水导流，先向西，后向东，跨过双塔河与榆河，最后全部汇入瓮山脚下的瓮山泊，再由瓮山泊注入高梁河。[62] 可以想见，有了这一新的水源之后，便有可能沿着汗八里皇城东墙开挖一条新渠，将金代运河故道下游河段与高梁河上游河段连接起来，以重开连接都城与通州之间的金代运河下游河段。这一工程于1293年成功实施，沿着整条运河共修建了18个水闸。由此，白河上面的船只便可到达位于汗八里中心的积水潭（今什刹海）。当时，忽必烈看到湖面上布满船只，大为欢喜，遂将运河正式命名为通惠河。[63] 下图为笔者重绘的通惠河全貌。[64] （图32）

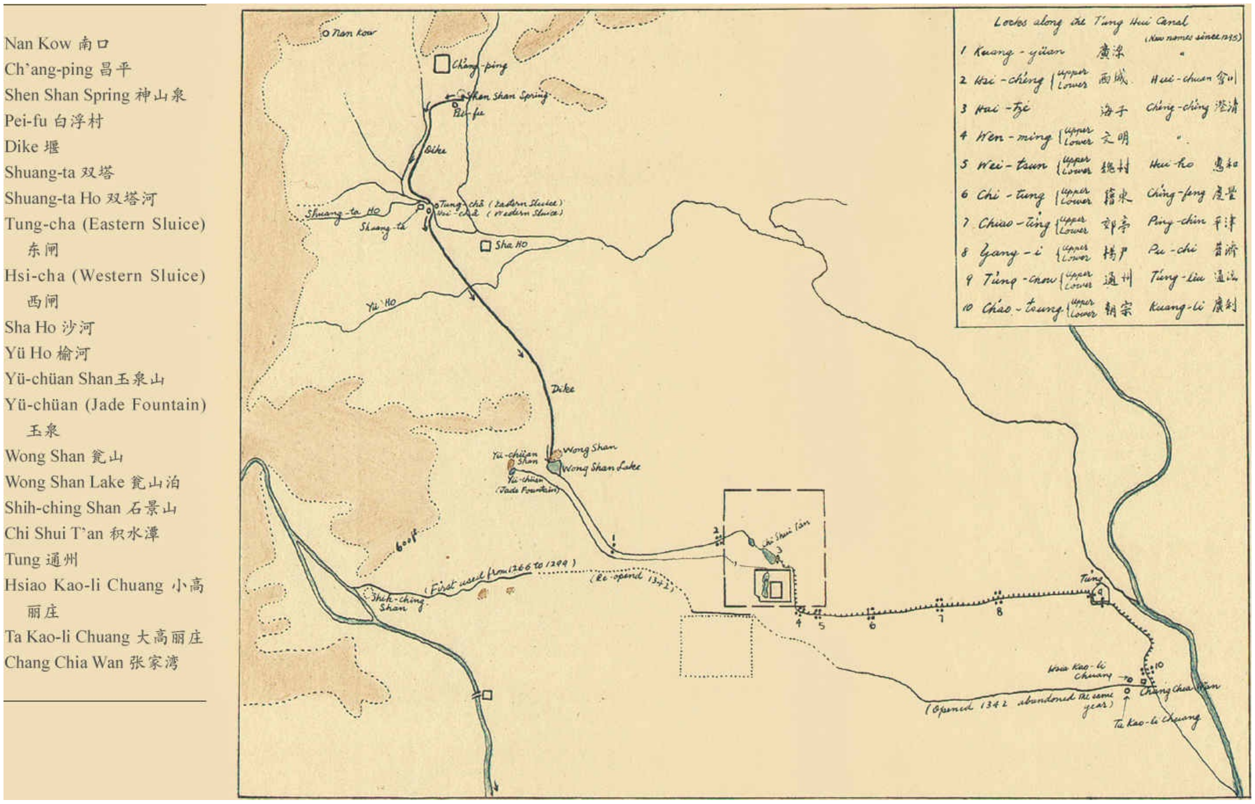


图32　元朝通惠河河道与沿线水闸分布图

元朝期间，对通惠河的维护、修缮一直没有间断。[65] 随着闻名于世的中国大运河水运系统的发展，通惠河也随之变得更加重要。这个系统不仅是政府漕粮供应的生命线，而且也是南北交通的主要途径。如此一来，除了沿着太行山修建的古代大道之外，历史上首次在平原上有了一条持久的交通线。这条新开发的通衢使得交通更为便捷，华南及南洋各地的货物源源不断地流入京城。[66] 如果说太行山东麓大道使蓟城这一聚居地得以产生，那么，现在这条贯穿大平原心脏地带的新水道则给汗八里这一王朝的中心带来了政治的稳定和经济的繁荣。

第八章　明清（1368—1911）北京城（1420—1911）

蒙古人在中原的统治仅维持了很短一段时间，1368年，元朝被明朝（1368—1644）所取代。这是自公元907年大唐王朝覆灭后，汉人首次对中原领土恢复完整的统治。然而，经过相对和平与繁荣的二百五十余年之后，明朝统治再次受到另一支北方游牧民族入侵者的挑战。满洲人使汉人统治的王朝再一次覆灭，他们建立了中国历史上最后一个帝制政权——清朝（1644—1911）。明清两朝均以汗八里作为它们的永久性都城，也正是在这两个朝代的统治时期，汗八里更名为北京，进入了它发展的黄金时代。

研究这一时期这座城市的地理情况，有四个方面特别值得注意：皇宫和城市的重建、皇家园林的兴建、人口的增长与分布以及与漕运相关的水源供应问题。本章将对这几个问题逐一进行论述。

1　皇宫和城市的重建

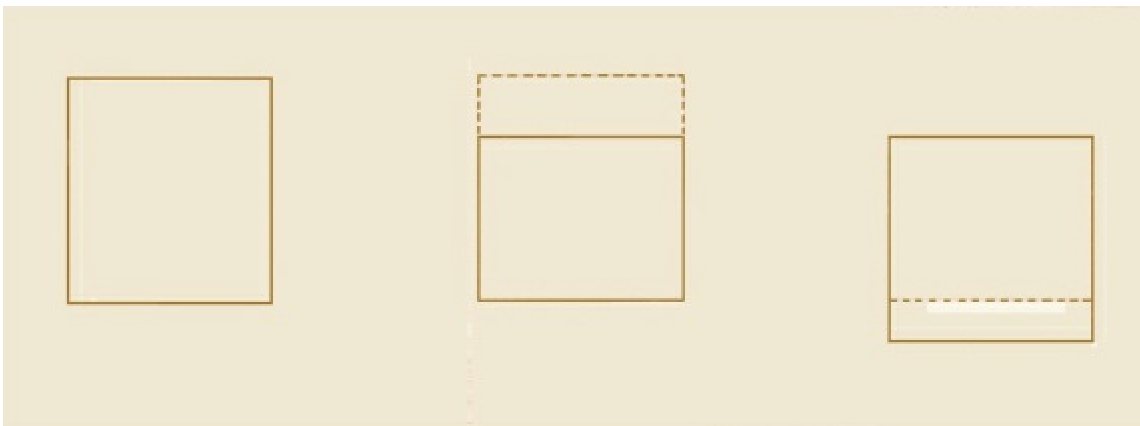
A　北京重新成为首都

汗八里于1368年被明朝军队占领，并立即降至普通的府级行政区，更名北平府，取平定北方之意。明朝当时建都南京，那里紧邻开国皇帝崛起的地方。两年之后（1370），明太祖将北平赐给了封为燕王的第四子朱棣。[67] 但燕王直到1380年才前往封地。[68] 19年后（1399），燕王在北平举起反叛大旗，向继承了父亲皇位的侄子宣战，进军南京。他于1402年夺取南京，登上皇位。次年（1403），他下令将北平更名为北京，但明朝廷直到1420年才正式迁至北京。[69] 自此以后，直至二十世纪初，北京一直是中华帝国的都城，前后持续近五百年。燕王将其都城迁往北京，原因十分明显：首先，这里是其个人权威最先确立的地方；其次，他充分意识到，必须镇守北方边疆，确保安全，否则国家便无和平可言。因为蒙古人虽然已被驱逐至长城以外，但仍然是一个巨大的威胁。因此，迁都北京后不久，明朝便在长城沿线建立了九个军事重镇，史称九边。长城本身，尤其是北京附近的地段，也得到了空前的修整，这项工程所取得的成就令世界为之惊叹。历史学家认为，明朝倘若没有迁都北京，或许也无法维持其统治达二百多年。

B　改建大城

元政权于1368年在汗八里覆灭，1420年这里又被明朝重新确立为都城，在这短短几十年的时间里，这座城市及其宫殿经历了诸多变故。首

先，1368年蒙古人被驱逐出汗八里后，由于北城墙被南移了约两英里（约3.2公里），城市面积缩减，因而拆除了东西城墙上的两个北城门——光熙门和肃清门。[70] 这样做或许是由于元朝时从未有人实际在城北居住过，这一点在前一章已有所论述。而城市面积的缩减，必定会使卫戍部队的巡逻和守卫容易很多。[71] 但是，不久之后，1419年，南城墙又向南扩展了约半英里（约0.8公里），使城市北部缩减的部分得到了一些补偿。[72] 此后，城市范围便没有再变动过。以上变化，如下图所示：



元汗八里（1267–1368）　明北平府（1368–1419，1403以后改称北京）　明朝都城北京（1420–1553）

然而，南城墙向南扩展并不像缩减北城墙那么简单。首先，扩城致使在汗八里旧城正南与南城墙平行的通惠河河段被圈入新建城墙内。[73] 第二，扩建城市所影响的地区并非空地，而是没有统一规划的人口稠密区，与规划有序的汗八里旧城形成了鲜明对照。[74] 于是，通惠河这一段残余的河床及其周围无规划的街道布局，被包括进了城市内部（这片新并入的地区在此后的几个世纪恰好是最少改建的），至今仍可辨识。如参看古地图，便可能获得更清晰的图像。幸而在抗日战争时期，北平故宫博物院保存的文件当中发现了一幅绘制于1750年比例尺为1：650的京城详图。[75] 图中，今已部分消失的通惠河河道遗迹及其周围街道杂乱的布局，均清晰可见。以下是该图的简化图。（图33）

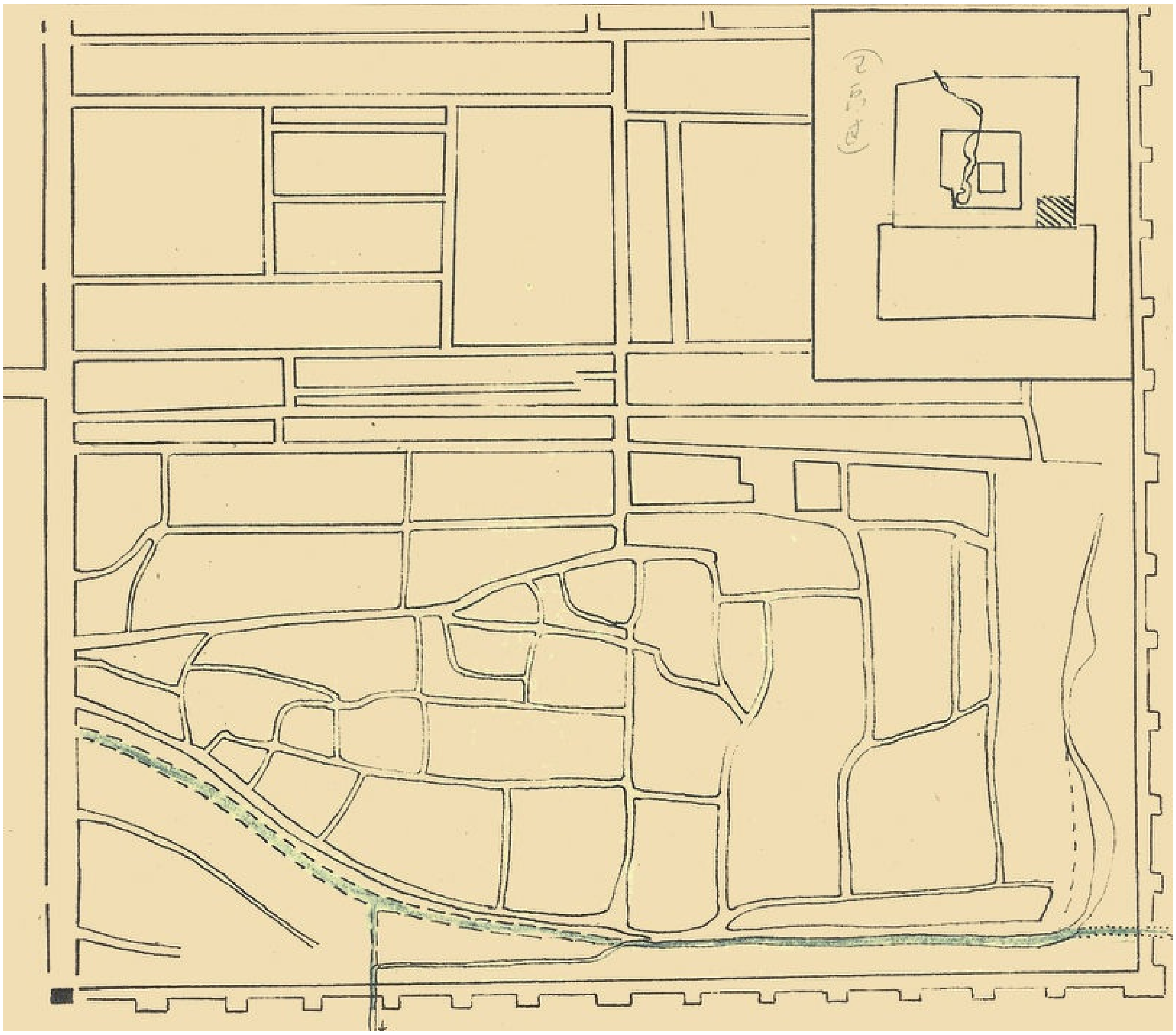


图33　明清北京城内通惠河遗迹分布图

C　重建皇城

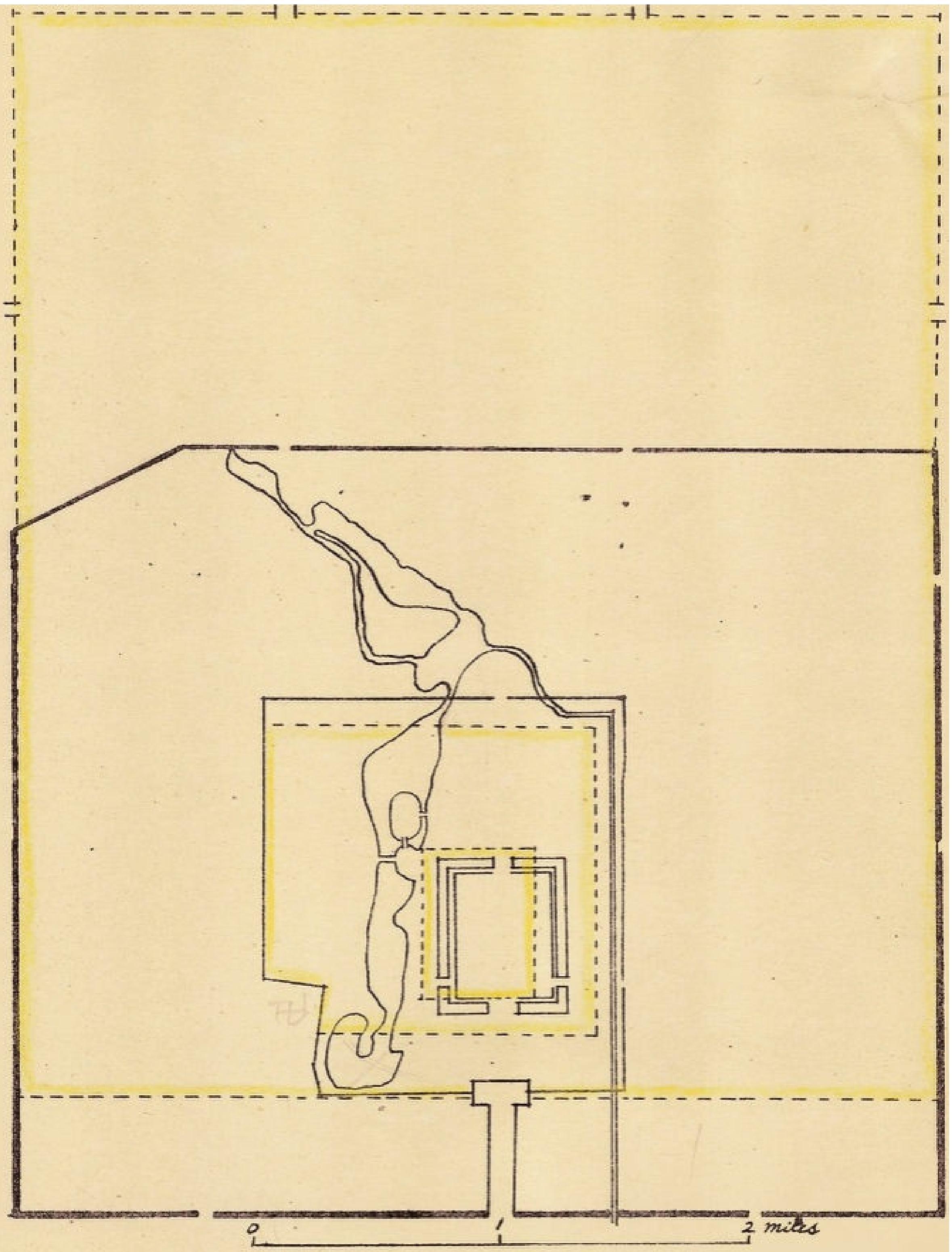
当时，为何要将城市向南扩展，似有些蹊跷。若是城市作为都城显得太小，那么将北城墙移回其原址要容易得多。但这个问题的答案并不在城市的大小，而在于整体规划的进一步修订。规划的修订就始于对汗八里皇城的重建。

汗八里皇城的重建意味着两大工程，一是皇宫的重建，二是宫墙的

挪移。下面对这两个问题逐一讨论。

皇宫的重建

明朝军队于1368年攻占汗八里时，位于湖西岸的两座宫殿兴圣宫和隆福宫几无受损，因此在1370年至1403年间曾用作燕王府。[76] 但湖东岸的皇宫则在汗八里失陷后，被明朝统治者下令立即拆毁。[77] 此举或许是因为明朝统治者认为，这样可以破坏前朝的“王气”。1403年燕王即位后，便在汗八里及被拆毁的元皇宫旧址上开始了大规模的重建。[78] 最终，新皇宫于1420年建成，四周围以护城河，称为“紫禁城”，一直保存至今。与元皇宫相比，紫禁城北面稍有内缩，但向东有少许扩展。[79]（图34）如果说新皇宫北边的缩减不值一提，那么，其东移则引发了一个重大的变动，这意味着对全城最初规划的根本性调整。我们知道，元皇宫恰好处于汗八里东西城墙正中，因此皇宫的中线亦即大城的中线，标志着全城几何中心的钟楼也建在这条轴线上。随着明皇宫东扩，以上设计就不成立了。为什么要作这样的改变呢？答案有两个方面：第一，由于1368年汗八里北城墙进行过南移，钟楼已不再是大城的几何中心了，因此，早在重建皇宫很久之前，汗八里在布局结构上所遵循的某些指导原则便已被忽略。其次，缩减皇宫面积时，明朝统治者尚无意图将汗八里立为国都，也没有明确规划要重建这座城市，但是，当1403年燕王登基下令对汗八里及元皇宫进行重建，使其成为新都时，便需要制订一个新的规划了。从皇宫和钟楼的位置移动便可看出新规划遵循的原则，因为钟楼、鼓楼是在原址稍东重建，东移的距离与皇宫东移的距离相等。[80] 换言之，新的钟鼓楼仍旧位于新皇宫的中线上，只是这不再是原汗八里的中线了。城市中线移动的原因是，积水潭位于旧皇宫与旧钟鼓楼之间的中心位置，旧的中线为积水潭“阻断”（见图29），而新中线移至湖的东岸后，新皇宫与新钟鼓楼之间就没有任何地形上的障碍，于是便可以从皇城北门至钟鼓二楼之间规划一条通衢了。（见图35）



-------- *Khanbalig* 汗八里

——— *Peking of Ming (North City or Inner City of to-day)*

明北京城（今北城或内城）

图34　明北京城与汗八里的相对位置图

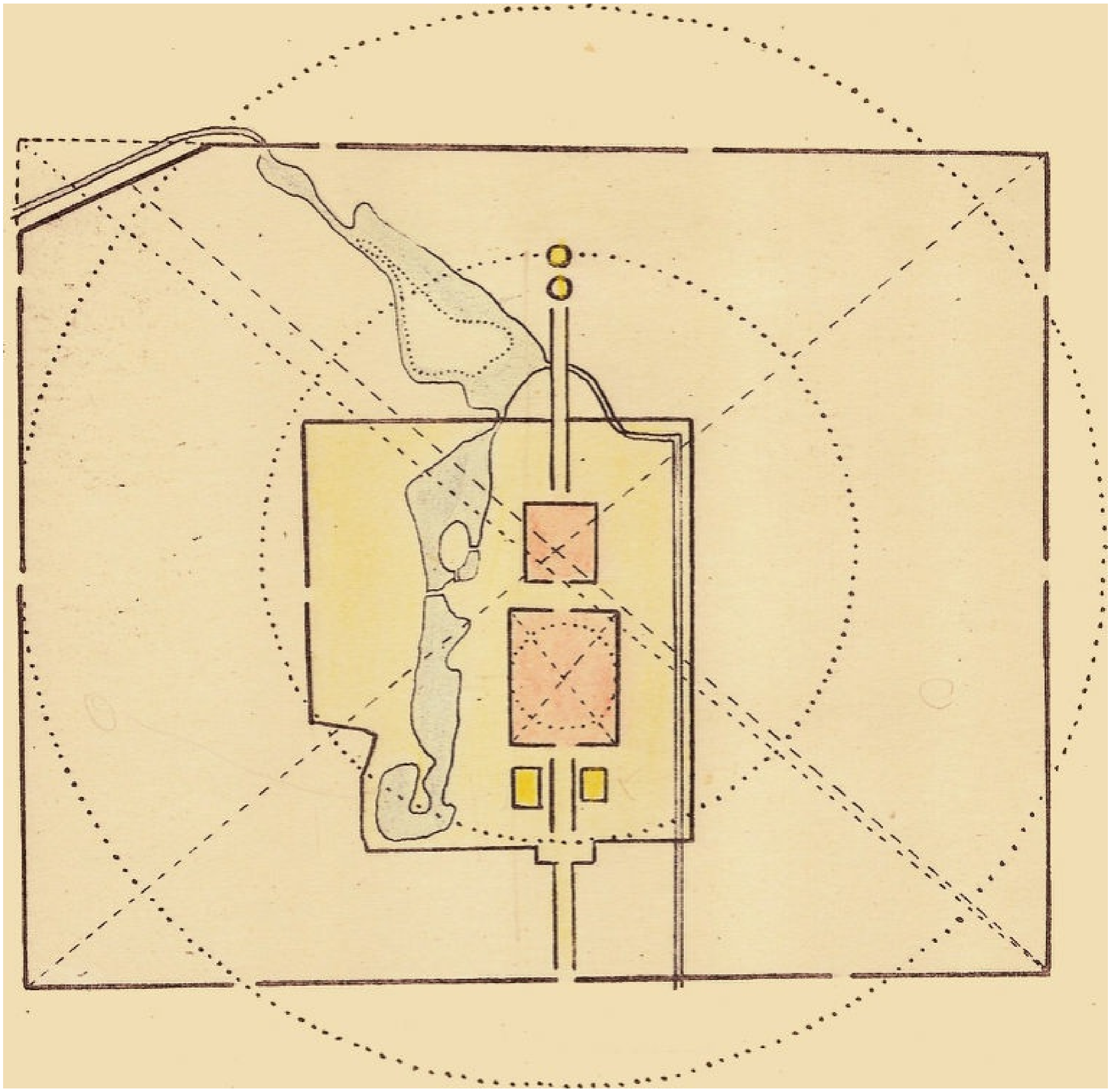
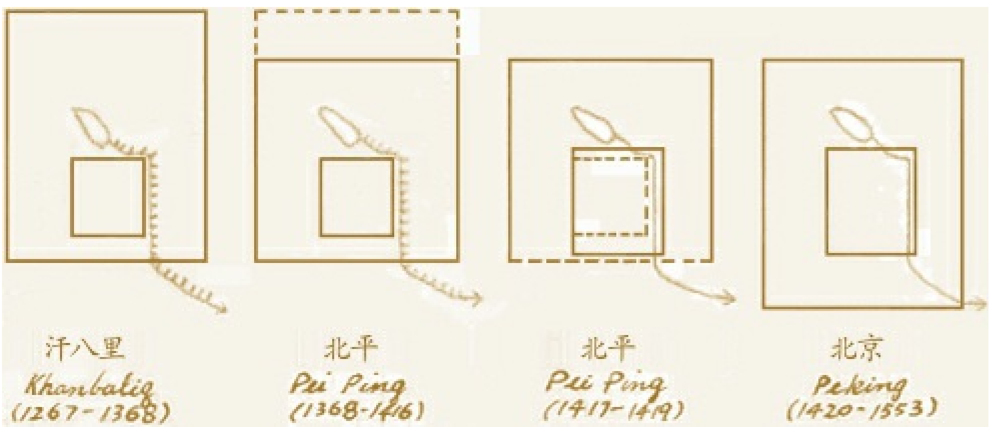


图35　明清北京城内城的平面设计图

这条中线的位移，对了解明北京城的重新发展极其重要，因为这条线最终成为了整座新城的中轴线（见下文论述）。

宫墙的挪移

根据文献记载，汗八里皇城东墙向东扩展是确凿无疑的。这一点《春明梦余录》里即有记载，“至永乐（燕王称帝后所用年号）十五年改建皇城于东，去旧宫可一里许。”[81] 西墙是否也在同时挪动过，由于没有任何记载，所以不得而知，或许西墙仍保持不变。北墙也作过进一步扩建，但却并没有明确记载。[82] 最后，谈一谈南墙。虽然亦无文献记载，但南墙向南挪移则是毋庸置疑的事。原因是，我们发现保留至今的明皇城南墙，几乎就建在汗八里南城墙原址上面，即今天的东西长安街上。正是由于明皇城的向南扩建，汗八里大城的南城墙也被迫向南移至现今前三门的位置。这一点在下图中显示得更为清楚一些。



如此，至1420年，一座内有新皇宫外有新城墙的新城便诞生了，它的总体外观与汗八里稍有区别。这座新城，即明代北京城，正是今天所称的北平内城，只有几个城门的名称变了，具体情况可参考上面的图示。（图34）

皇城向南扩建的另一个结果是，紫禁城前方的空间大大扩展了。而且，正是在这片新扩展的空间上，进行了对汗八里基本规划的另一个重大改动，即太庙、社稷坛的重建。太庙在东，社稷坛在西，它们的相对位置仍然保持不变。[83] 两组建筑均于1420年竣工。[84] 太庙、社稷坛之间是由大城正门直通皇宫正门的御道。这条御道修建的位置，也恰好与确定新钟鼓楼和新皇宫位置的中轴线重合。皇宫正北，同样还是在这条

轴线上，用初建紫金城时开凿护城河挖出的泥土堆起了一座人工小山，[85] 高二百余英尺（60余米），起初称万岁山，后改名景山，也常被称为煤山。[86] 这座小山的意义不仅仅在于它提供了一个鸟瞰皇宫的最佳位置，而且它几乎是这个全新城市规划的几何中心。在这里，这座新城富有想象力的设计达到了极致。（见图35）因此，到1420年北京城的重建按计划完成时，人们看到，新规划的所有重要建筑都以这条南起大城前门、北至钟鼓二楼的直线为中线东西均衡对称分布。这种沿着中轴线布局的几何图案之美尤其引人注目，这一布局一直保留至今。[87] 从下面这幅图中可以看出明北京城内城的布局。（图36）

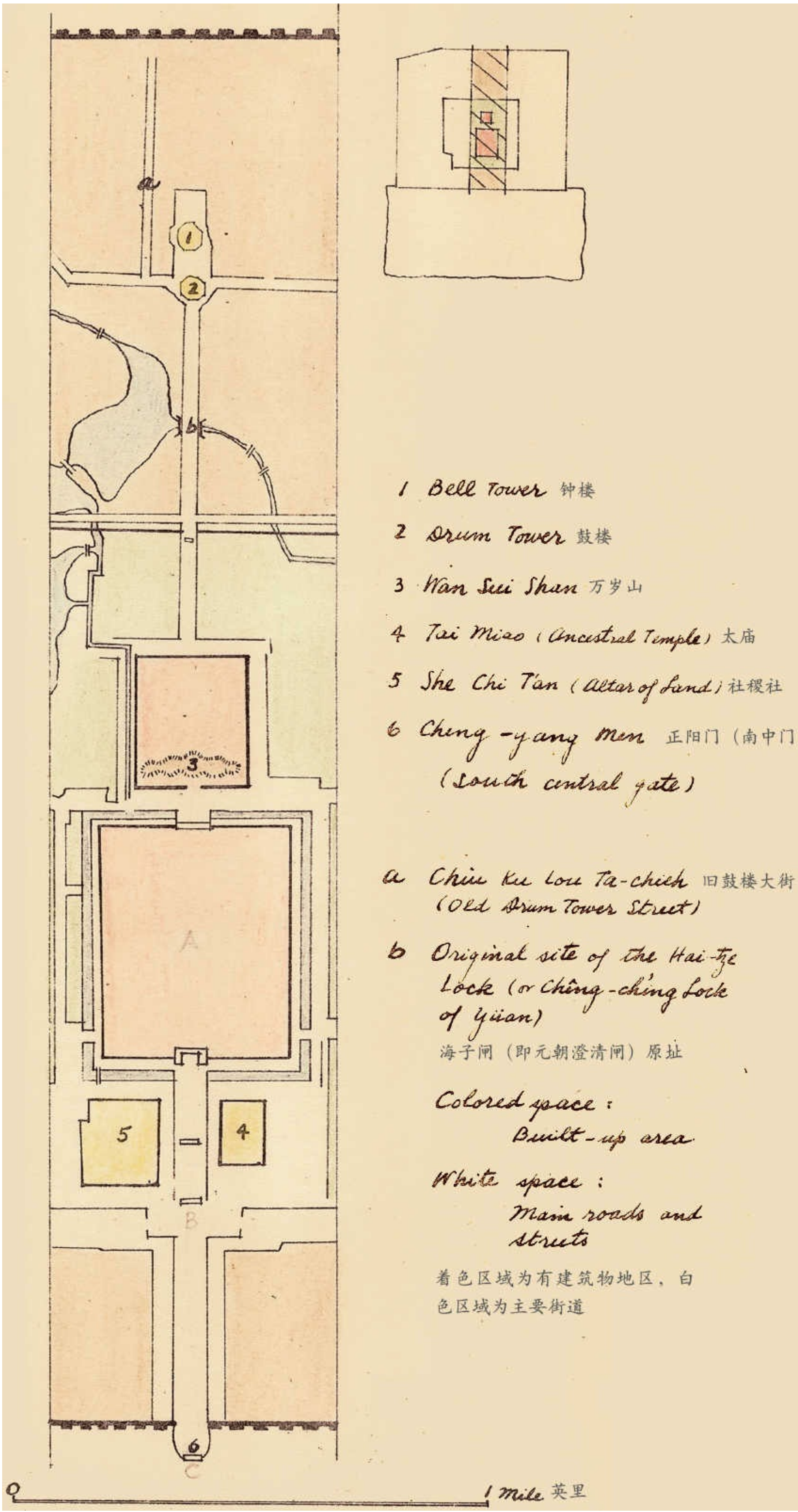

1 Bell Tower 钟楼
2 Drum Tower 鼓楼
3 Wan Sui Shan 万岁山
4 Tai Miao (Ancestral Temple) 太庙
5 She Chi T'an (Altar of Land) 社稷社
6 Cheng-yang Men 正阳门（南中门）
(South central gate)
a Chiu Ku Lou Ta-chieh 旧鼓楼大街
(Old Drum Tower Street)
b Original site of the Hai-tze Lock (or Ch'ing-ch'ing Lock of Yüan)
海子闸（即元朝澄清闸）原址
Colored space: Built-up area
White space: Main roads and streets
着色区域为有建筑物地区，白色区域为主要街道
A
B
C
0
1 Mile 英里

图36　明北京城内城布局

D　外城城墙的修建

最后再讨论一下今天的外城城墙修建的问题。如前一章所述，元朝的汗八里城正南地区是有居民区的，只是并没有明确的规划。1419年，汗八里的南城墙挪至现今位置时，这片地区仍部分位于新城之外。然而，次年（1420），另外两组重要礼制建筑——天坛、山川坛（今称先农坛）——也在此地以南建成，天坛在东，先农坛在西。前文提到的御道也由内城的前门向南延伸，贯通天坛、先农坛之间。[88] 随着这些礼制建筑的兴建，这片未经任何规划的聚居区也慢慢被容纳进城市本身的设计当中。但是，直至1553年，外城城墙才最终建成，将这片区域真正围入城市总体框架。[89] 至此，北平城今天所见的格局便已完成（图37），迄今未再作进一步的变动。[90]

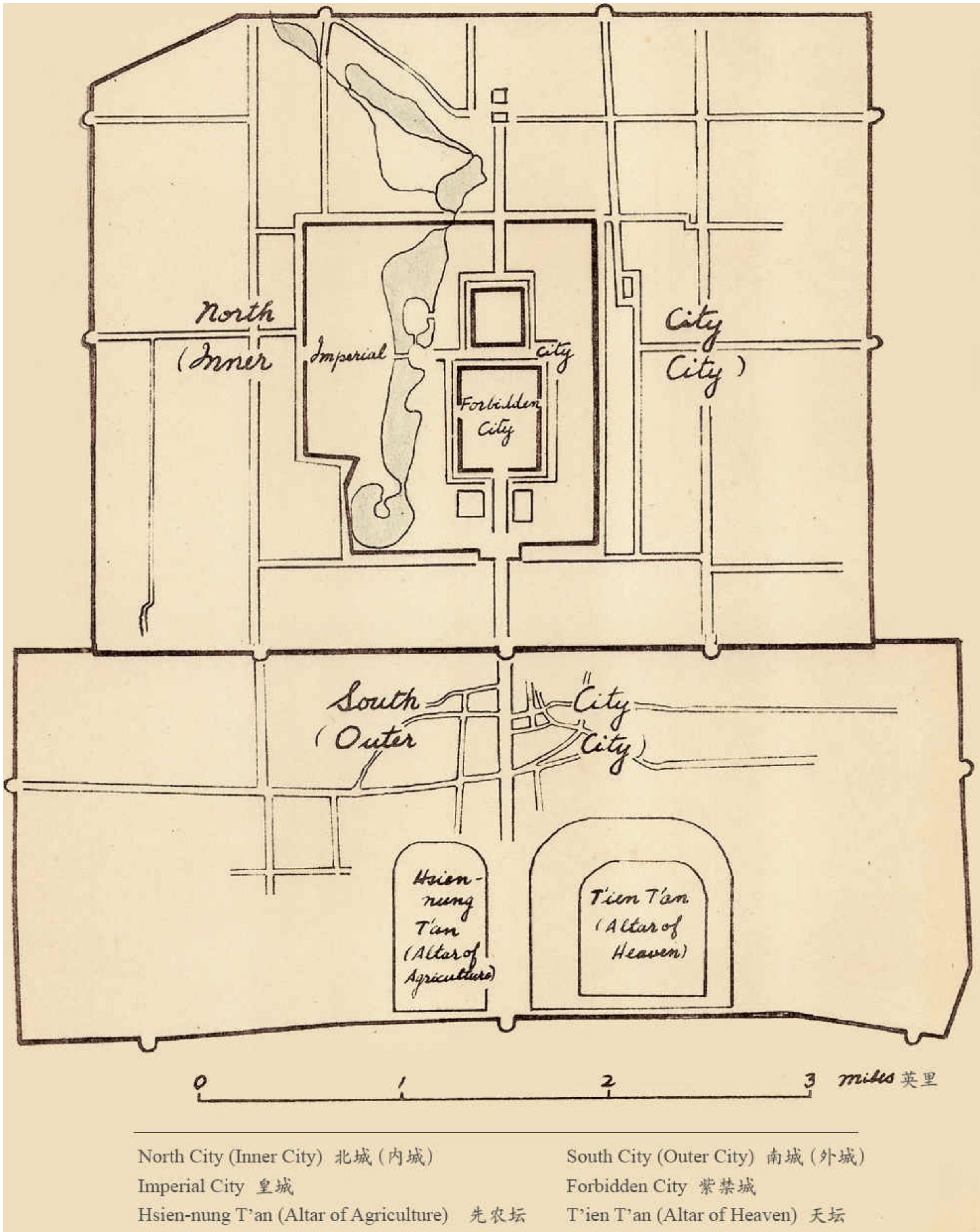


图37　明北京城的内城与外城

2　皇家园林的兴建

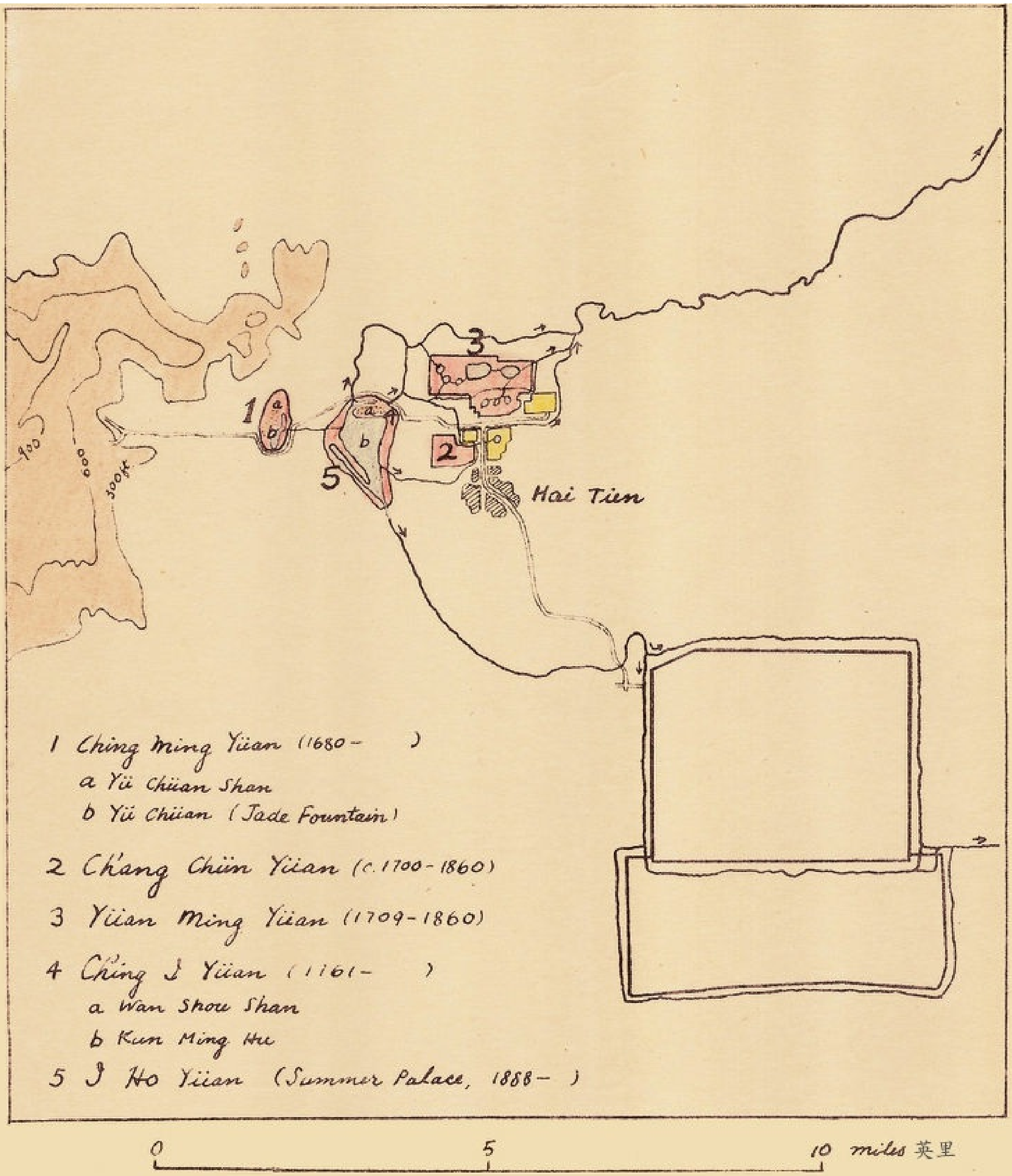
要全面研究明清时期北京的地理状况，必须提及城市近郊皇家园林的兴建。不过，在中国历史上，兴建园林绝不是都城建设的新特点。我们知道，确立了中央集权统治的秦、汉两朝，都曾在各自的都城——咸阳和长安——附近修建了规模宏大的苑囿和离宫。[91] 而且，汉代的长安城实际上就建在距离咸阳不远的秦代皇家园林原址之上，一如汗八里建在金代离宫原址上一样。但元朝统治者主要着力兴建汗八里本身，所以对近郊皇家园林的发展投入极少。然而，到了明代，燕王即位后不久，便计划在北京正南兴建一座方圆近四十英里（约64.4公里）的狩猎场——“南苑”。[92] 选择此处是因为这里有不少泉水湖泊，且草木丰茂，为飞禽走兽提供了一个理想的栖息地。[93] 可惜这里的自然风光算不上秀美，不论是当时还是现在，这座城市真正景色迷人之处，还是在城区与西山之间的西北郊。那里既有雄伟的山色，也有注入湖泊泉水的丰沛水源。在此需要说明一下，传统中国人心中的自然之美，山水是不可或缺的元素，没有山水，便无景观设计可言。

北京西北郊最重要的水源是今天所说的玉泉和昆明湖，它们分别位于平原上兀立的两座小山脚下。小山东面的海淀镇位于城西北约三英里（约4.8公里）处，周围地势开阔，土壤肥沃。明代时，这里点缀着一些达官显贵的私家园林，其中以李伟的清华园和米万钟的勺园最为著名。[94] 现今，正是在这两处园林的原址上，建立了现代中国的两所一流大学——国立清华大学（沿用了明朝园林的名字）和基督教会创建的燕京大学（取自这座城市的旧称）。其中，燕京大学尤以校园风景如画而闻名。然而，将这片地区大规模兴建成为皇家园林，使其有别于原来的私

家园林，则始于清代。1644年，清朝统治者从明朝手中接管了保存完整的北京城，除去定期的修缮和增建宫殿之外，北京城已无需大规模的新建了。因此，清朝统治者可以集中全部精力，以前所未有的规模在城外兴建供游览和休憩的皇家园林。正是由于他们持续的经营，如今的北平才得以拥有景色怡人的西北郊园林这笔丰厚的遗产。1680年，玉泉山脚下的静明园最早建成，[95] 接着是今燕京大学校园西面的畅春园，[96] 亦称为“前园”，这是因为1709年，在畅春园的正北规划了另一座规模大得多的园林，[97] 即著名的圆明园。圆明园内开挖了几处人工湖，在乾隆盛世（1736—1795）还修建了许多富丽堂皇的建筑。在一个多世纪的时间里，圆明园一直被用作清朝皇帝的夏季行宫，其景色之壮美，建筑之华贵，超过了城内的皇宫。然而，令人扼腕的是，畅春园和圆明园两处园林均于1860年毁于英法联军之手，[98] 如今只有废墟残垣。但这也促成了瓮山脚下另一座夏季行宫颐和园的兴建。

如前文所述，有关瓮山的文献记载始见于元代。山前是瓮山泊，元朝时作水库之用，为通惠河上游供水。明朝早期，惯称之为“西湖”，[99] 后来又名“七里泊”，或许意指该湖方圆七里。[100] 清朝皇帝乾隆继位后不久，敕令进一步挖掘扩建此湖，并以汉代都城长安近郊一湖为之命名，为“昆明湖”。同时，在山上修建了一座寺庙，恭贺皇太后六十岁寿辰，瓮山也因此被改名为“万寿山”。这一年是1751年。[101] 十年以后（1761），万寿山和昆明湖之间建成一园，名为“清漪园”。[102] 清漪园距原夏宫圆明园以西仅半英里（约0.8公里），因此，圆明园被毁之后，万寿山便于1888年被当时执掌实权的慈禧太后选作新的夏季行宫。[103] 她在万寿山阳面建楼台若干，湖光山色平原美景在此一览无余。环绕万寿山和昆明湖，还修建了一道约4英里（约6.4公里）长的石围墙，湖山辉映，构成了今天我们所知的颐和园。这座园子至今保存完好，在这里，我们可以看到，自然景致被赋予人性，精巧的园艺设计与众多建筑

物和谐为一，前有排云殿，后有佛香阁，渐至山巅。因此，葛德石（G. B．Cressey）教授说：“中国建筑艺术在北平郊外的颐和园达到巅峰。汉白玉栏杆、明黄琉璃瓦、镂花窗格、红漆圆柱，构成了这道世间罕见的美景。”[104]（图38）



Hai Tien 海淀

1. 静明园（1680— ）a. 玉泉山 b. 玉泉
2. 畅春园（约1700—1860）
3. 圓明园（1709—1860）
4. 清漪园（1761— ）a. 万寿山 b. 昆明湖
5. 颐和园（夏宫，1888— ）

图38　北京城西北郊皇家园林分布图

3　人口的增长与分布

A　明代人口的增长

人口的增长是明清时期北京发展中另一个值得注意的方面，北京人口增长始于明代初期因朝廷政令而引起的选择性移民。如前所述，汗八里城内在元代可能从未住满居民，随着蒙古人1368年的离去，明朝军队占领的汗八里想必已成了半座空城。[105] 虽然北城墙向南移动了两英里（约3.2公里），缩小了城市面积，但是对于当时的人口而言，城市仍旧过大。因此，燕王在1402年夺取皇位后不久，便连续几年颁布敕令，在十五省的至少十到十一个省份中挑选大量来自不同地方的富裕人家迁来以“实北京”。[106] 人口迁移过程中，肯定会掺杂政治原因，但在这里不打算论述。我们主要关注的是，到底迁来了多少人？这一点并没有确切的数字记载，唯一记录下的数据是，1404年从山西向北京迁移了一万户人家。[107] 倘若对旧时中国家庭作一个保守的估计，按平均每户五人计算，那么，一个省份仅一次便有五万人迁到了北京。[108] 加上前一年（1403）从其他十省迁入北京的人口，人口总数翻番是轻而易举的事情。[109] 仅依据这个大致的数字判断，北京在十五世纪初必定已是一个大城市，尽管其居民总数仍旧不得而知。

1420年，北京成为国都之后，其人口的稳定增长是可以想见的。随着明政府迁至北京，官员们也携带家口蜂拥而至。皇亲国戚和达官显贵在皇城内通常都有豪华宅邸，或由朝廷提供，或自行修建。[110] 孔子后裔亦由皇帝赐京城宅邸一处。[111] 此时，除了向京城移民以外，京城人口的大幅自然增长也是可以想见的。十五世纪前半叶是明朝的黄金时

期，京城和乡下的人们都过着相对平和富裕的生活，这反过来又为人口的增长提供了有利条件。然而，此后不久，明朝的统治开始衰落，蒙古人不断沿北部边疆进犯，北京也两受劫掠的威胁。[112] 有鉴于此，有官员建议修建外城墙以保卫城市及城南的居民。[113] 这一工程于1553年最终实施，建成了如今环绕外城的城墙。这些建议中有一篇包含了一些关于北京人口状况的有趣信息，时间是1542年，记载如下：

> 太祖定鼎金陵，既建内城，复设罗城于外。成祖迁都金台，当时内城足居，所以外城未立。今城外之民殆倍城中，宜筑外城，……且郊坛尽收其中，不胜大幸。[114]

此话涉及北京内、外城人口的相对数量问题，可信与否不易判断，因为并没有确切的数据可供计算。然而，这的确表明，自1420年以后，北京城的总人口是不断增长的。

B　清代人口的增长

1644年，满洲人攻占北京，将其立为清朝都城。原来内城及皇城里面的众多府邸，无论属于普通人，还是属于明朝官员，均为进京人数庞大的满洲征服者所用。[115] 四年后，清政府又颁布了新的法令，规定所有汉人，无论职业，一律迁至外城，内城专为满洲人使用。[116] 这样便出现了“鞑靼城”和“汉城”的传统说法，至今这两个词在西方人中还很常用。事实上，这种情况早已不复存在。汉人究竟何时重返内城居住，还很难讲。不过，早在1911年清朝统治结束之前很久，内城和外城均已有汉人居住了，[117] 如今“鞑靼城”这一说法已经毫无意义。今天的满族居民可能还会被辨认出来，但他们也会毫不犹豫地承认自己就是“中国人”。“中国人”在这里是指按中国人的方式生活，讲汉语，具有中国式

观念，加入中国人生活行列的人，而非坚持其自身生活方式的征服者。

随着清朝早期，满洲人迁移入北京，内城得到了充实，城市人口必定经历了突飞猛进的增长。但是，居民总数并没有任何记载，直到18世纪早期，才有了估算的数据。后来，法国著名耶稣会修士杜·哈尔德（Du Halde）来到北京，他估计北京的人口约为三百万。但是，德国汉学家克拉普罗思（J. H. Klaproth）在一百年后的著作中给出的数字不到杜·哈尔德所估计的一半，约一百三十万。此外，还有其他人的估计则介于这两者之间。[118] 十九世纪中叶，美国传教士、外交官、作家S.W.威廉姆斯（S. W. Williams）对北京和伦敦的人口作了一番粗略比较之后说："人们称北京人口有两百万，似乎并没有什么特别的理由加以反驳。"[119] 半个世纪以后，1905年，英国作家立德（Archibald Little）在其权威著作《远东》一书中，估计北京的人口在1900年之前为五十万，但这一估计似乎有些太过保守。[120] 同年，法国地理学家夏之时（L. Richard）估计这个数字在六十万到八十万之间。[121] 1908年，在夏之时的英文增订版著作里，有这样一句话："（北京）实际的城市里有居民人口在六十万至八十万之间。"[122] "实际的城市"这个说法似乎仅仅指城墙以内的城区，而不包括郊区人口。倘若如此，那么与民国初年首次人口普查报告作一个比较，便可看出这一估计数字还是比较可靠的。[123] 因为那一次的人口普查亦未考虑郊区的人口。请见下面的比较：

（1）夏之时的估计	1905年	600,000—800,000
（2）人口普查报告	1912年	725,235
	1913年	668,403
	1914年	769,317
	1915年	789,123
	1916年	801,136

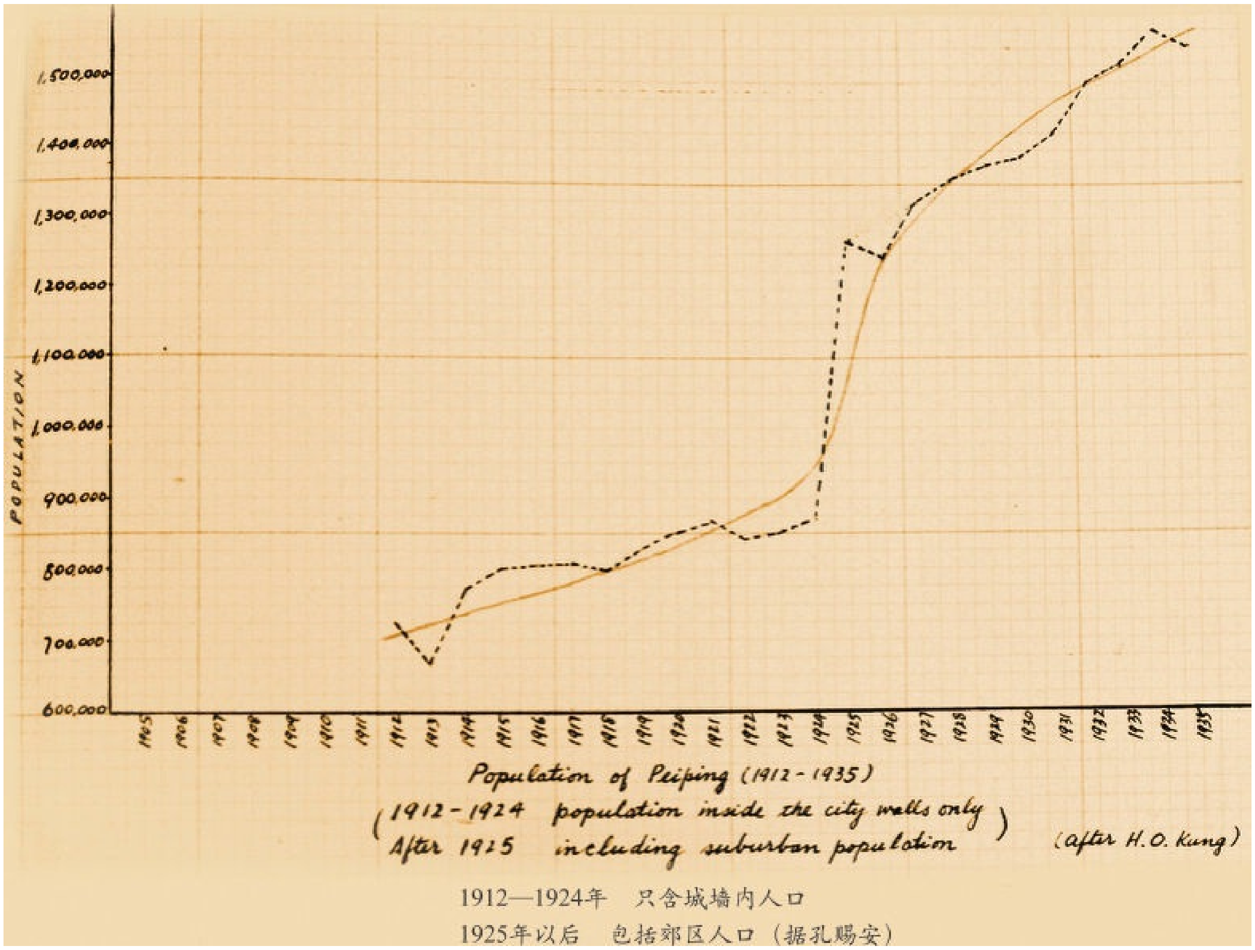


图39　1912—1935年北平人口增长曲线

1905年夏之时估计北京城内人口的时候，郊区人口总数有多少，笔者认为二十四万可能不算离谱。[124] 将这一数字加上夏之时对“实际的城市”人口的估计，再参考民国初年人口普查报告，便可以计算出1905年包括城墙内外居民在内的北京总人口约有九十万。民国初年，北平的人口达到一百万。上面这幅显示1912年至1935年北平人口增长情况的图示，可作为讨论这一问题的重要参考资料。

C　人口的分布

有关城内人口的分布情况，还要依靠民国初年的人口普查报告，这

份1917年的报告被认为是早期人口调查中最为准确的。报告显示，内城人口总数为482,861，外城则为328,695。[125] 由于外城东南部有大片地区民居稀少，所以外城建有住宅的地方平均人口密度实际上远远高于内城，这一点在图40中清楚可见。[126] 这幅地图在两个方面于研究有特别的意义，第一，只有少数的居民仍旧住在金中都原址东部未搬走，这里已并入如今的北平外城西段，因此，外城这片人口稀少的区域可以用“中都范围”（Chung-tu Pale）来形容。这片区域的人口密度与几乎为空地的天坛以东地区形成鲜明的对比。如果对于这个地区过去的地理状况没有了解，便很难理解今天的这一现象。第二，地图上的人口最稠密地区均出现在外城北部，而这里恰好位于原中都城东北角外和汗八里城正南。（如前所述，这片人口高度密集区的外城北部，自1420年起就被纳入了今北平内城。）最初，这里是无规划的聚居区，极易产生人口拥挤的情况，而人口拥挤又会给人留下这里的人口多于内城的印象。正因为如此，对于前述1542年提出的修建外城墙的建议中所说的，“今城外之民殆倍城中”，[127] 笔者深表怀疑。或许该建议中所表明的是人口密度，而非人口总数。

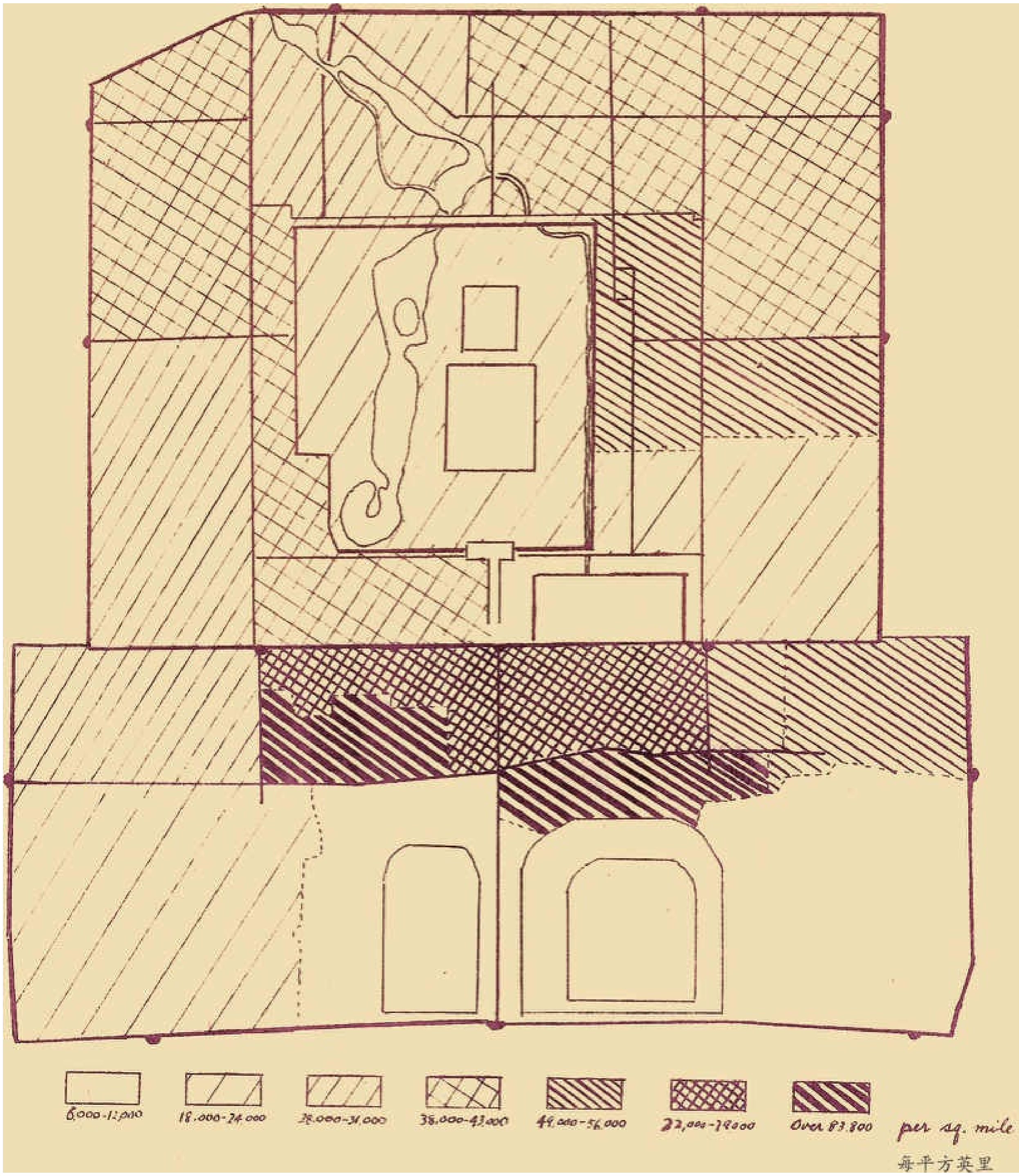


图40　基于1917年人口调查报告的北京人口密度图

造成这一地区人口密度高的原因，一定程度上是这里在清朝晚期，尤其是1896年修建京津铁路、1904年修建平汉铁路之后，变成了大型商

业中心，发展十分迅速。 [128] 这两条铁路均从内城正阳门外发车，一个起点在东，另一个起点在西，如下图所示。因此，外城的这部分便成为了现代交通的枢纽，这反过来又给城市的商业发展提供了巨大动力。图41中显示的民国初年城内的市场分布情况，无疑是前一时期持续发展的结果，这幅地图清楚地展现了这一地区在全城商业生活中的重要性。 [129] 将这幅地图与汗八里城内集市分布示意图（图31）作一比较便可以看出，此时内城市场分布与汗八里没有什么区别，汗八里的三个市场密集区，与此时虽然不是完全吻合，但基本上是一致的。实际上，随着时间推移，城市商业生活也有了进一步发展，最初的一些市场已经开始让位于常设的店铺，一些新的购物中心也开始出现。这些新的购物中心专门建在两条或多条主要街道相交的位置（十字路口或丁字路口），或紧邻城门的大街上。这幅地图还显示，城市商业生活的重心已经从元朝的钟鼓楼周边转移到了如今的外城中北部。市场、商店、手工业作坊等等，全都汇聚在这里，令人称奇。清朝末年，夏之时还提到，外城“是工商业大汇集的中心”。 [130]

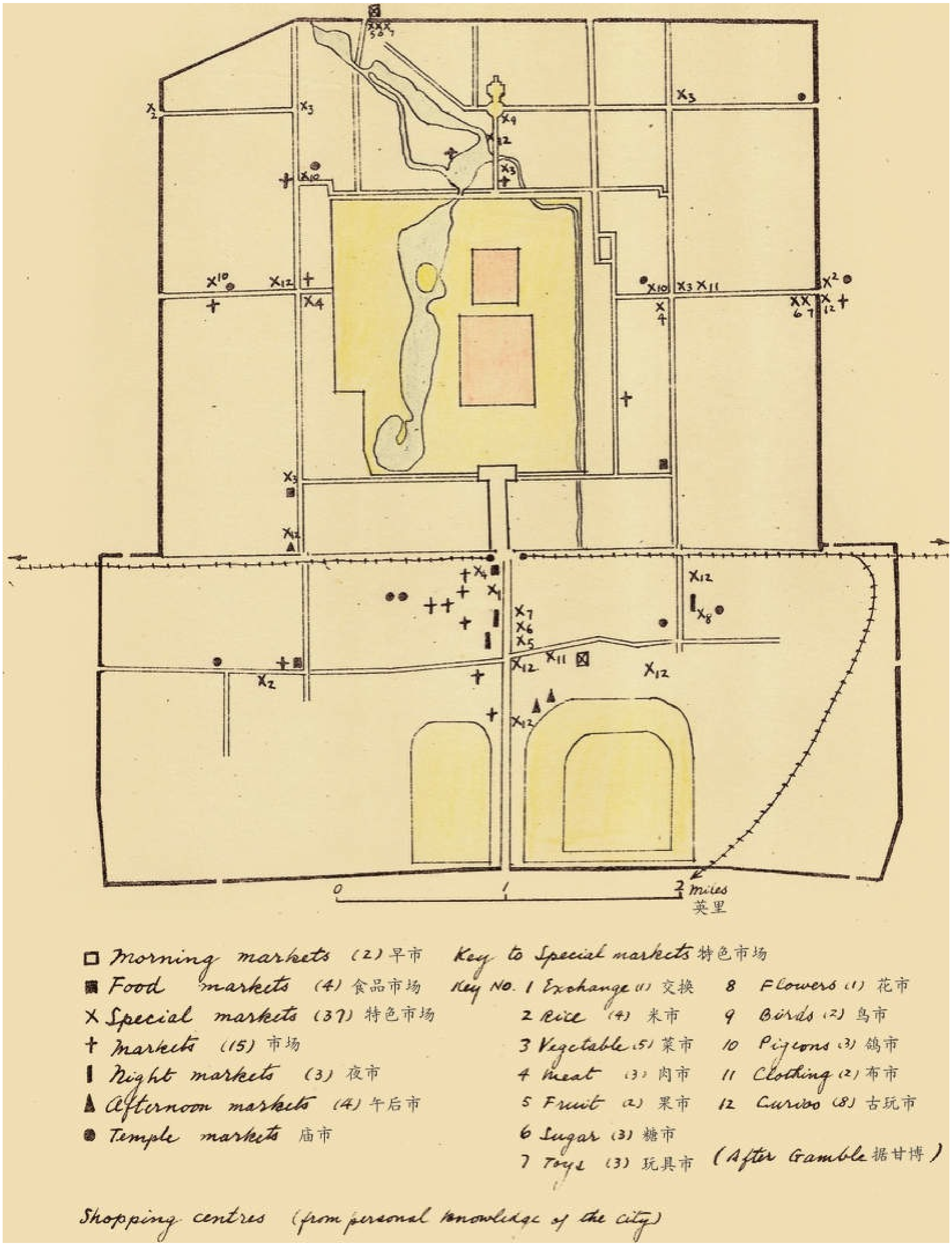


图41　民国初年北平集市分布图（据笔者记忆）

最后，应当指出，今北平城每一城门之外，均有一片关厢区，而外城以南的地方仍旧基本空置。这些关厢区的历史与相邻的城门历史差不多一样长。[131] 几乎可以确定，它们中的大多数在十八世纪中叶经历了一段快速发展时期，因为在1756年，清政府曾经颁布过一条政令，要求城内总共59家旅店、客栈统统迁至城外，且不得在城内再建。[132] 此规定是涵盖全城，还是仅指满洲统治阶层所据的内城，不得而知，其动机必定是政治性的。但是对于关厢而言，其影响则是显而易见的。

现今，东直门、朝阳门和西直门外的关厢特别值得一提（图42）。其中，东直门、朝阳门外的关厢连成一片，与城墙平行。之所以发展成这样，是因为在清代，这一带的护城河是用作运输漕粮的运河，而大部分货物均在这里转由马车通过这两座临近的城门运送入城。所以，赶马车运输的人们便自然沿护城河东岸住了下来，形成了一条与运河、城墙平行的直线地带。[133] 相比之下，西直门外的关厢却与其他关厢通常的发展形势不太一致，房屋并不是沿着出城大道修筑的，而是有向北发展的趋势。这种形式上的区别是由于民国建立前几年在城西北角外修建京张铁路火车站造成的。

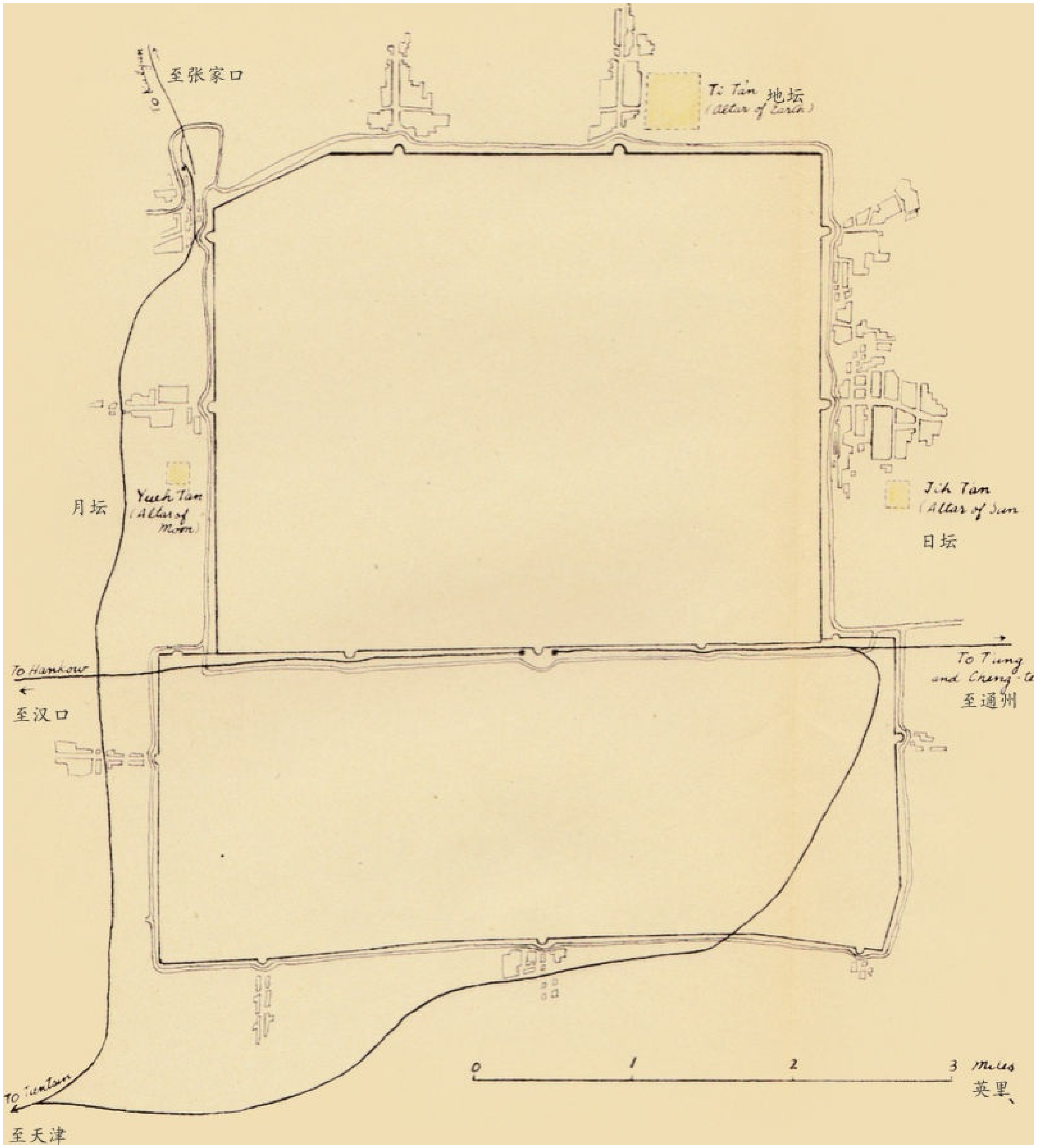
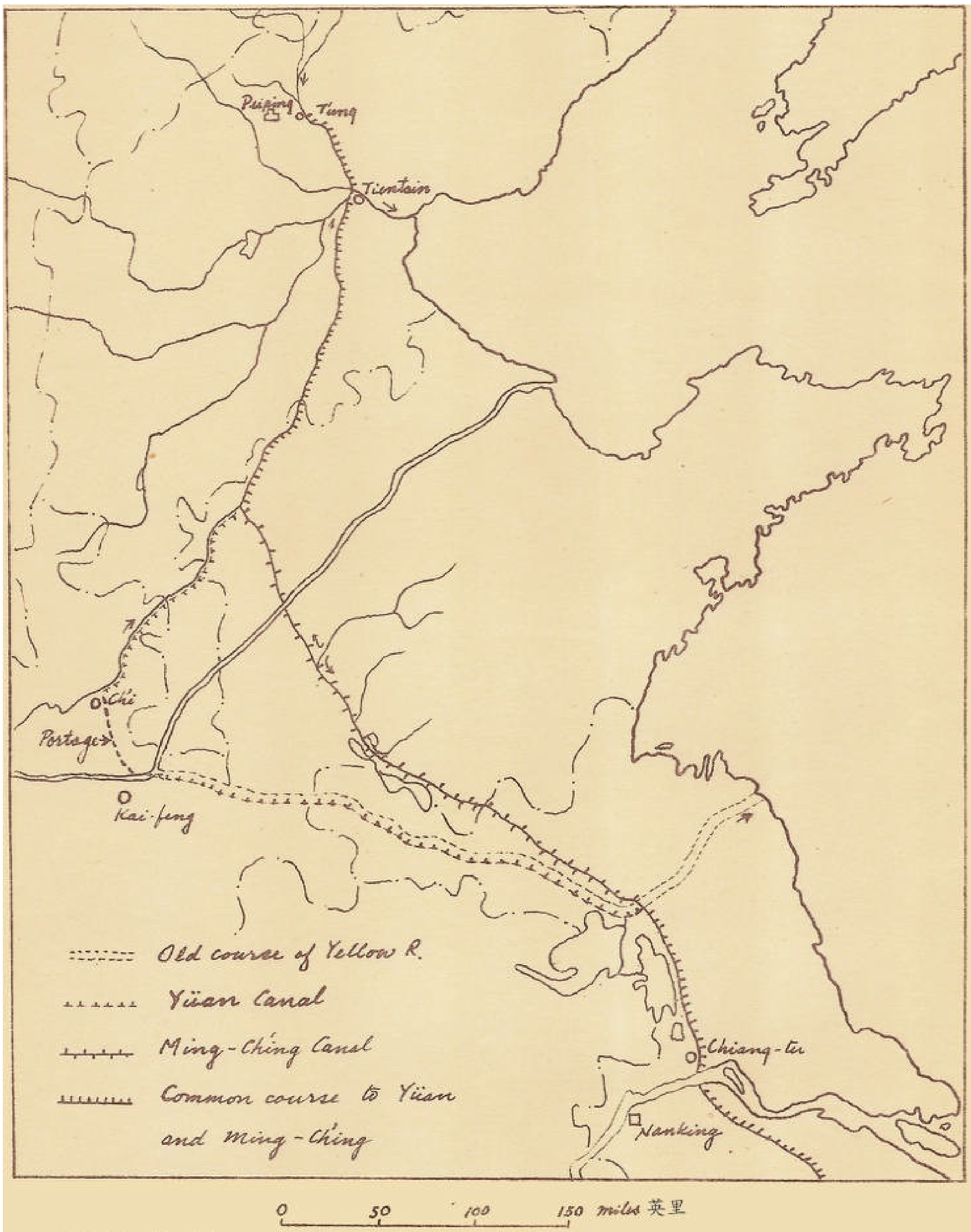


图42　北平城城门与关厢分布图

4　与漕运相关的水源供应

作为本研究的最后一节，笔者想再讨论一下明清时期北京地理的另一个侧面——与漕运相关的水源供应问题。随着北京作为明清两朝都城的持续发展，北京城对于漕运的需求较以往有更大增加。[134] 同元朝一样，明清时长江下游的农产量居全国之首，因此政府必须维持庞大的运河体系，从南方运输漕粮。两朝政府也都想尽办法，改进内陆水道——大运河，最主要的措施便是开挖新的河道以避开江苏、河南两省北部的某些黄河河段，它们曾经是元代整个水运系统中的重要环节。今大运河流经山东西部、江苏北部的河段，一直到明朝初期才竣工（图43）。[135] 北京地区的通惠河，作为这一巨型内陆水道的最后一段，也经历了很大变化。首先，明朝初期，朝廷尚在南京，通州与北京城之间的通惠河在很大程度上被忽视了。其次，燕王即位后重建北平城时，通惠河的一段被圈入了皇城的新东墙内，另一段则归入了新建的大城南城墙内。因此，大运河上的船只就不能像元代那样进入积水潭了。第三，通惠河上游从白浮村神山泉流入瓮山泊的这一段渠道状况极糟，元朝初年为将神山泉导引到瓮山泊而兴建的水坝也年久失修。[136] 最终，通惠河不仅失去了北面的水源，而且瓮山泊的部分水源，也因在到达瓮山之前就在青龙桥（此桥保存至今）水闸流入东北方的双塔河而有所减少，由此产生的这条新河流当时叫做清河。[137] 这是当时通惠河上游发生的非常重要的变化，从图44上可以看得更清楚。因此，当北京在明朝时又一次成为都城，来自长江下游的漕粮运输再次恢复时，通惠河已好景不再。所有漕粮必须从白河上的张家湾用马车运至北京，花费巨大。因此，便有了1479年通惠河的重修，[138] 但是，其水源供应仍然非常有限。由于神

山泉已无水可供，便引玉泉山泉水向其东侧相距近半英里（约0.8公里）的瓮山泊注水。或许就是因为这一变化，原来沟通玉泉与皇城内湖的金水河逐渐干涸。[139] 与此同时，为保证运河的水源供给，关闭了青龙桥水闸，阻截了水源从瓮山泊流向东北的清河。[140] 但是运河通航仅仅两年，便因其效率不高而于1481年遭到弃用。[141] 此后直至1528年，一直有人试图重开运河，但均无功而返。[142] 以后，张家湾至通州间的南河段被放弃，转而沿通州城以北的金代运河旧河床，开凿出一条比较近捷的河道。[143] 重开的运河虽然沿用了通惠河的旧名，但船只却无法再进北京城。所有货物都要在靠近北京城东南角护城河的大通桥边卸下来。大通桥横跨在运河上，卸下的货物从那里用马车转运至城内。



黄河故道

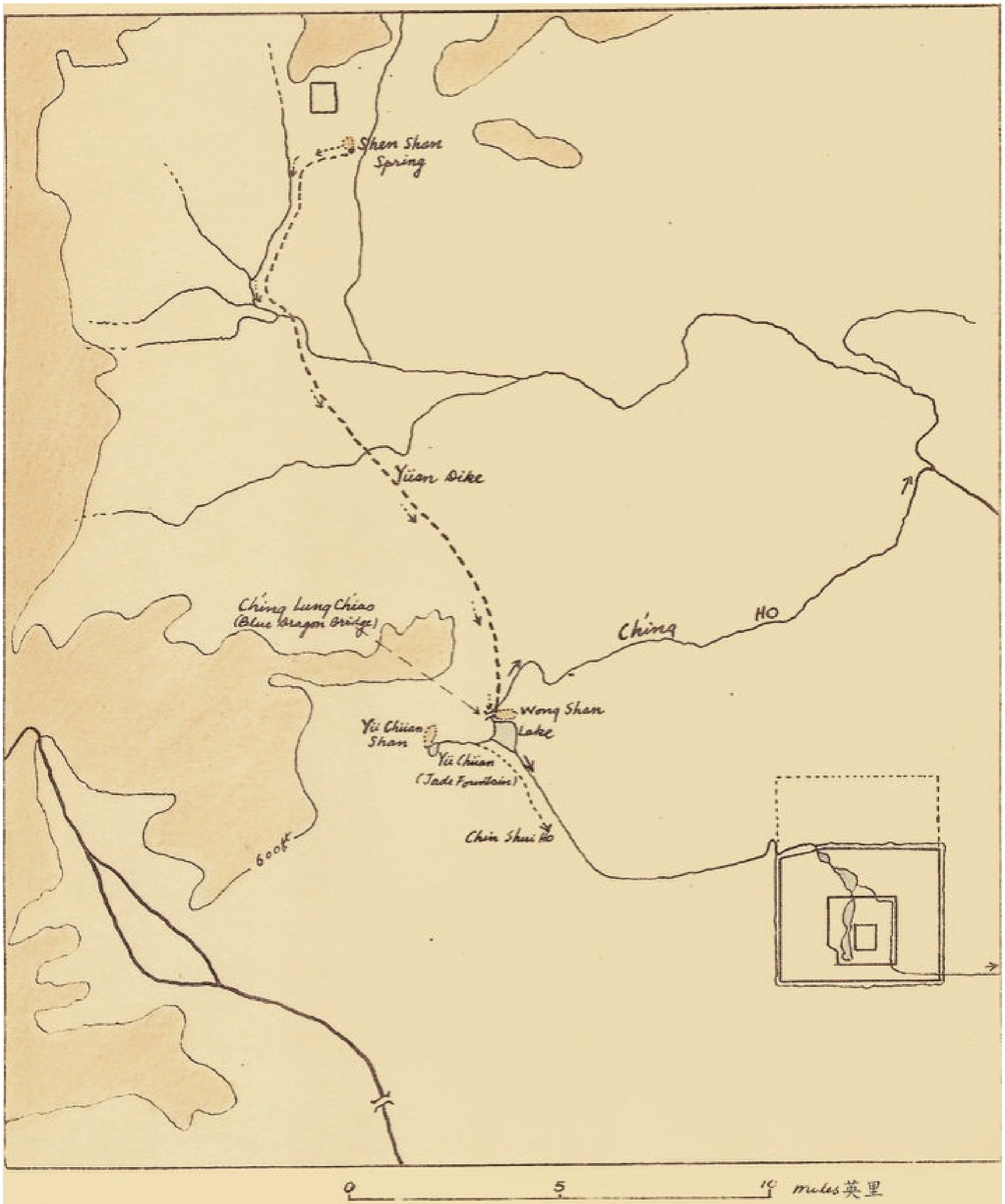
元代运河

明清运河

元代与明清运河重合河道

Peiping 北平	T'ung 通州	Tientsin 天津
Ch'i 淇口	Postage 水陆转运	K'ai-feng 开封
Chiang-tu 江都	Nanking 南京	

图43　大运河与黄河关系示意图



Shen Shan Spring 神山泉	Yüan Dike 元代水坝	Ch'ing Lung Ch'iao (Blue Dragon Bridge) 青龙桥
Ch'ing Ho 清河	Yü-chüan Shan 玉泉山	Yü-chüan (Jade Fountain) 玉泉
Wong Shan Lake 瓮山泊	Chin Shui Ho 金水河	

图44　神山泉与通惠河上游水道示意图

北京于1644年被满洲人占据成为清朝都城时，运输漕粮的系统整体维持如常，通惠河未再经历什么变动。唯一不同是，南来的货船只能行至通州，从这里再由小船将货物运至北京。同时，首次出现了“大通河”（或阜通河）这一新名称。[144]

大通河于1696年进行了大规模修缮。次年（1697），北京城东城墙外护城河的情况有了大幅改善，船只可以在两座东城门处卸货了。[145]然而，大通河水源仍旧一如明代，完全依赖玉泉，而玉泉水已完全导入瓮山泊。瓮山泊不仅要为运河上游供水，而且护城河、皇宫内外的湖泊也需要瓮山泊的水源，此外，点缀于新建的圆明园及附近园林中的人工湖，也要从瓮山泊引水。对水源的需求一再增加，但供水却十分有限。因此，1751年清政府实施了一项新工程，将西山两条常年流动的泉水全部注入瓮山泊，一条位于碧云寺庭院内，另一条则流经卧佛寺以西的山谷。两股山泉汇聚起来，分别通过石渠导入西山脚下的一座小水库中，接着，由另一条石渠将水引向正东，流入玉泉山脚下的小湖中，与玉泉相汇，再东流注入瓮山泊中。由于小水库到玉泉之间山体陡峭，所以石渠先沿着一道土堤修建，随后移至砖墙上。土堤与砖墙总长约一英里（1.6公里）。[146]（图46）与此同时，瓮山泊大规模扩建，以便大量供水，并改名为昆明湖。[147]这是历史上最后一次为解决漕运供水问题所作的尝试，但却无法与前人相提并论，它既无金代金口河的庞大规模，也比不上元代引神山泉入瓮山泊的惊人成就。如今，这些北平西北郊的引水槽已经成了废墟，很少有人注意到它们在北平历史上扮演过何等重要的角色。

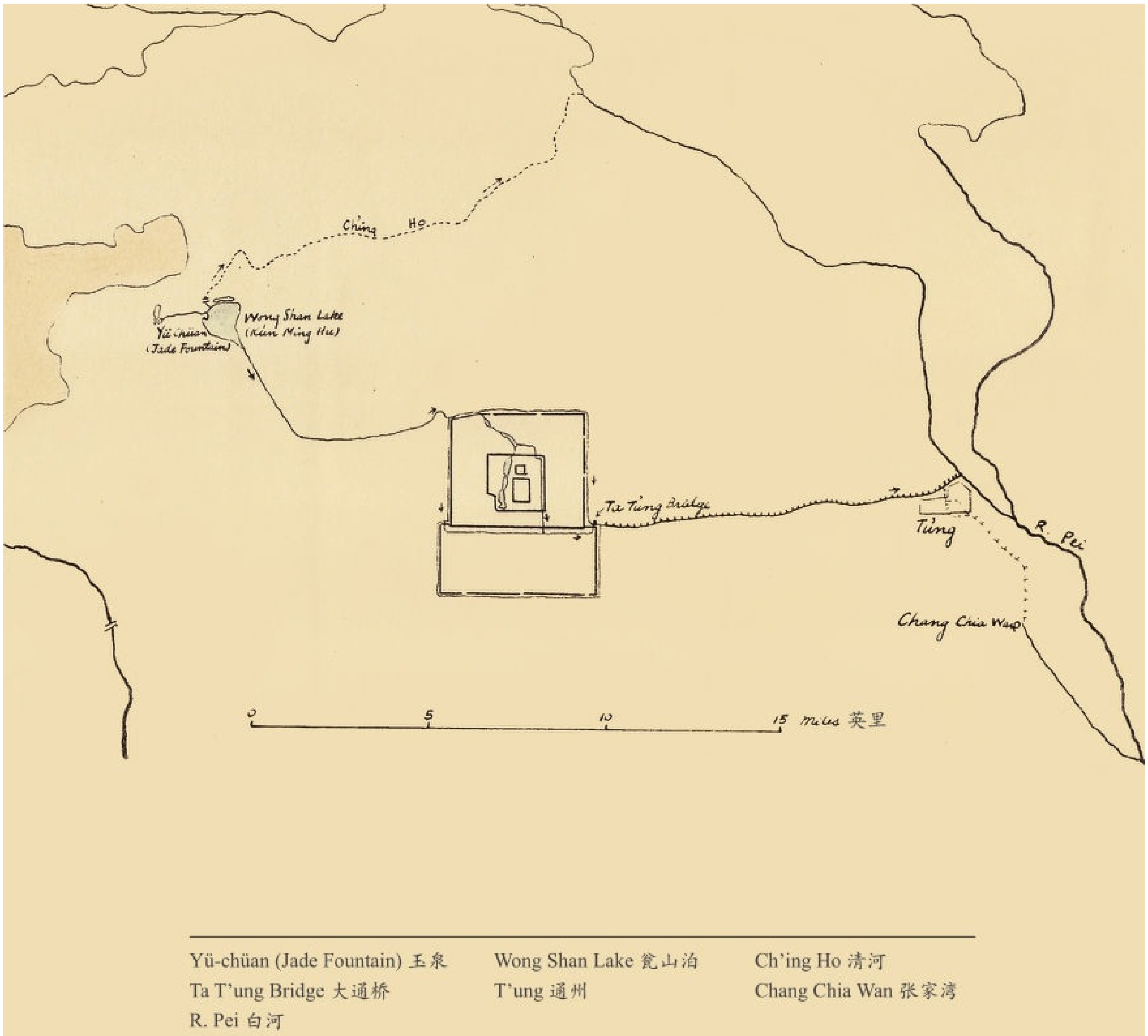


图45　大通河河道示意图

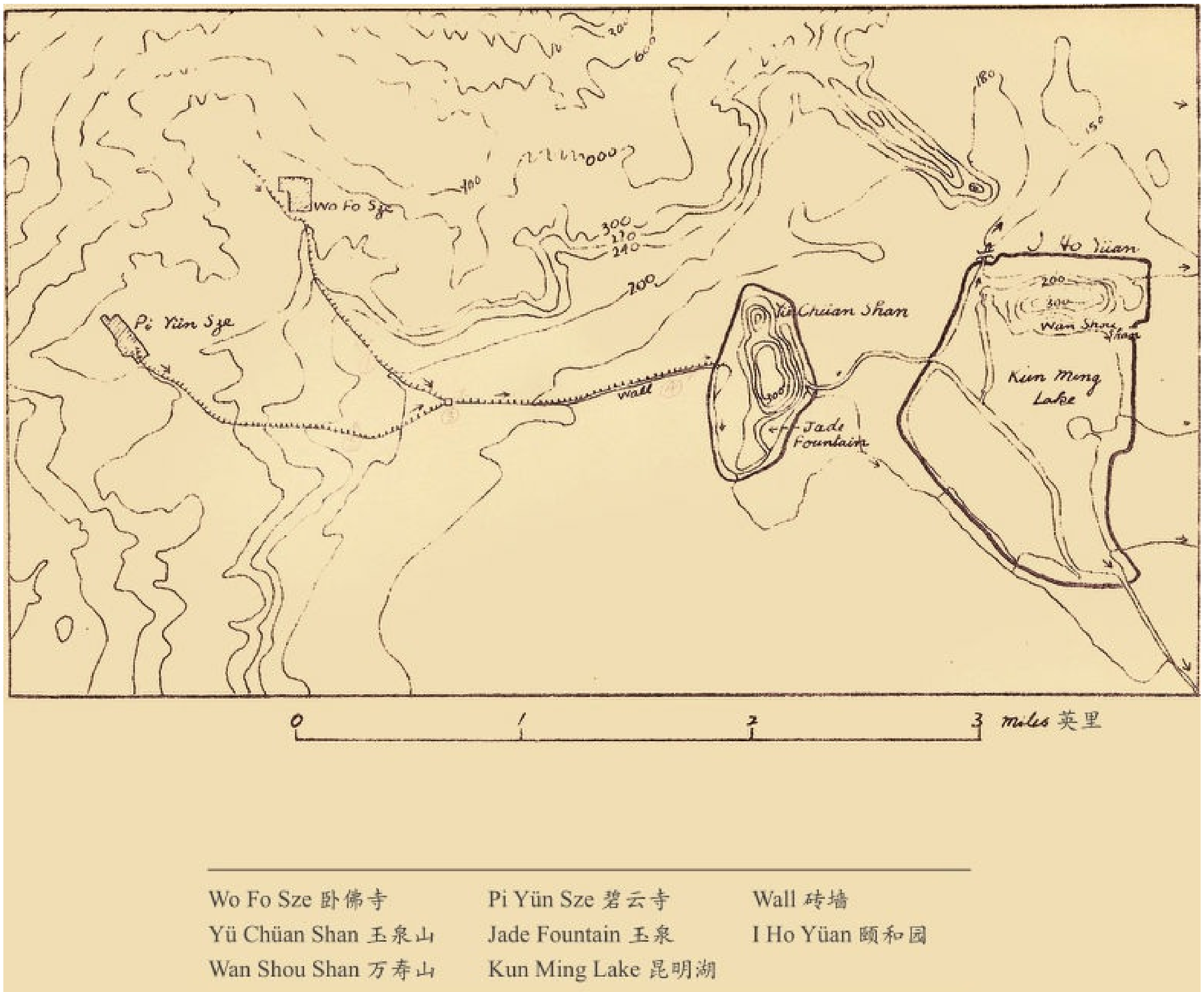


图46　玉泉及西山诸泉引水渠道分布图

现在已经十分清楚，北平城自从兴起为一个持久的北方政治中心时，便一直面临着如何从南方获得经济支持这个问题。金朝时，中都城作为中原北部的政治中心，是从华北大平原上搜集漕粮。之后的元、明、清三代，北平已经成为整个帝国的首都，长江下游便成了国家收入的主要来源，中央政府维系之所在。从这一意义上来讲，北平作为中华帝国鼎盛时期的都城，其所处的地理位置，确实逊于汉代（公元前206—公元8）的都城长安。因为，当时的长安不仅是汉朝政府所在地，而且也位于国家产粮最多的农业区内。[148] 也就是说，长安不仅是当时的政治中心，也是经济中心。北平的情况则大不相同，其临近地区从未像

汉代的长安那样在农业生产方面占据什么重要地位。虽然元、明、清三代都曾有人建议，通过引水灌溉将这一带开发成为密集开发的种植农业区，但从未实现过。[149] 因此，朝廷只得主要依赖从长江下游运输来的漕粮，因为自唐朝以后这里便成为了中国最为富饶多产的农业区。[150] 众所周知，大运河工程最初始于金朝，大力修建于元朝，完工于明清，它是将南方经济中心与北方政治中心紧密联系起来的产物。可以说，大运河代表了当时的人们为弥补北平作为首都在经济上的不足所付出的巨大努力。但是，无论人们怎样坚持，付出了多大的努力，成效却始终不是特别显著。[151] 这种情况一直持续到清朝末年，西方影响开始冲击中国，几个世纪以来相对封闭的状态被打破，社会结构也开始发生根本变化。同时，蒸汽船、铁路的引入，立刻改变了这片古老土地上交通运输的地理格局，也使得漕运系统于1900年终结。[152] 11年后，清王朝被推翻，中华民国建立，中国历史与北京历史都进入了新的时代。随着这个新时代的开始，本文的研究也画上了句号。



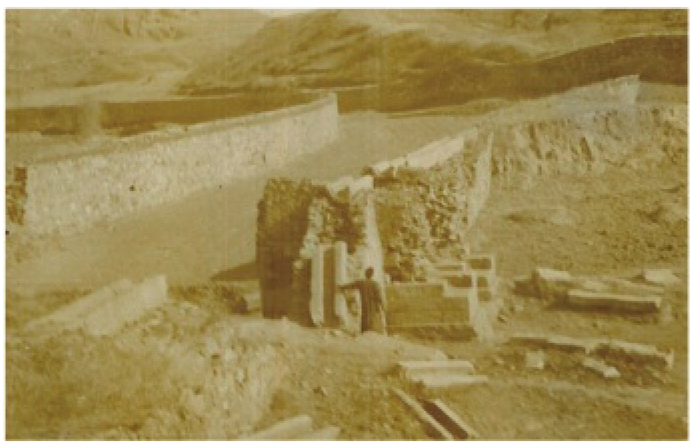
四王府广润庙东至玉泉山架设在长墙上的石渠。



残存的砖石所砌长墙墙体倒塌。作者登墙而上，可见玉泉山内景象。



广润庙坐北向南，已只存山门和石砌方池。庙建于池北以祭水神。方池由大石条砌筑而成，引入的泉水由池壁龙口注入。



长墙东部一处，二墙平行修建且设有门洞，便于南北通行。石渠分段落在地上。

　　作者在1936年秋徒步考察汇集西山诸泉的引水石渠。当时石渠已废弃不用。

　　西山引水石渠的中心枢纽是四王府南广润庙内方池。广润庙的兴建为顺势导引西侧卧佛寺樱桃沟、碧云寺和香山的泉水，经人工渠道顺流而下，汇注庙内石砌方池。由方池另侧石渠引水东下。由于广润庙以东地势逐渐下降，为保持渠道高程，乃架石渠于逐渐增高的长墙上，直到玉泉山西墙之外。引水入玉泉山静明园，与玉泉山诸泉水汇合，自流东下，注入昆明湖。

注释

1 “元大都”蒙古语的意思是“可汗的城市”。在英文中有Khanbaliq、Khanbalik、Cambaluo、Cambalu等多种写法。

2 见苏甲荣：《中国地理沿革图》，插页10，第4版，1936，第20页。

3 开平后来成为元朝皇帝夏季行宫所在，改名上都，其遗迹留存至今。见导言注11 引易恩培文。

4 即哈拉和林（古代蒙古帝国旧都遗迹）。见第1章注19 引艾伯特·赫尔曼书，第50—51页及插页《哈拉和林》。该图据W. Radloff的*Atlas der Altertumer der Mongolia* （1692）图36绘制。

5 *Travels of Marco Polo* , translated with notes by sir Henry Yule, 3rd edition, edited by Henry Cordier, London, 1921, vol. I, p. 374.蒙古人占领金中都时将金皇宫全部破坏，这或许是弃旧城建新城的另一原因。见第五章注21 引赵翼书，第27卷，第14页。

6 在中国，至少有三个词语用来描述皇帝的不同居所：1）皇宫：宫城城墙以内的皇室宫殿。2）离宫：皇帝离开都城时所居的宫殿。英文译为“夏宫（Summer Palace）”易生误解，因离宫并不仅是在夏天才用。3）行宫：仅在皇帝出游时用。

7 在都城近郊修建离宫在中国历史上十分常见。无论是秦朝，还是汉朝，都在其各自都城附近兴建了离宫。见第131页。

8 《金史·地理志》。

9 《元史·世祖本纪》记载，至元二年（1265），由一整块玉石雕琢的精美玉瓮“渎山大玉海”完成，十二月，忽必烈下令将其置于琼华岛上广寒殿内。此瓮保存至今，存于仪天殿原址上修建的承光殿前专门的亭子里。其历史比今北平城的历史还要长。

10 陶宗仪：《南村辍耕录》，《四部丛刊》本，第1卷，第19—20页。

11 见附录三。

12　以下事件发生在1267年元大都兴建之前（主要依据《元史》）：

1260年：忽必烈抵燕京（即金中都）附近（《世祖本纪》，中统元年十二月）。有关“燕京”这一名字的说明，见第1章注2　。忽必烈所下榻的可能正是金朝离宫，而非燕京城内。

1261年：修葺燕京旧城（《世祖本纪》，中统二年十一月）。

1262年：重建琼华岛（同前引陶宗仪书，第1卷，第15页）。究竟是重建琼华岛，还是对岛上建筑进行重建，尚不清楚。

1264年：将“燕京”更名“中都”，并进一步兴建琼华岛（《世祖本纪》，至元元年二月及八月）。见1262年注。

1266年：进一步修建琼华岛（《元史》，第145卷）。另见注5 引马可·波罗书，第1章，第365页。

13　皇城西南角为一凹角，因为那里原先有座寺庙——大慈恩寺，修建皇宫时有意避开，使之位于皇宫以外（同第四章注87　引孙承泽书，第6章，第86页）。

14　此处所指为元大都外城墙所围的整座城市，与内皇城有别。

15　同前引陶宗仪书，第21卷，第1页。除棂星门以外，其他14座城门的位置无一能够确定。据马可·波罗描述，“皇宫四周围以大墙，形成方形，每边均长一英里，即周长为四英里。”（同注5　引马可·波罗书，第362页。）有关皇城的大致位置，见图29：汗八里平面设计示意图。

16　同前引陶宗仪书，第21卷，第1页。详细论述见侯仁之：《北平金水河考》，载《燕京学报》，北平，第30期，1946。

17　王三聘：《古今事物考》，《国学基本丛书》本，第1卷，第8章。王只是泛泛而谈，并未举出所据为何。笔者确信此处所言的“金水河”曾用于开封，但是否在长安也用过，则不能确定。

18　同第六章注35 引朱启钤文，第118—119页。

19　同注5 引马可·波罗书，第363页。

20　同上，第364—365页。

21　同上，第366页。

22　解释请见原书译文，同上，第370页脚注12。

23　同上，第365—366页。

24　Osvald Sirén (喜仁龙): *The Walls and Gates of Peking, Researches and Impressions* , London, 1924, p. 28.

25　马可·波罗说，都城“每边长近20里，方圆约76里，总体呈方形。”（同注5 引马可·波罗书，第374页）此说法明显夸张。

26　关于城门数目，马可·波罗的记忆也有偏差。他说城门有12座，每边3个（同上，第374页）。普意雅（G. Bouillard）采用马可·波罗的说法，也犯了相同错误，其实北墙只有两座城门（同第二章注33 引书，地图III）。所有中文记载都一致认为，元大都总共只有11座城门，北墙两座城门遗迹留存至今。

27　《析津志》记载，元大都建城时，在文明门外五里开辟了一片芦苇地，以供裹挡城墙之用。引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第1—2页。马可·波罗关于城墙的记述也颇有趣：“城四面围以土筑城墙，底部厚整十步，高十步余；然顶部不似底部，因其逐渐收窄，顶部仅厚三步左右。城墙上有城垛，刷以白粉，设观察孔。”（同前引马可·波罗书，第374页）

28　《元一统志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第1页，及《析津志》。

29　见图31：汗八里城内集市分布图。

30　今鼓楼以西，仍有一条南北向街道，名为旧鼓楼大街。关于钟鼓楼的修建情况，见王壁文：《元大都城坊考》，载《中国营造学社汇刊》，第6卷，1936，第3期，第88—89页。玉尔认为“马可·波罗所指钟楼似乎仍旧存在”，并不正确（同注5 引马可·波罗书，第378页脚注）。贝勒士奈德认为，今钟楼并非建于原址上，但他认为“现存鼓楼就是十三世纪所建的那座”（同第二章注33 引贝勒士奈德书）。喜仁龙亦持相同看法（同第24 引喜仁龙书，第11—12页）。王壁文证明了以上观点均不成立。

31　《元史·世祖本纪》，至元二十二年二月。

32　《元一统志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第5—7页。

33　《析津志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第8页。

34　同前引马可·波罗书，第374—375页。

35　村田治郎：《论元大都的城市规划》，载《满洲学报》，1934，第3期，第133—142页。

36　The Journal of William de Rubruquis, A Frenchman of the Order of the Minorite Friars, unto the East parts of the World, 1253. *Hakluytus Posthumous, or Purchas His Pilgrims* , by Samuel Parchas, Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, vol XI, chapter 1, p. 47.

37　《元一统志》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第7页及地图。

38　例如，尼泊尔人阿尼哥（A-ni-ko）即在1278年被任命为总雕刻师，见《元史·阿尼哥传》。

39　见《元史·刘秉忠传》。

40　按照中国传统用法，上述方位实际如此：皇宫正门朝南，左为东，右为西。“面”即皇宫南边；“后”即皇城北边。

41　《冬官·考工记》，“匠人营国”条。

42　见图29：汗八里平面设计示意图。

43　汉代与唐代都城并没有像元大都那样，与上述理想规划保持一致。

44　同注5 引马可·波罗书，第412页。

45　同上。

46　进一步的论述见后面章节。

47　格里菲恩·泰勒（Griffith Taylor）教授认为，今外城（南城）的不规则布局与贯穿城西的东西向长街，“与欧洲中世纪许多城市的总体街道布局是一致的。”他作此论断，或许没有充分了解到该城这一地区发展演变的实际背景。"Environment, Village and City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , vol. XXXII, 1924, no. 1, p. 21.同一篇文章亦收于作者的*Evolving Civilization* , London, 1946，pp. 207-209.及*Urban Geography* , London, 1949, pp.

26-29。

48　见注30 。

49　王壁文的研究依据的是《元一统志》和《析津志》两书中的关于居住“坊”的两个名录。

50　《图经志书》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第8页。

51　《析津志》，引自于敏中《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第9—10页。

52　同上，第54卷，第12页。

53　例如，高粱秆能长到8—12英寸（约20—30厘米），是华北农民常用的燃料。

54　L. H. Dudley Buxton, "Historical Geography of Peking," *The Geographical Teacher* , vol. 13, no.71, part 1, 1925, pp. 45, 47.

55　Lionel William Lyde, *The Continent of Asia* , 1920, p. 607.

56　冀朝鼎：《中国历史上的基本经济区与水利事业的发展》，伦敦，1936，第113、124—125、131—139页。

57　有关漕粮在中国的重要性及其功用，见注56 引冀朝鼎书，第5—7页。

58　见下一章论述。

59　见注16 引侯仁之文。

60　明代《病逸漫语》（《辑录汇编》本，第201卷，第4—6页）记录了瓮山脚下的泉水。有关万寿山的情况，见下一章。

61　汗八里兴建时，1266年郭守敬重开金口河，但是并非为了从南方运漕粮，而是为了从西山运输石灰和石头，修建新城里面的皇宫。受浑河泛滥的威胁，金口河于1299年再次断流。见《元史》之《世祖本纪》（至元三年十二月）及《元史》之《郭守敬列传》。另可见苏天爵：《元朝名臣事略》，《畿辅丛书》本，第9卷，第13页。

62　白浮村位于今昌平以南约两英里（3.2公里） 处，笔者曾于1935年1月到访那里。村北是一孤山，当地人称凤凰山。凤凰山脚下有一泉，泉边专建一

庙，叫做龙泉庙。这定是元朝时的神山泉。“双塔河”这一名称记载于《元史》，现已不存。但今大沙河边仍有一个“双塔镇”，镇的正东有两个小村庄，分别名为“东闸村”和“西闸村”。两村确定无疑得名于自两座河闸，河闸是为将河水向南导入瓮山泊修建的。因此，大沙河只是元代双塔河的现代称谓，其以南的支流小沙河或许就是元代的榆河。见图32 。

63　见《元史》之《郭守敬传》、《河渠志》。笔者在《北平金水河考》中作过论述。另见第二章注33 引贝勒士奈德文，第383—384页。

64　这一地图是依据《元史·河渠志》及吴仲《通惠河志》（《玄览堂丛书》本）的文献资料重绘的。

65　例如：河闸原为木制，自然不能持久，因此在1311—1327年用砖石重修。据记载，由神山泉向瓮山泊导水的水坝也曾拟于1303年、1307年、1312年、1317年、1327年分别进行修缮。见《元史·河渠志》。

1342年，通惠河下游以南开挖了一条新运河，希望能作为比通惠河更好的一个水源。这个方案最终失败，并放弃了。新运河经由同时启用的金口河从浑河引水。下游的河床仍可在从外城东南角到通州以南的张家湾村一带找到，在下面的地图里由虚线表示。

66　欧阳玄：《圭斋集》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第89卷，第13—16页。

67　《明史·太祖本纪》，洪武三年四月。

68　同上，洪武十三年三月。

69　《明史·成祖本纪》，永乐元年一月、永乐十八年十一月。1403年至1419年，北京城是皇帝的“行在”。

70　同第4章注87 引孙承泽书，第3卷，第2—3页。

71　缩小汗八里城北部的命令由明军统帅徐达所下，他自然会考虑都城的防御措施，因为蒙古人虽已被驱逐出城外，但并没有被消灭，仍对明朝统治构成持续威胁。

72　《明成祖实录》，永乐十七年十一月，引自《日下旧闻考》，第38卷，第13页。

73 《明宣宗实录》，宣德十年，引自《日下旧闻考》，第89卷，第20—21页。

74 见前一章论述。

75 该图为《清内务府藏京城全图》。1940年由北平故宫博物院以1：2600的比例重绘。另有一幅非出售的日本版《乾隆京城全图》（附解说、索引），日本兴亚院华北联络部政务局调查所。

76 《明太祖实录》，洪武三年七月，引自《古今图书集成·职方典》及第4章注87 引孙承泽书，第6卷，第9页。

77 于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第32卷，第31—32页。

78 这次重建持续近二十年，是北京城重建中非常重要的时期。详细论述见赵翼：《廿二史劄记》，第27卷，第15—16页。

79 朱偰：《元大都宫殿图考》，上海，1936，第15—17页及地图。

80 新的钟鼓二楼均建成于1420年，见前引于敏中书，第54卷，第13页，另见注30 。这一距离是按照现今的城市规划测量得出的。

81 这次扩建的结果是，将通惠河先前流经元皇宫以东的一段圈入了明皇宫内（见《明宪宗实录》，成化七年十月，引自《日下旧闻考》，第20卷，第6—8页）。这是城市重建导致的运河水系的又一次重要变动，这一问题将在后文相应段落加以论述。

82 明朝高官李东阳曾记载，他的祖宅原在元皇城以北，后来却因为皇城北墙移动，变成了位于明皇城北门以内。见《东海集》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第54卷，第26—27页。

83 与此同时，在社稷坛以西，与元皇宫内湖南岸相连的地方，还开挖了一片新湖，这也得益于皇城向南扩建，否则没有空地开挖新湖。而且，正是由于新湖出现，明朝第一次出现了“三海”这个俗称。见于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第21卷，第14、15页，第23卷，第8、10页。

84 同第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第17卷，第1页，及第19卷，第1页。

85 朱偰：《北京宫阙图说》，1938年，第77—78页。

86 之所以称为“煤山”，是因为据称明朝时人们以为山下埋有煤炭，可在京城遭劫掠时用作燃料。然而，这种说法并不属实，但这一名称却保留了下来。见李若愚：《酌中志》，《海山仙馆丛书》，第17卷，第6页，及J. Edkins（艾约瑟），*Recent Changes at Peking* , reprinted from the "Shanghai Mercury", 1902, pp. 2-3.

87 参考帕特里克·阿伯克龙比（Patrick Abercrombie）爵士所描述的埃及选址规划原则：“……埃及寺庙构造精巧并颇具综合性，通向寺庙的道路两边排列着狮身人面像，完全可视为寺庙规划的典范，而非个例。其复合的结构在规律性之上又有了非凡的提高：它体现了轴对称原则；这道将通道、方尖碑、门楼、露天庭院、女像柱庭院、多柱式大厅一分为二的中轴线，无论其设计的目的是否仅为了让阳光照进圣殿，但设计原则已得体现——一条中轴线，两侧为对称排列的建筑物，直通最后的顶点。在这里，设计的想象力发挥到了极致，在寺庙林立的城市中，人们亦可感受到这种想象力。”（*Town and Country Planning* , Home University Library, 2nd edition, 1944, pp.30-31）。

88 同第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第14卷，第1页，及第15卷，第1页。

89 同上，第3卷，第3—4页。实际上，城墙的修建是为抵御蒙古人的不断进犯。

90 有关外城城墙修建的进一步讨论见此处 。

91 《三辅黄图》，《丛书集成》本，毕沅编，上海：商务印书馆，第1卷，第5页。

92 于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第74卷，第2页，及吴长元：《宸垣识略》，1876，第11卷，第1页。清朝时，狩猎场亦作军事操练及年度演练之用。

93 同上引于敏中书，第24卷，第7页。

94 时人称道：“李园不酸，米园不俗。”见引注92 吴长元书，第16卷，第22页。有关勺园历史的详细研究资料，见洪煨莲（William Hung）教授：《勺园图录考》，北平：哈佛燕京学社，1933。

95 同前引于敏中书，第85卷，第1页。这个园子最初叫“澄心园”，后于

1692年改称静明园。见《大清一统志》，宝善斋本，1901，第1卷，第7页。

96　同上，第26卷，第1—4页。

97　同上，第80—82卷。

98　王先谦：《东华录》，文宗皇帝咸丰十年八月。

99　《明成祖实录》，引自于敏中书，第54卷，第28页。

100　《明宪宗实录》，引自于敏中书，第89卷，第7页。

101　乾隆皇帝《御制万寿山清漪园记》，引自于敏中书，第84卷，第3—4页。

102　乾隆皇帝《御制万寿山清漪园记》，同上。

103　同前引王先谦书，德宗皇帝光绪十四年二月敕令。

104　同导言注11 引葛德石书，第165页。

105　《明史·太祖本纪》，洪武元年七月、八月。

106　此事载于《明史·成祖本纪》：

1）1403年，“八月己巳……徙直隶苏州等十郡、浙江等九省富民实北京”。

明朝全国分为十五省。直隶省（即“中央政府直辖省”之意）为今南京所在地，包括今江苏省、安徽省。浙江省则与今天相同。

2）1404年，永乐三年八月，“丁卯，徙山西民万户实北京”。

有记载显示，次年（1405）同月，从同一省份迁入了同样数量的移民。笔者认为，这样的重复或为错讹，在此不予考虑。

107　同上，搬迁人家的数字应该没有疑问，因为当时在此类事情上，数字的准确性还是得到了充分的保证。

需要一点解释的是“户”这个词。在中国传统的人口登记中，至少使用过三个单位：户、丁、口。此处用的即是“户”，而传统的中国一户一般包括三代。

108　这里特别提及从山西移民的户数，可能是因为山西在所有省份中移民人数最多，而且应当指出，山西还是距离北京最近的省份。

109　见注106 之1）。

110　例如，早在1417年皇城东南就建了十王府（见《明成祖实录》，引

自《日下旧闻考》，第43卷，第9页）。十王府以南，有1428年为公主修建的一处宫殿（见《明宣宗实录》，引自《日下旧闻考》）。1511年，一处大米仓库分到高官朱德名下，供其修建私邸（见《明武宗实录》，引自《日下旧闻考》，第52卷，第11页）。这样的例子数不胜数，此处不一一列举。

111 《立斋闲录》，引自于敏中书，第44卷，第3页。

112 见《明史》之《英宗本纪》十月及《丁汝夔传》。

113 此建议最先于1472年由蒋贵提出（见《明史·蒋贵传》）；焦链和毛伯温亦于1542年提出了相同建议（见第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第3卷，第3页）；又有人于1550年第三次提出了此建议（同上）。最终，外城城墙于1553年建成（同上）。最初的想法是环绕北京全城修建外城墙，但未能付诸实践。

114 同前引孙承泽书，第3卷，第3页。

115 同第98 引王先谦书，顺治元年（1644）六月、十月诏书。

116 同上，顺治五年（1648）八月诏书。

117 S. W. Williams（S. W.威廉姆斯）于1848年写道：“（北京）北城（即内城）1644年为满人所据，用作兵营、住宅，政府从汉人手中购买房产，供给满族军官。但是，由于这些人不似本地人那样节约俭省，很快便需要将房产变卖，住进较次的住宅里。因此，此时北城大部分又为中国人所租占了。”见*The Middle Kingdom, London* , 1848, vol I, p. 58.

118 同117 引S. W. 威廉姆斯书，第I卷，第55页。

119 同上。

120 Archibald Little, *The Far East* , Oxford University Press, 1905, p.34. 这一估计所据来源并未提及。

121 L. Richard, *Geographic de l'Empire de Chine* , Shanghai, 1905, pp.78-79.

122 夏之时书的英文版由甘沛澍（M. Kennelly）翻译、修订、增订，书名为*L. Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies* , Shanghai, 1908, p. 71.

123 孔赐安（H. O. K'ung）：《中国六大城市人口增长情况》，载《中国

经济月报》，上海：工业部外商局，第20卷，1937，第3期，第305页。北平人口众多，主要缘于其政治地位，中华民国是从北平施政，而从满族旧政权到民国的权力移交，是和平进行的，没有波澜。因此，民国初年北平的人口可以看做是沿着晚清时期以后的一个标准曲线增长的。

124　　北京郊区的人口在1925年之前没有进行过统计。1925年的人口普查报告给出的城市人口总数是1,266,148，比前一年统计的城墙以内人口数量多383,572（见前引孔赐安书）。这样，按1924年到1935年间全市（包括内城和郊区）人口2.36％的年平均增长率计，减去二十年间郊区的人口增长数，可推算出1905年郊区人口应约为240,000人。

125　Sidney Gamble (甘博), *Peking: A Social Survey* , Oxford University Press, 1921, Appendix III, p. 412.

126　同上，第95页。

甘博考虑到北京城整体人口密度，有如下论述："北京面积为194平方里，全城平均人口密度为每平方里4289人（每平方英里33,626人），相当于美国同等面积城市人口密度的两到四倍。美国城市的人口密度从俄亥俄州辛辛那提市为的每平方英里8260人到马萨诸塞州波士顿市的每平方英里15,600人不等。而且不能忽略，北京房屋全部为单层。"（第94页）1911年英国利物浦的人口密度为每平方英里24,192人。

127　见脚注113 。

128　　在明代北京城的这一地区尚不具有商业上的重要性。见翟宣颖：《北京建置谈荟》，《北京历史风土丛书》，第8页。

129　此图据甘博地图绘制，见注126 引甘博书，第214页。

130　同注122 引夏之时书，第71页。

131　马可·波罗称，"（汗八里）每一城门外均有一关厢住宅区"（同注5 引马可·波罗书，第412页）。但是马可·波罗提及的城门，只有四座留存至今，即如今内城东边的东直门、朝阳门和西边的西直门、阜成门。

132　《金吾事例》，乾隆二十一年十一月。

133　格里菲丝·泰勒（Griffith　Taylor）教授在其北平研究著作*Urban Geography*，（p. 28）中特别提到了东郊。

134　元朝时，每年来自全国的漕米总量在300万担至350万担之间，大部分产于长江下游。明清时，正常年份的供应量自1472年起便固定为400百万担（按现代度量制度换算，1担＝100斤；1斤＝0.5公斤）。见第二章注42　引钱穆书，第499—501页。

135　侯仁之：《靳辅治河始末》，载《历史年鉴》，第2卷，1937，第3期，北平：燕京大学。

136　《明成祖实录》，永乐五年（1407）五月，引自《日下旧闻考》，第84卷，第28页。

137　《明宪宗实录》，成化七年（1471）十月，引自《日下旧闻考》，第89卷，第4—7页。

138　运河重修最初由杨茂于1470年筹备，1471年杨鼎、赵翼跟进，1479年完工。详细情况见《明宪宗实录》，引自于敏中书，第89卷，第4—7页。

139　如今，从玉泉引流的只有一条窄小河渠，流向东南。此河渠仍叫金河。

140　《明宪宗实录》，引自于敏中书。

141　同上。

142　1507年、1512年、1513年均有人试图重开运河，但均未成功。见吴仲：《通惠河志》，《玄览堂丛书》本，第1卷，第7页。

143　《明世宗实录》，引自于敏中书，第89卷，第10—11页。

144　此河后来称为“内河”，是相对于天津和通州之间称为“外河”的大运河河段而言，外河后来更名为里漕河。参见1）《畿辅通志·舆地》之《山川》，第2卷；2）于敏中书，第88卷，第4—5页；3）注95　引《大清一统志》，第5卷，第1页。

145　《大清一统志》，第5卷，第1页。明代晚期（1621—1639）时，还有人提议过其他类似工程，实施与否不见记载。见第四章注87　引孙承泽书，第

3卷，第6页。

146　于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第101卷，第2—3页。

147　同上，第84卷，第1页。另见本书此处 。

148　当时伟大的史学家司马迁对此有明确记载：“故关中之地，于天下三分之一，而人众不过什三；然量其富，什居其六。”《史记·货殖列传》，《四部备要》本，第129卷，第6页。其巨大财富部分建立在当地巨大生产力上，而后者是通过兴建大型灌溉工程而获得。详细探讨见注56 引冀朝鼎书，第75—80页、第87—89页。

149　同第三章注66 引冀朝鼎书，第143—146页，《海河流域开发为重点经济区的尝试》一节。

150　同上，第133—139页。

151　同上，第144—145页。

152　海上蒸汽船最初于1872年引进，常年用于漕粮运输。28年后，漕粮缴纳体系完全废除。见第四章注81 引郑肇经书，第142—146页。

附录一　北平历史沿革表[1]

王朝或时期	城市	政治地位
商 （约公元前1766—前1122）		
周 （约公元前1122—前221）	蓟	燕国国都
秦 （公元前221—前206）	蓟	广阳郡[2]郡治
楚汉战争时期 （公元前206—前203）	蓟	燕国（即诸侯国）都城
西汉 （公元前202—公元8）	蓟	燕国都城（公元前202—前126） 燕郡郡治（公元前126—前116） 燕国都城（公元前116—前80） 广阳郡郡治（公元前80—前72） 广阳国都城（公元前72—公元8）
王莽政权 （9—24）	蓟	广阳国都城
东汉（25—220）	蓟	广阳国都城（25—37） 上谷郡辖区（37—95） 广阳郡郡治（96—220）
三国时期 （220—280）	蓟	燕郡郡治（220—232），魏国（220—265） 燕国都城（232—265），魏国（220—265）

1．此图表主要依据《顺天府志·地理志》之《沿革考》，1886年版，第35卷，第1—19页。

2．对“郡”的解释参见本书此处，广阳郡在原表中没有提到，它被添加在这

里主要是根据全祖望的《汉书地理志稽疑》，《丛书集成》本，第1卷，第6—7页

王朝或时期	城市	政治地位
晋 （265—316）	蓟	燕国都城（265—314）[3]
五胡十六国 （约 301—440）	蓟	燕郡郡治，后赵政权（319—351） 都城（352—357），前燕政权（321—370） 燕郡郡治，前秦政权（351—394） 燕郡郡治，后燕政权（384—409）
南北朝 （约 440—581）	蓟	燕郡郡治，后魏（386—534） 燕郡郡治，东魏（535—550）[4] 燕郡郡治，北齐（550—577） 燕郡郡治，北周（557—581）
隋 （581—618）	蓟	燕郡郡治（581—583） 幽州辖区（583—607） 涿郡郡治（607—618）
唐 （618—907）	蓟或幽州	蓟是幽州州治（618—741）
	蓟或范阳	蓟是范阳郡郡治（742—756）
	燕京	大燕政权的都城[5] （安禄山，756—756；史思明，759—761）
	蓟或幽州	蓟是幽州州治（762—906）

3．314年，蓟城被游牧民族的首领，也就是后赵开国皇帝石勒占领。见《晋书·载记》，引自《顺天府治》，第35卷，第22页。

4．原表中没有标明。

5．原表中没有标明。

王朝或时期	城市	政治地位
五代十国时期 （约 900—979）	蓟或幽州	蓟是幽州州治（907—910），后梁（907—923） 大燕政权的都城（刘守光，911—913），后梁（907—923）[6] 蓟是幽州州治，后唐（923—936） 蓟是幽州州治（936—938），后晋（936—946）
辽（契丹，916—1125）	南京 （燕京）	辽代陪都[7]，1012 年后也被称作燕京
宋（北宋 960—1126； 南宋 1127—1279）	燕山	燕山府[8]府治（1123—1125）
金（女真，1115—1234）	燕京	陪都和析津府府治（1125—1150）
	中都	都城（1150—1215）
元 （蒙古，1206—1260； 1260—1368）	燕京	燕京路路治 （1215—1264）
	中都	都城（1264—1267）
	大都 （汗八里）	国都（新城，1267—1368）

6．根据《五代史》增补，《四部备要》本，第135卷，第2页。

7．938年，该地区名字从“蓟”变成了“蓟北”，“蓟”从此不再使用。但需指出，在唐朝，约730年，另一个地区开始用“蓟”作为地名，就是今天的蓟县，位于北平东北约60英里（约96.6公里）。

8．“府”，是介于省（后叫做路）和县之间的行政单位。

王朝或时期	城市	政治地位
明（1368—1644）	北平	北平府府治（1368—1403）
	北京	陪都（1403—1420） 国都（1420—1644）
清（满族，1644—1911）	北京	京师或国都（1644—1911）
中华民国（1912—1949）	北京	首都（1912—1927）
	北平	特区（1927—1949）

附录二　古城研究文献来源

在过去的300多年间，各国的学者对北平古城作了大量研究，撰写了许多文章。在详细综述前，有必要对之前学者的研究作一个概括。尽管他们的工作并不完善，但可对现在的研究提供重要帮助。现将最重要的作者及其著作和相关信息罗列如下，作为后续叙述的指南。

1．孙承泽：《春明梦余录》，**1650**（？）。

这是一部非常珍贵的文献，共70卷，有许多有关老北京的重要描述。作者生活于十七世纪上半叶，但此书的初版时间不确定。

2．于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，**1774**。

《日下旧闻》的初稿由清朝初年著名学者朱彝尊编纂，十七世纪晚期他在北京生活过一段时间。在学生的帮助下，朱彝尊收集了至他的时期为止所有能找到的有关描述北平及其皇城的中文文献，并根据题材重新分类、排序。之后，以于敏中为主编的一批学者根据朝代顺序对此书进行了修订和扩编，又增加了“考”。全书共160卷。其中有大量引文出自现今已佚失的古书。

3．吴长元：《宸垣识略》，**1788**。

和前两本书相比，此书篇幅较小。它主要依据《日下旧闻考》，并增加了作者的个人评论和地图。此书部分由哈辛斯·比却林神父（Father Hyacinth Bitchurin）翻译成俄文，并于1829年经费菲力·德·比尼（Ferry de Pigny）由俄文译为法文（*Description de Pèkin avec un Plan de cette*

Capitale ）。在很长一段时间里，该译本是欧洲了解北平的唯一资料来源，很多编者都从此书中引用了有关北平的描述。

4．赵翼，**1**）辽燕京，**2**）金广燕京，**3**）元筑燕京，**4**）明南北京营建，**1795**。

以上是作者的《廿二史劄 记》里的四个条目。他的讨论都是基于历代的文献记载。

5．贝勒士奈德（**Emil Vassilievich Bretschneider**）：《北京及周边考古历史研究》（**Archaeological and Historical Researches on Peking and its Environs**），**1875**。

作者为俄罗斯著名汉学家，他1866至1884年在北京生活。这篇文章最初发表于《教务杂志》（*Chinese Recorder* , vol. VI, 1875, nos. 3, 5 and 6）。又于1876年由设在上海的美国基督教长老会重印成册。法文译本由葛林德（V. Collin de Plancy）翻译，1879年出版。除了关于北京城内遗迹的记叙外，此书对已毁的元朝宫殿及不同时期的河流系统作了详细描述。他的研究基于中文文献和田野考察。作者的朋友莫仑道夫（O. F. von Möllendorff）为田野考察提供了帮助，并通过他自己的考察为初稿提出了宝贵的修正。见O. F. von Möllendorff, "Ancient Peking," *Chinese Review* , vol. V, July 1876-Jue 1877, pp. 383-386。

6．缪荃孙：《顺天府志》，**1884**。

此书也是一部以编纂方式著成的重要著作。缪是一位著名学者，他就北平古城址的研究特别撰写了一段文字（第一卷）。还可参见其作品集《艺风堂文集》，1901。

7．樊国梁（**Alphonse Favier**），《北京：历史和描述》

（***Peking, Histoire et Description***），**1897**。

这是一本巨著，但内容与书名不太相符。此书的主要内容是有关中国历史和习俗的描述，北平的地方史只在介绍部分有所涉及。1928年，一本类似的书在北平出版，图书作者的名字却是哈伯里希（Hubrecht），书名为《北京城的伟大与恢弘》（*Grandem et Suprematic de Peking*），基本是上一本书的重印，几乎没有内容的改动。

8．震钧：《天咫偶闻》，**1903**。

作者是祖居北平的满人。他对这座城市和当代时事有着最直接的感受，笔触生动、简洁。此书共十卷，最后一卷是关于古城址的讨论。[1]

9．那波利贞（**Noha Toshisada**）：《辽金南京燕京故城疆域考》（**A Study of the Extent of the Cities of Nan-ching and Yen-ching of the Liao and Chin Dynasties**），**1928**。

这是一篇重要文章，作者是日本著名汉学家，最初于1928年以日语发表，作为高濑惺轩60岁寿辰的献礼。刘德明将其译成汉文，发表于《中和月刊》（第2卷，第12期，1941；第3卷，第1期，1942）。那波利贞参考了前面提到的所有作者的作品，以及另外两位日本汉学家的著作。第一位是内藤虎次郎，他在1900年出版的《燕山楚水》中对古城遗迹作了一些评述。另外，日文的《北京志》中也有一章专门研究古城址，该书于1908年由日本“清国驻屯军司令部”编制。那波利贞认为，这一章是服部宇之吉撰写的。除了参考已出版的著作外，那波利贞还对北平城遗迹进行了广泛的实地考察。

10．奉宽：《燕京故城考》，**1929**。

作者也是居住在北平的满人。这篇文章发表于《燕京学报》（第5期，1929，北平：燕京大学），是同类文章中最为全面的。作者也进行了实地考察。

11．普意雅（G. Bouillard）：《北平疆域沿革与城墙的简要说明》（Note succincte sur l'historique du territoire de Peking et sur les diverses enceintes de cette ville），1929。

该文章发表于《远东古物博物馆会刊》（*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Autiquities*，斯德哥尔摩）第1期。文章的第一部分是有关当地历史的内容，第二部分专门研究古城址，并用四幅彩图加以展示。作者在民国早期作为铁路工程师受聘于中国政府。他还出版了一本题为《北京及其周边地区》（*Péking et ses Environs*）（1922）的书和一本依据实测资料绘制的《北京及周边地图册》（*Carte des Environs de Péking*, 1:2500，1922—1923）。

12．朱偰：《辽金燕京城郭宫苑图考》，1936。

朱偰，北平故宫博物院荣誉顾问，发表了一系列有关北平从元朝至晚清时期的皇家宫殿、园林、庙宇、和陵寝的文章，其论文结集题名为《故都纪念集》。本文描述了辽金时期的城市及宫殿，发表于《武汉大学文哲季刊》（第6卷，第1期，1936）。

13．周肇祥：《辽金京城考》，1941。

该文章发表于《中和月刊》（第2卷，第12期），除了加入少许新证据外，主要是基于奉宽的研究。

14．崇璋：《辽金土城谈》，1941。

该文章也同样发表于《中和月刊》（第2卷，第12期）。主要是依据震钧的研究，并增加了作者的个人观察。

以上提到的这些著作和作者当中，前四部和第六部主要是编纂性质的。这些作者在注释和考证方面作出了很大贡献，他们辛苦工作的最大价值在于全面搜集了散落在中国古代典籍中的珍贵史料。不过，现在我们面临的问题，如果不借助实地的考察，就无法获得满意的解答。贝勒士奈德是在这方面的先行者，他是开展初步实地调查的第一人。他确认了鹅房营周围的土墙残垣是金中都的遗迹。这是有关金中都原始城址的最可靠的证据，而这些情况是古人记录中从来没有提到过的。若是充分利用了当时可以收集到的古代文献，贝勒士奈德是很有可能复原出金中都的整体规划的。可惜，他失败了，缘于他参考的历史文献资料实在太不完善。

法国传教士樊国梁立刻抓住了这一机会。他一方面掌握了中国学者们编纂的卷帙纷繁的古代文献，一方面充分利用了贝勒士奈德实地考察的成果。此外，1884年出版的重要文献《顺天府志》也为他提供了适时的帮助。但可惜他没能进行深入的研究。因此，获得更丰富成果的机会又一次流逝了。但是，无论樊国梁的研究结果多么粗糙，他仍是第一个试图通过一系列地图来展示北平城在不同时期的城址的人。他的研究结果也普遍为后来的学者所接受。[2]

当樊国梁从贝勒士奈德的实地考察成果中获益匪浅的时候，另一位中国人在完全不了解当代西方学者的成果的情况下，独自一人在黑暗中摸索着。他就是满族学者震钧。他不仅是中国学者中进行野外观察的先驱，更是第一个试图用地图的形式来展示自己调查结果的人。正如他在自己的著作中提到的那样，野外考察的发现让他欢欣鼓舞。但由于震钧缺少必要的科学训练，研究工作无法达到预期的成效。和贝勒士奈德士的田野调查相比，他的个人观察还远不够系统和完整。因此，他的研究

结果还不能完全令人满意。

接着是一个长期持续调查的重要阶段。关于这一主题，来自三个国家的三位学者分别完成的三篇一流著作同时出版。第一篇由日本汉学家那波利贞所著，于1928年在东京出版。一年之后，中国学者奉宽和法国工程师普意雅的著作也相继问世，奉宽的著作在北平出版，普意雅的著作在斯德哥尔摩出版。它们标志着整个研究过程达到顶峰。但是，最让人称奇的是，三人的研究工作是分别进行的，没有一个人知道还有另外两人在从事完全一样的研究。他们大部分的历史证据来源相同，他们在同一片田野上跋涉，观察着同样的遗迹，思考着同样的问题。尽管他们研究的结果并不相同，最终的结论还没有得出，但持续不断的努力将这项研究工作推向了高潮。

在过去的十年间，又增加了三篇文章。但它们在各方面都没有取得进一步的贡献，甚至文献的参考也很有限。第一篇文章为朱所写。尽管他已出版了一系列有关北平古迹研究的著作，但这篇文章显然是失败的。有人批评他忽视了前人的最重要的著作，这一批评是中肯的。[3] 另两篇文章的作者分别是周肇祥和崇璋。前者对奉宽的研究增加了一些不太重要的历史数据，后者仍然坚持震钧的旧理论，而没有意识到在过去40年间里这一研究已取得巨大进步。

在此，我制作了三个表格，列举了以上提到的作者的最重要的证据和结论，而无论其正确与否。每个表格只关注某一阶段的一个城市。第一个表格是关于唐朝的城市，另外两个表格是关于辽、金的城市。金朝之后则是元大都，或称汗八里，这部分内容在第七章有详细的阐述。

每个表格按照时间顺序纵向排列作者，横向则列出了每条考证（或结论）。每栏里的数字表示证据（或结论）出自在原著的哪一页。这样可以一目了然地看出在过去三百年来所有重要证据和结论的累积过程。每个表格都配有一幅地图，用以显示樊国梁、震钧、那波利贞、奉宽、普意雅和朱的研究成果。笔者希望这样可以将描述清晰地表现出来。

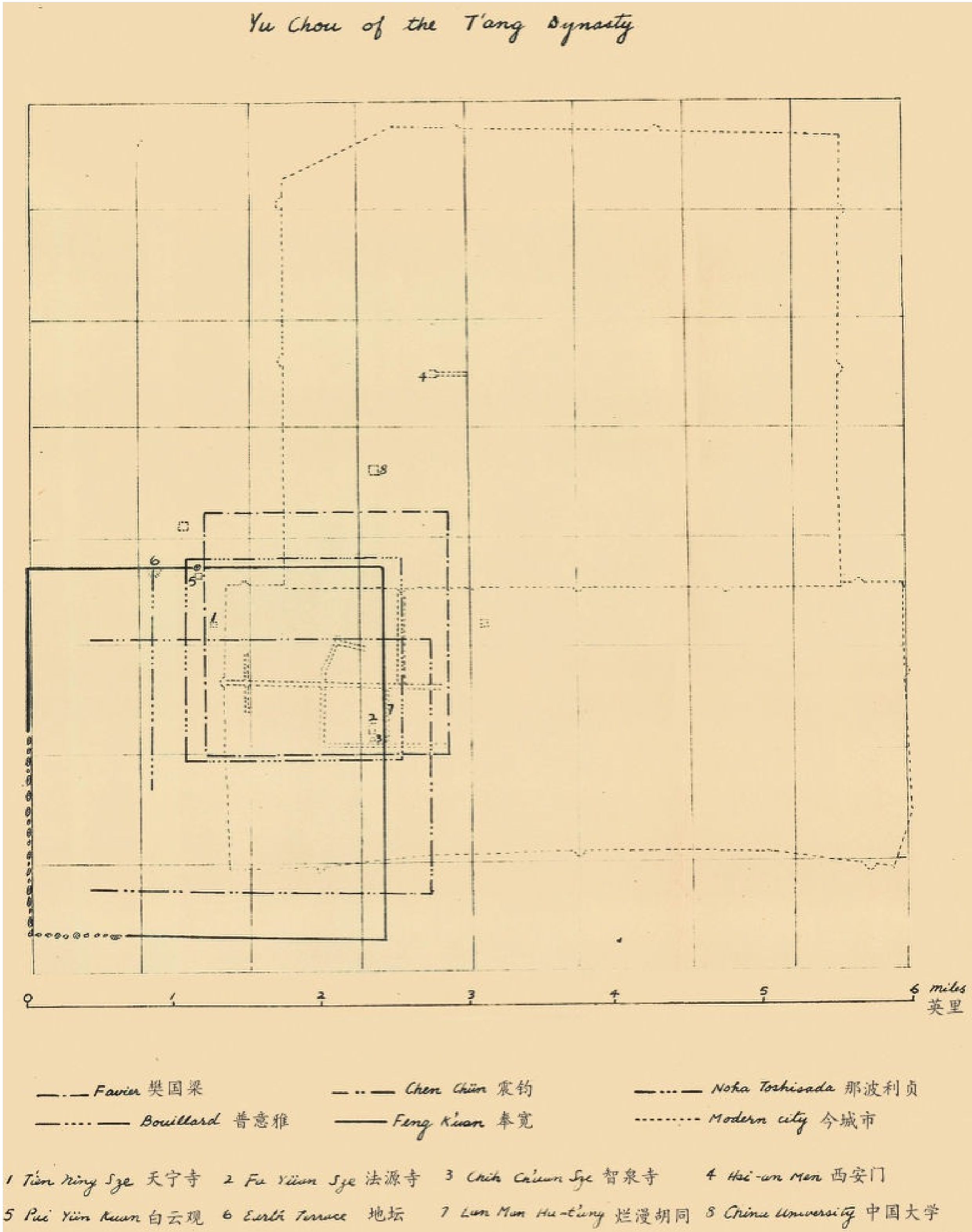
表格**1**　唐（**618—907**）幽州城

结论条目 / 研究者		❶天宁寺，现位于南城西墙外，原位于幽州城内。旧名洪业寺（581—619）、天王寺（620—906）。	❷法源寺，现位于南城西部，曾位于幽州城东南角，初建于公元645年。旧名悯忠寺。
1	孙承泽	3/1a（即第三卷，第1页，前半部分）	3/1a，66/2b
2	于敏中	37/17a—b	37/17a—b
3	吴长元	1/16a（于，即表示引自“于敏中”）	1/16a（于）
4	赵翼		37/13a
5	贝勒士奈德	170（于）	
6	缪荃孙	1/5a（于）	16/15a
7	樊国梁	17（于）	17（于），19
8	震钧		10/23a—b
9	那波利贞	3/87（中译本）	3/87
10	奉宽	886	887
11	普意雅	52（于）	52（于）
12	朱偰	51（于）	51（于）
13	周肇祥		5
14	崇璋	68	
笔者评论			

	❸ 唐代的智泉寺位于悯忠寺前面（即南面），在幽州内城东门外百余步处。	❹ 发掘于1681年、位于西安门（现今皇城的西门）内的唐朝墓碑显示，此地位于幽州东北5里。	❺ 位于现今白云观西部的土制平台，被认为是唯一的幽州西城墙遗迹。
1	66/1b		
2		37/18b	
3		1/16a（于）	
4			
5			
6	16/5a–b		
7		18	
8			
9	2/56（缪）	2/62	3/88–90
10	887（孙和缪）	886–887	
11		51	
12			
13	5		
14			
		参见条目9。 具体讨论见附录三。普意雅犯了一个严重错误，把西安门和西华门混淆了。	确凿证据有待考古挖掘。

	⑥ 幽州东城墙大致沿着现今的烂漫胡同延伸。	⑦ 曾位于烂漫胡同的一道水渠，据信是幽州东城墙外围的护城河。	⑧ 发掘于阜成门西南铁旗杆庙附近的一个唐代墓碑显示，此地曾是幽州的北郊。
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9	2/64		
10		888（不同意）	
11			
12			
13		6	6
14			
参见表格 2，条目 11。		原始来源：赵吉士《寄园寄所寄》。	

❾ 发掘于今北城西部中国大学校园内的唐代吴秦的墓碑显示，此地距幽州城北 5 里。		❿ 在西直门外发掘出的唐代常俊的墓碑显示，此地是幽州城北部外围。
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13	6	7
14	69	
参见条目 4。具体讨论见附录三。		



Yu Chou of the T'ang Dynasty
0
1
2
3
4
5
6 miles
英里
Favier 樊国梁
Chen Chün 震钧
Noha Toshisada 那波利贞
Bouillard 普意雅
Feng K'uan 奉宽
Modern city 今城市
1 T'ien Ning Sze 天宁寺
2 Fa Yüan Sze 法源寺
3 Chih Ch'üan Sze 智泉寺
4 Hsi-an Men 西安门
5 Pai Yün Kuan 白云观
6 Earth Terrace 地坛
7 Lan Man Hu-t'ung 烂漫胡同
8 China University 中国大学

图47　唐幽州城

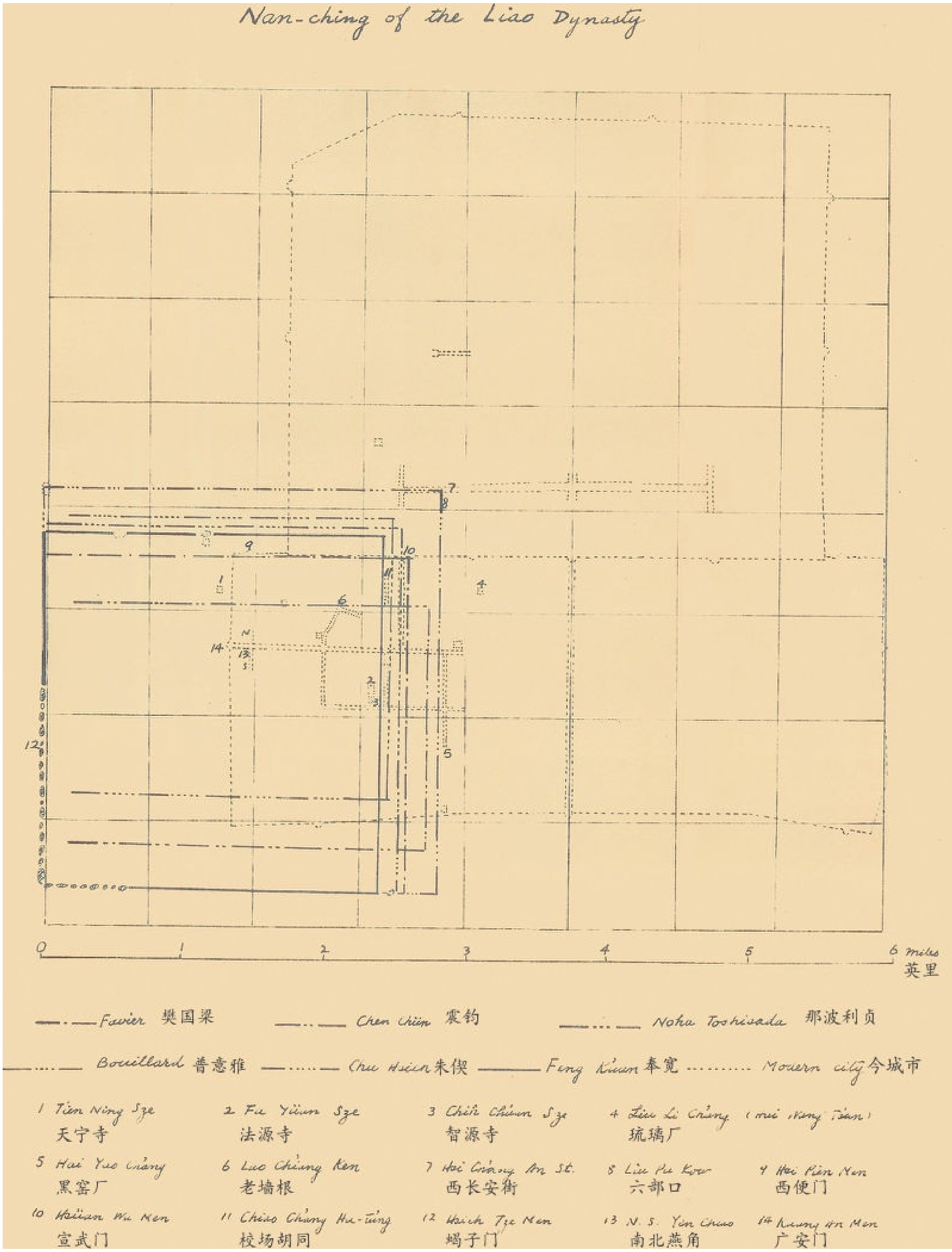
表格**2**　辽（**916—1125**）南京城

结论条目 / 研究者		❶ 辽代南京城同唐代的幽州城完全一致。见表格1。（同意：+，不同意：–）	❷ 1770年发掘于现今琉璃厂的李内贞的墓碑显示，此地曾是位于辽城东门外围的一个叫海王村的小村子。	❸ 发现于先农坛西部黑窑厂的一个佛教传教士的纪念碑显示，此地曾是辽城东部外围。
1	孙承泽	+		
2	于敏中	+	37/17b	37/17b
3	吴长元	+	1/17b（于）	1/17b（于）
4	赵翼	+		
5	贝勒士奈德		170（于）	170（于）
6	缪荃孙	+	1/4a	1/4a
7	樊国梁	–	19（于）	19（于）
8	震钧	+		
9	那波利贞	–	2/62	2/62
10	奉宽	+	886	888
11	普意雅	–	52（于）	52（于）
12	朱偰	+	52	51
13	周肇祥	+	6	5–6
14	崇璋		69	69
		讨论见附录三。	非常重要的证据。 讨论见附录三。	

	④ 辽南京城东门位于悯忠寺（现法源寺）和黑窑厂中间的某处。	⑤ 现今的老墙根原来是辽南京城北城墙的原址。	⑥ 辽南京城东北角位于今西长安街六部口附近。	⑦ 位于辽南京城内的开泰寺旧址据说离现在南城的西便门不远。
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6	1/4a			
7				
8		10/24b		
9		3/84	3/85	886
10				
11				
12	53			
13				
14	69			5
		错误。具体讨论见前引奉宽文，第 887 页。	没有提供确切信息。	

	❽ 辽南京城东北角位于今宣武门东北方向。	❾ 与今宣武门西南的校场胡同平行的巷子曾是南京城东城墙的外围。	❿ 南京城东城墙沿今烂漫胡同延伸。
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10	885	886	887
11			
12			
13			
14			
	次要证据来源于主要证据。	讨论见附录三。	

	⑪ 鹅房营北面靠近残垣的小村庄名为蝎子门村，据考证，为辽南京城西面的南门显西门。	⑫ 辽南京城东北角的燕角楼所据之处是现在的南、北燕角街。	⑬ 在蝎子门村附近的残垣处发现了大量的辽代砖块和瓦片。	⑭ 据今广安门西南的观音寺内的辽代石碑显示，观音寺曾位于辽南京城内。
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10	888			
11				
12				
13		5	10	
14	72			68
	这是错误的。辽城西城墙并没有那样靠西。见附录三。	燕角楼位于辽南京城内城东北角处，而不在外城墙东北角。	可能是其他建筑的遗址。	



Nan-ching of the Liao Dynasty
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 miles
英里
Favier 樊国梁
Chen chün 震钧
Noha Toshisada 那波利贞
Bouillard 普意雅
Chu Hsien 朱偰
Feng Kuan 奉宽
Modern city 今城市
1 天宁寺
2 法源寺
3 智源寺
4 琉璃厂
5 黑窑厂
6 老墙根
7 西长安街
8 六部口
9 西便门
10 宣武门
11 校场胡同
12 蝎子门
13 南北燕角
14 广安门

图48　辽南京城

表格**3**　金（**1115—1234**）中都城

研究者 \ 结论条目		❶ 今白云观西南的广安寺，在辽金两代被称为奉福寺。根据金代晚期所立石碑显示，奉福寺位于金中都城内部。	❷ 现今位于宣武门西南的土地庙，在金代记录里显示，位于中都城内，通向北城墙中门通玄门的道路以西。
1	孙承泽		
2	于敏中	37/17a	37/17b
3	吴长元	1/17a—b（于）	1/17b（于）
4	赵翼		
5	贝勒士奈德	170（于）	170（于）
6	缪荃孙	1/5a（于）	1/5a（于）
7	樊国梁	17（于）	18（于）
8	震钧		10/19a
9	那波利贞	3/87（于）	3/87
10	奉宽		896
11	普意雅		53（于）
12	朱偰	51（于）	51
13	周肇祥	9	
14	崇璋		
笔者评论			

	❸ 元代作者王恽曾提到，现今的海淀位于中都城以北 20 里（引自《中堂事纪》）。	❹ 两座燕王墓曾位于辽南京城东郊。中都建立时，墓被新城的东城墙围在里面了，之后奉世宗之命又被移出了城。	❺ 唐代刘怦的坟墓原位于金城的南花园，后被世宗注意到，并被命令移出。
1			
2	37/17b—18a		
3	1/18a（于）		
4		27/13b—14a	27/14a
5	171（于）		
6	1/5a	1/5a—b	1/5a—b
7			
8			
9	3/86—87		
10	893		
11			
12	52		
13			
14			
		原始来源:《金史·蔡珪传》。具体讨论见附录三。	墓地被纳入花园内据信是辽南京城南城墙延伸的结果。原始来源:《刘颎传》。见附录三。

房营。

	⑥ 现今城市西南郊鹅房营附近的城墙遗迹是金中都城西南角的遗迹。	⑦ 白云观北部一段废弃城墙的两个残破部分也是金中都城的遗迹。	⑧ 马家铺北部的废弃城墙也是金城的遗迹。	⑨ 白云观西北的会城村是金城会城门的最初位置。
1				
2				
3				
4				
5	171—172	172		
6				
7	19	19		
8				
9	3/81			3/93—94
10	888	885		885
11	52	52（辽南京城）		
12				
13				
14				
	具体讨论见附录三。那波利贞和奉宽提到的是凤凰咀而不是鹅房营。	见附录三。	见附录三。	见附录三。

⑩ 根据《元一统志》，施仁门，金中都城东墙的北门，在今花儿市四条胡同的崇恩观东南附近。这有助于确定中都城东城墙的位置。		⑪ a. 曾位于今梁家园外围的废弃城墙，是金中都城的遗迹。 b. 如今带有“桥”（板桥、华石桥、虎坊桥）、“河沿”（潘家河沿）、“沟”（黑阴沟）这些字眼的街道几乎位于一条南北向的直线上，这条直线经过了梁家园。这显示了在旧时金中都城护城河的存在。
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9	2/64—65	892
10	896	
11		
12		
13		9
14		
没有提供具体距离，因此价值不大。		具体讨论见附录三。

⑫ 根据元朝早期记录，程氏茔在于金中都城东面的中门外 3 里处。汗八里城在建时，坟墓正好位于从即将建成的新城南面的中门延伸出的皇家大道上。程氏茔迁走，为修路让道。这条道路原本位于今正阳门大街往西一点，并与之平行。因此，金城东城墙应该在现今正阳门大街以西。

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	892
11	
12	
13	9
14	

	⑬ 位于辽南京城东郊的海王村仍位于金中都城东城墙外。这一事实为人们所知，是因为据《金史》记载，金代皇帝世宗的妃子 1181 年埋葬于此。	⑭ 海云和尚和可庵和尚的塔林位于今西单牌楼以东，在金中都城北城墙外。
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10	892	898
11		
12		
13		
14		
	参见表格 2，条目 2。	

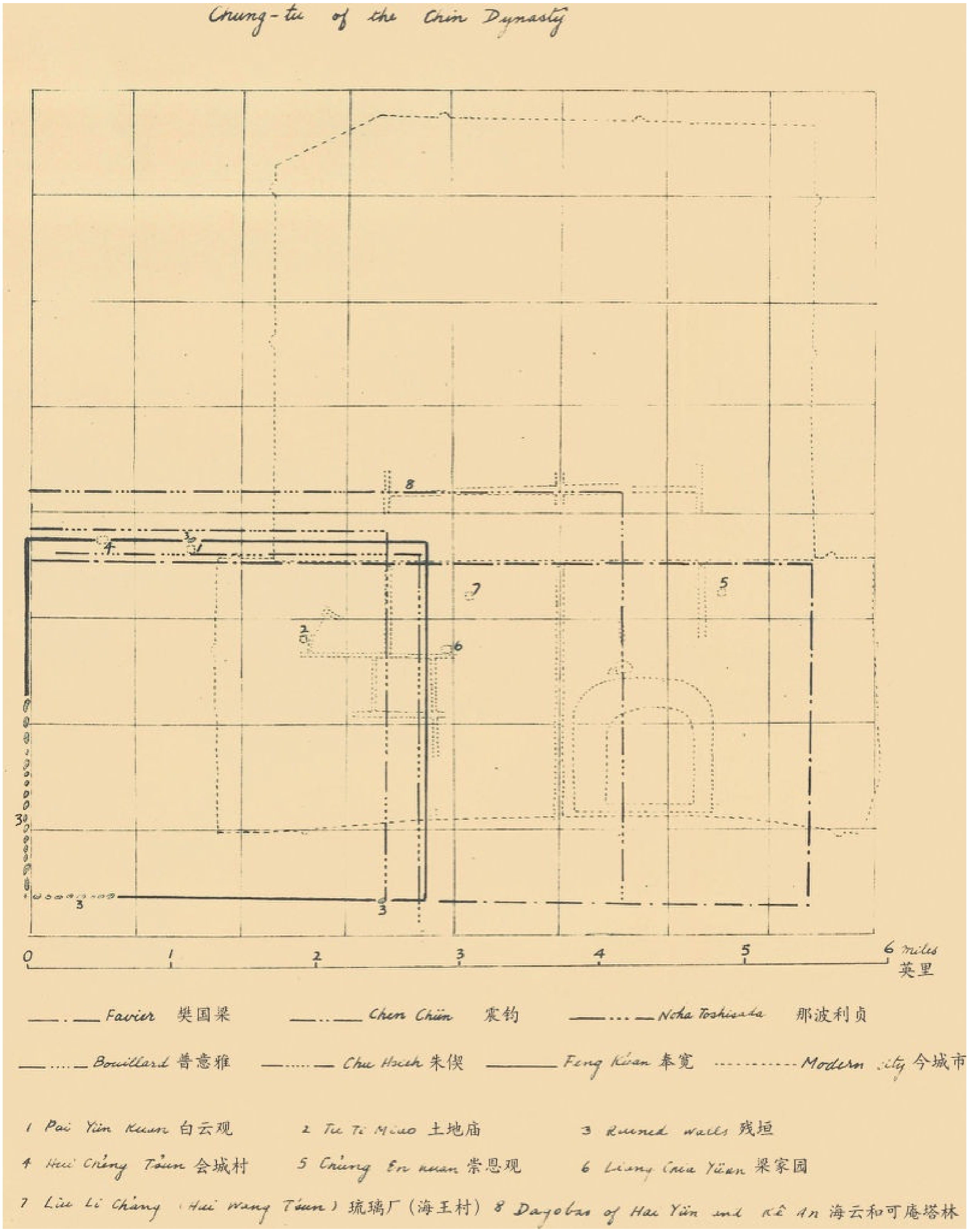

Chung-tu of the Chin Dynasty
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 miles
英里
Favier 樊国梁
Chen Chün 震钧
那波利贞
Bouillard 普意雅
Chu Hsieh 朱偰
Feng Kuan 奉宽
Modern city 今城市
1 Pai Yün Kuan 白云观
2 Tu Ti Miao 土地庙
3 Ruined walls 残垣
4 Hui Ch'êng Ts'un 会城村
5 Ch'ung En Kuan 崇恩观
6 Liang Chia Yüan 梁家园
7 Liu Li Ch'ang (Hai Wang Ts'un) 琉璃厂（海王村）
8 Dagobas of Hai Yün and K'ê An 海云和可庵塔林

图49　金中都城

注释

1　见奉宽的评论，北平：《国民新报·禹贡周刊》，第2期，1946年3月28日。

2　樊国梁著作在北平出版14年之后，一部由C.马特罗列（C. Madrolle）编纂、名为《北京及其周边》（*Pekin et ses Environs* ）的旅游指南在巴黎发行（Guide Madrolle, no. 12, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1911）。这部指南详细描述了北平城的历史，而这在旅游指南中里是不常见的。而且，其中还有一系列表现北平城在不同时期遗址的手绘图。尽管作者没有提到他的资料来源，但很容易看出与樊国梁研究的一致性。目前为止，我看到的唯一不同之处是有关唐城西城墙的位置推断。樊国梁认为它在今天的法源寺东面，马特罗列则认为在其西面。而这是一个重大失误。

我不打算列出所有参考樊国梁或马特罗列的作品，以下只挑选几例：

梅斯（Maes），《北京天主教简报》，1904。

库寿龄（S. Couling），《中国百科全书》，1917。

甘博（S. D. Gamble），《北京的社会调查》，1921。

裴丽珠（J. Bredon），《北京纪胜》，1922。

喜仁龙（Osvald Sirén），《北京的城墙和城门》，1924。

最近，泰勒教授在他的著作《环境，农村和城市》（"Environment, Village and City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* , vol. XXXII, March 1942, no. 1, pp. 1-69）中绘制了几张图，以来表明“北京城的演进”。这部著作也部分纳入了他近来的一些作品中，如《我们的文明演进》（*Our Evolving Civilization* , 1946, pp. 206-209）和《城市地理学》（*Urban Geography* , 1949, pp. 26-29）。它们也依据出现在《中国百科全书》中的地图。

3　见刘敦桢的评论，载《中国营造学社汇刊》，第6卷，第4期，1937。

附录三　古城遗址

在讨论北平古城遗址之前，很有必要先阐明一下中国城市的基本特征。汉语中，“城”指城墙，也指有城墙所包围的地带，若非有城墙，它就不能在严格意义上被称为城。因此，中国城市最基本的特征就应当是环绕其四周的护城墙了。瑞典学者喜仁龙写道：

正是那一道道、一重重的墙垣，组成了每一座中国城市的骨架或结构。它们环绕城市，并把它划分为地段或场院。墙垣比任何其他建筑都更能反映中国居民区的共同基本特征。在中国北方，没有任何一座真正的城市没有城墙。中文里，“城市”和“城墙”这两个概念都是用“城”这同一个词来表示，因为在中国不存在不带城墙的城市，正如没有屋顶的房子是无法想象的一样。一个居民区，无论它多大、多重要，也无论它治理得有多好，只要没有城墙为其确定范围并把它围绕起来，那它就不能算作一个传统意义上的城市。[1]

自中国历史的早期阶段，华北平原上的居民们便开始建造他们的城——中文意义上的城。[2] 这一点可从中国历史上商朝人使用的“城”字上得到词源学的证明。顾立雅（H. G. Creel）这样描述道：

商朝人提到他们的自己的城市时，最常用的字便是。这个字的上半部分代表一块围起来的场地，下半部分是一个蹲坐的人。上下结合，这个字的意思就是“一个圈起来供人居住的场地”，即一座城市。[3]

由此可见，不论是古代还是当今，汉语中的“城”字都指一个四周有城墙的居住地。下文讨论中所提到的“城”严格遵循这一含义。

1. 关于古蓟城城址的问题[4]

迄今为止，就我们所知道的，在现今的北平城上，抑或是附近，建立的第一座城就是蓟城。严格来说，目前还没有一条史料可以直接指明其所在的确切位置。只有在公元六世纪初的《水经注》中，我们能够找到一条相关的记载。这段文字是这样写的："昔周武王封尧后于蓟，今城内西北隅有蓟丘，因丘以名邑也，犹鲁之曲阜，齐之营丘矣。"[5]

明朝（1368—1644）《长安客话》的作者也有类似的论断，他还认为现在北平西北郊一处残墙即为所谓的蓟丘："今都城德胜门（北平北城墙的西门）外有土城关，相传古蓟门遗址，亦曰蓟丘。蓟丘旧有楼馆，并废，但门存二土阜。"[6]

后来，清朝（1644—1911）早期乾隆皇帝命人在这个废墟上立了一块碑，该碑一直保留至今，其上的题词和诗文指明此处原是古蓟城的一座城门。[7]

西方学者如樊国梁、马特罗列以及普意雅均相信乾隆皇帝碑文所言，并且都在地图上现在北平城的西北角外侧标记一个方块，以表示古蓟城的位置。

然而，稍作思考，上述论断便难以立足，原因很简单：那个被以为是古蓟丘、且有乾隆皇帝所立碑石的城墙遗迹，实为元朝（1260—1368）汗八里的遗迹。[8] 除非有进一步的证据被发现，否则我们绝不能相信古蓟城就在此处。一篇由皇帝御题的碑文不应当影响我们对科学真知的追求。

另一方面，我们不应忽视《水经注》原文信息的价值。它清楚地指明："今城内西北隅有蓟丘，因丘以名邑也……"既然作者所提到的城是

指“今城”，显然它在作者生活的年代依然存在。但是，《日下旧闻考》引用的同一段文字中，“今”字被漏掉了。[9]《水经》原作成书于公元四世纪，其注文完成于六世纪初。倘若如此，那么蓟城的遗址从公元前十二世纪到公元六世纪都未曾发生变化。[10]可惜那个叫做蓟丘的小山丘现已无从考证，古蓟城的确切位置恐怕也湮没无闻了。

2．唐（618—907）幽州城的位置

目前可探寻到最早城址的是唐代的幽州城。前辈学者们为了确定其位置所收集到的所有资料证据详见附录二的表1，除此之外，尚未有更多的发现。但要复原幽州城的全貌，这些材料还是不够的。只有表中的第二条材料有助于确定幽州城的位置，它明确说明了现在南城西部的法源寺，亦即悯忠寺，当时位于幽州城的东南隅。[11] 若此说不误，则幽州城的东城墙和南城墙应该就在法源寺附近。但据我所知，至今尚未发现任何有关幽州城南城墙的证据。

奉宽考证的东城墙的位置确实可信，但是他的错误在于将其向南延伸过长，导致法源寺几乎处在了南北墙中间的位置。这是因为他参照了文天祥《虏廷事实》中的一段描述："燕山京城东壁，有大寺一区，名悯忠。"[12]

据附录一：《北平历史沿革表》，燕山城得名于公元1123的北宋时期，南宋爱国志士文天祥在1276年被蒙古人押解到燕山之前，从来没有到过这里。[13] 因此，文天祥所描述的是多年之后的燕山城（即金代的中都城），其东城墙比唐朝时期向南延伸很远。[14] 这就是为何他记录悯忠寺在"燕山京城东壁"，而非"幽州城东南隅"。文天祥所言属实，只是奉宽误引了上面的一段话，与唐代的幽州混淆了。

关于北城墙的位置，今北平城北内发现的两座带有墓志的唐代墓葬十分重要。其中一篇墓志记述其在幽州城东北五里处，另一墓志则记载其位于幽州城正北五里处。如果两座墓相距不远，幽州城北城墙的位置就不难确定。但是，如附录二中表1所述，第一座发现于西安门内（条目4），而第二座墓在中国大学校园内（条目9）。两处墓穴由东北向西

南相距2.5里多。 [15] 这一明显的差距，使墓志上明确提到的数据失去了价值，进而导致北城墙的位置难以确定。我个人认为，第一方墓志上所记载的数据可能更可靠一些。

至于西城墙，我们非常确定，现在南城西城墙外的天宁寺位于唐代幽州城内。[16] 但这还不足以确定唐幽州城的西界。那波利贞认为，今白云观以西的土城台是唐代幽州城唯一的残迹。[17] 他的观点可能是对的，至少，幽州城的西边界线离他所说的位置不远。那波利贞的观点还须考古发掘的进一步证实，但至今未有人做过此类工作。

最后，唐代晚期的《元和郡县志》中有一段颇有意思的引文，说蓟城“南北九里，东西七里”[18] 。此处所说的蓟城就是幽州城（参见《北平历史沿革表》）。如果这样，那么幽州城就应当是矩形的，而非之前大部分学者们所认为的正方形。不过，此处所记录的实际距离是否可靠也值得怀疑。[19]

对以上讨论的总结，参见图50。

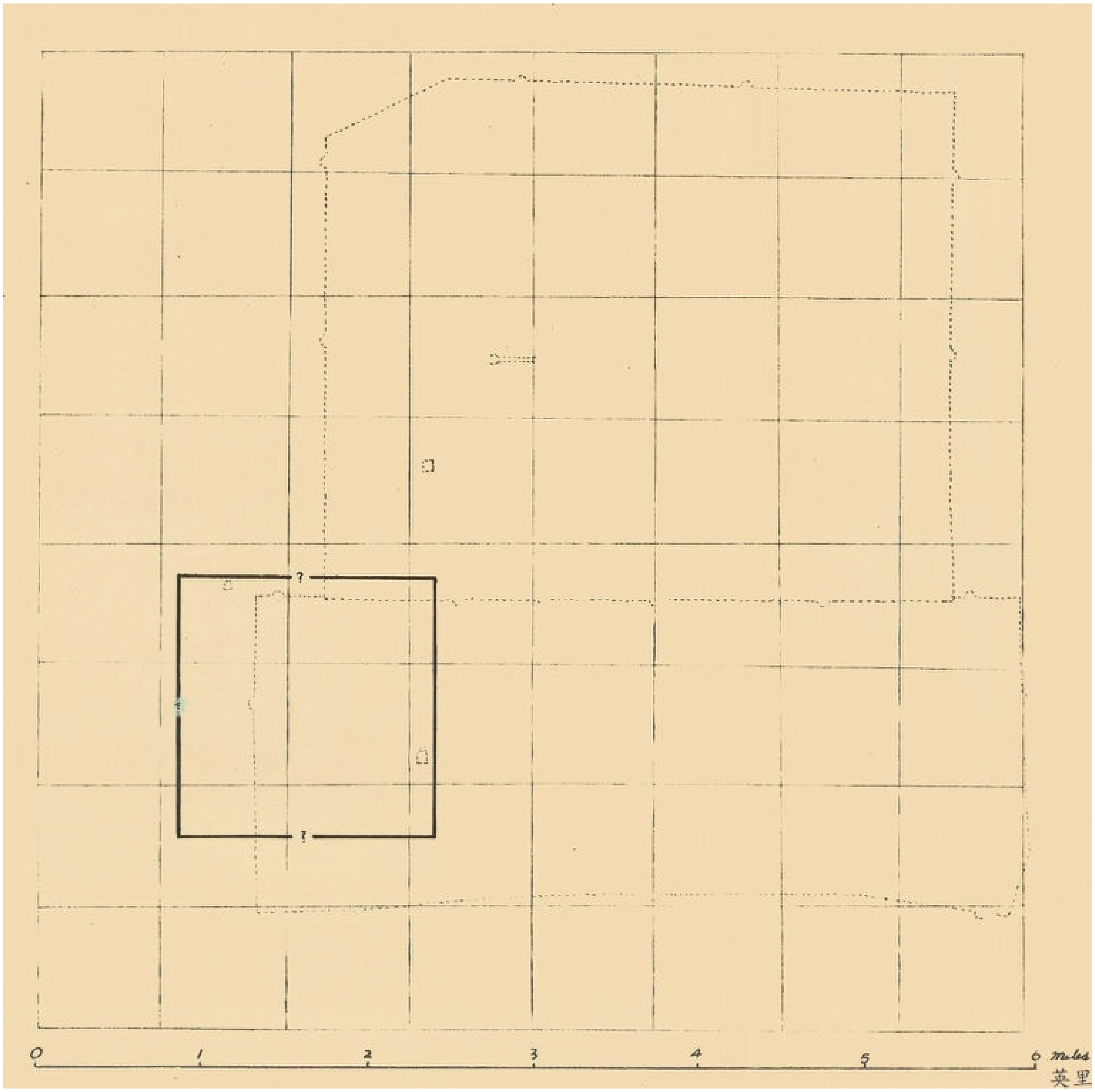


图50　唐幽州城规划图

3．辽（916—1125）南京城

所有重要的中国学者都认为辽南京城就是唐幽州城（见附录二，表2）。虽然他们对唐幽州城的准确范围意见不一，但这一主张总体说来还是可信的。因为没有任何史料记载辽代对幽州城作过改建，而且也没有必要这么做，因为此时它还只是陪都。直到金朝，它才成为国都，也是到那时这座城市才经历了大规模的改建。

4．金（1115—1234）中都城

金都城中都是在辽南京城的基础上扩建而成，东、南、西三面都有扩展，北边则可能保持了原状。

关于东墙的扩建，下面一段引自《金史》的文字别有一番趣味："初，两燕王墓旧在中都东城外。海陵广京城围，墓在东城内。前尝有盗发其墓。大定九年，诏改葬于城外。"[20] 这是有关辽南京城扩建的确凿史料。

然而，有关金中都南墙扩建的史料证据就不那么确定了。同上引文类似，《金史》中还有如下一段记载："初，南苑有唐旧碑，书'贞元十年御史大夫刘怦葬'。上见之曰：'苑中不宜有墓。'颏　家本怦后，诏赐颏 钱三百贯，改葬之。"[21]

基于这条史料记载，赵翼和缪荃孙两人都得出了金中都南墙曾经扩建的结论。[22] 但是，如果我们仔细研究上述引文就会发现，它既没有提及辽南京城是否向南扩建，也没有明确南苑是否位于金中都城内。那座墓可能是位于辽南京城的南墙之外，后来才被纳入金中都城内。根据"南苑"的名字，也可作同样的假定。按照这个思路进行推理，听起来十分合理，但在未找到切实证据之前，我们还不能将其视为确切的事实。至于中都城的西面，目前还没有任何文献证据表明其曾经有过扩展的情况。

当然，对金中都的复原工作并非只是依靠文献记载，最有价值的证据是保留至今的金中都外墙的遗迹。在今天的北平城郊，仍能发现金中都外墙的遗迹。最明显的就是在鹅房营村附近遗留下来的中都城墙的西南角。贝勒士奈德首次记录了这些遗迹，他亲眼目睹的情况如下：

在彰义门西南约八里处发现了一处古城墙遗址，该遗址距离今汉城（即南城）南城墙上的西门右安门大约有八里。从右安门出发向南走两里，有一条自西向东流的河，河水流过低洼的沼泽化草甸，形成星罗棋布的小水塘。沿河北岸而上若干里，有一处古城墙遗址，高20至30英尺，与河流平行延伸七里有余，且大部分保存完好。在鹅房营村处，该城墙折而向北。这里显然就是古城的西南角。该城墙在与石头路相接之前就消失了……按照流行的说法，这段古城墙属于以前的金中都城的一部分。这一说法与中国学者们认定的金中都位置是一致的。[23]

这些从鹅房营村向北、向东延伸的古城墙残迹，是有关金中都城址的最有说服力的证据。

沿着鹅房营村古城墙向东延伸的投影线，在马家堡村北部发现了同一座城墙的另一小段。[24] 因为它离现在的北平城较近，所以只有一小段保存了下来。这段城墙仅有0.5里长，最早是由那波利贞认定的。[25]

在今天白云观的北边，还发现了另外两段相邻的古城墙遗迹。[26] 很早以前就有人注意到了这些古城墙，比如，早在1423年，当时的名臣和学者杨士奇在他所写的《郊游纪》中就有如下的描写：

出平则门，望天王寺、白云观，在城西南五六里，将驰赴之。……稍前度石桥，入土城，望白云观可一里。土城者，辽金故城也。其遗址独西北一隅间存，亦间有可登眺者，然不及登。[27]

从杨氏的描述看，他也许并不知道这座古城还有其他几段城墙也留存了下来，因此错误地认为他所见到的那部分残垣就是古城墙的西北角。但他为我们生动地展现了这段古城墙遗址在十五世纪初的面貌。他描述的那段残垣现在基本上已经不存在了。

这段古城墙往西约两里处，有一个叫做会城门的村落。会城门是当时金中都北城墙上的西门的名字。事实上，这个村落就是在古城门遗址

上逐渐建立起来的，当年城门的名字也因此得以保留至今。然而，如此简明的事实，在那波利贞和奉宽之前，从未有人指出过。不过，那波利贞错误地认为金中城的西北角就在黄亭子，并且声称会城门村和黄亭子处在一条东西向的直线上。因此，那波利贞所认为的中都城北城墙比实际的太过偏北，他也完全没有注意到白云观北边的古城墙残垣。[28]

现在我们面临的最后一个问题就是金中都东城墙的位置，这也是最有争议的一个问题。因为现在的北平南城西部早就与中都城的东部重叠，所以中都城的东城墙没有任何残迹保存下来。不过，在如今的南城修建之前的明朝初年，确有一道残破的城墙存在过。幸运的是，有一位名叫刘定之的见证者记录下了这个情况："梁氏园在今京师西南五六里，其外有旧城。旧城者，唐藩镇辽金别都之城也。"[29]

虽然那段城墙遗址消失已久，梁氏园的原址现今尚可考证，因为它的名字保留了下来。现在它通常被叫做梁家园。"家"就是"氏"的口头说法。虽然它已不再是一个园林，但其园林的大体形状尚可辨认。

此外，奉宽确信，虽然金中都的东墙比辽南京的东墙大大向东扩展，但是辽代位于城郊的海王村到金代仍然位于中都城的东墙之外。[30] 根据1770年发现的辽代李内贞墓碑，可以证实海王村的位置就在今琉璃厂街。[31] 这条街的西端点恰好落在穿过梁家园东端的一条南北向的直线上。因此，根据海王村的位置，我们可以断定，梁家园外的那段残垣正是金中都东城墙的遗迹。

依靠上述论证，便可精确地绘制出金中都的规划图。（图51）

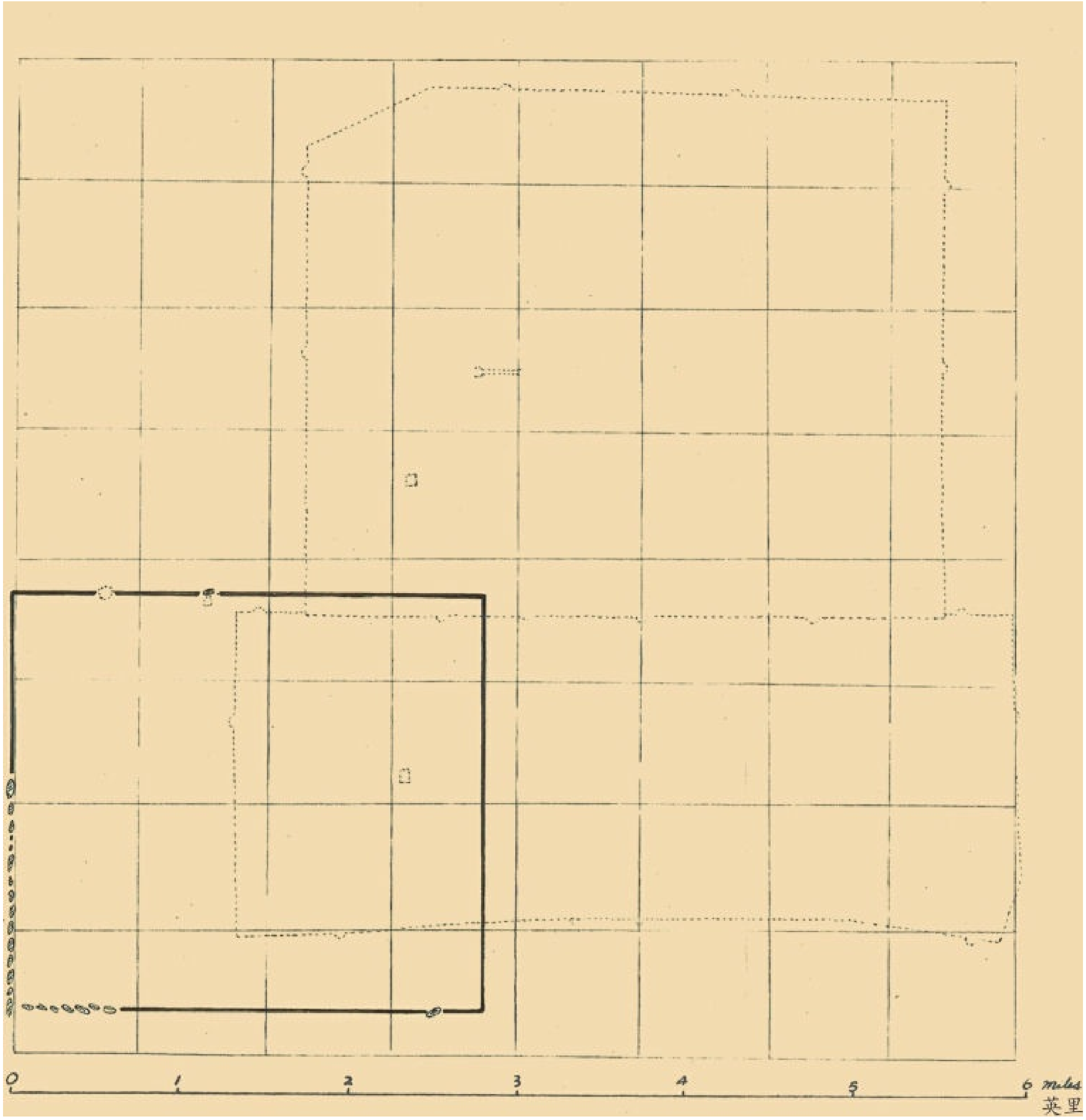


图51　金中都城规划图

注释

1　Osvald Sirén, *The Walls and Gates of Peking* , 1924, pp. 1-2.

2　Herrlee Glessner Creel (顾立雅), *The Birth of China, A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* , London, 1936, pp. 69-71.

3 同注2 引顾立雅书，第71页。

4 古蓟城与今东北部的蓟县不同，今蓟县沿革只能上溯到公元730年。

5 《四部备要》本，第13卷，第21页。

6 引自于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第167卷，第4页。

7 于敏中：《日下旧闻考》，第8卷，第4页。

8 见第七章论述。

9 同上引于敏中书，第107卷，第4页。

10 见第195—196页的论述。

11 见附录二，表1，条目2和表2，条目9、10，及表1和表2后附地图。奉宽的理论认为，唐幽州城在其后年间没有改变，即辽代南京与唐幽州城完全相同，因此他对辽代南京城的描述同样适用于幽州。

12 引自奉宽：《燕京故城考》，第887页。

13 见《宋史·文天祥传》。

14 详见后文论述。

15 如果按常理推算，唐代单位制下的1里比现在短，那么此处的差别就更大。

16 见附录二，表1，条目1。

17 见附录二，表1，条目5。

18 引自《郡国志》中李吉甫的《元和（806—821）郡县图志》，1882年版，第3卷，第3页。

19 据前引那波利贞书（第3卷，第8页），唐代幽州城在现在单位制下，东西长为七里又余，南北五又二分之一里。

20 《金史·蔡珪传》。

21 《金史·刘頍 传》。

22 见附录二，表3，条目6。

23 同第二章注33 引贝勒士奈德书，第171—172页。

24 见附录二，表3，条目8。

25 见附录二那波利贞书，第3卷，第81—82页。

26 见附录二，表3，条目7。

27 同第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第64卷，第22—23页。

28 同第四章注87 引孙承泽书，第3卷，第93—95页。

29 同上，第4页。

30 见附录二，表3，条目13。

31 见附录二，表2，条目2。

附录四　北平附近的河道变迁

1．早期的河道（六世纪）

公元六世纪的著名地理著作《水经注》最早记载了蓟城周边的河道信息。这些史料弥足珍贵，因为它详尽记载了这些河道与古蓟城的相对位置。诚然，六世纪早期蓟城的准确位置还有待考证，但在接下来的讨论中，我们会发现，所有的历史资料和笔者的观点是一致的，即古蓟城与唐幽州城的位置是基本一致的。

《水经注》中提到了三条和蓟城密切相关的河流，即㶟水、洗马沟和高梁河。㶟水是现在浑河的旧称。洗马沟是古时一条小河的名字，现在我们仍在能在南城的西部找到它的河床遗迹。古高梁河尚存一部分河段，但是已经变换了名字；另一些河段则由于在不同历史时期出于不同原因大量向其他河道引流而消亡。不过，在六世纪初，洗马沟和高梁河都是㶟水的支流，《水经注》也记录了这两条河流与蓟城的相对方位。

限于篇幅，本文不打算将《水经注》的原文整段加以转述，而仅节录那些对复原这些河流故道至关重要的文字。节录的每一段文字都根据《水经注》原文的叙述顺序加以编号。

A. 㶟水（今浑河）

（1）“㶟 水自南出山，谓之清泉河……水又东南，迳良乡县之北界。”

（2）“㶟水又东，迳广阳县故城北。”

（3）“㶟水又东北，迳蓟县故城南。《魏土地记》曰：蓟城南七里有清泉河。”

（4）“㶟水又东，与洗马沟水合。”

（5）“其水又东入㶟 水。㶟 水又东迳燕王陵南。陵有伏道，西北出蓟城中。景明中，造浮图建刹，穷泉掘得此道，王府所禁，莫有寻者。通城西北大陵，而是二坟，基址磐固，犹自高壮，竟不知何王陵也？”

（6）“㶟水又东南，高梁之水注焉。”

（7）“《魏土地记》曰：清泉河上承桑干河（今浑河上游河道旧称），东流与潞河（今北运河的旧称）合。㶟 水东入渔阳，所在枝分，故俗谚云，高梁无上源，清泉无下尾。盖以高梁微涓浅薄，裁足津通，凭藉涓流，方成川畎。清泉至潞（即今通州，古时因潞河流经此地而得名‘潞’），所在枝分，更为微津，散漫难寻故也。”[1]

以上节录的《水经注》内容清楚地表明，如果古蓟城与唐幽州城的地理位置相同，那么六世纪早期的清泉河河道则与今日的浑河河道大相径庭。幸运的是，这一假说被上面的第五条引文证实。这则引文记叙了燕王陵中的伏道直通蓟城的故事，这对目前的研究来说似乎无足轻重，或许可以看做是郦道元写进《水经注》中的一桩轶事，没有什么特定的

目的，而且郦道元也坦言，他并不知道这位燕王的名姓。实际上，正是这则记载，为我们揭开古蓟城城址的谜团提供了重要线索。

在附录三关于辽南京和金中都城址的讨论中，笔者曾引用《金史》中的一段话来证明辽南京城的东部曾由海陵王下令扩展。这段引文对这里的讨论也大有裨益："初，两燕王墓旧在中都东城外，海陵广京城围，墓在东城内……大定九年（1173）诏改葬于城外。"

显然，《金史》里的"两燕王墓"与郦道元《水经注》里的"燕王陵"是同一处墓葬。由于不同史料里的记载不尽相同[2]，关于这两位燕王的身份一直众说纷纭，一直到十二世纪，才有了确切的证据。这种状况或许是因为郦道元不能确定两位墓主身份，而坦承"竟不知何王陵"的缘故吧。

1173年，当这两座陵墓迁出金中都城时，墓主的身份终于揭晓。棺材上的铭文证明东边的陵墓属于燕灵王刘建，西边的属于燕康王刘嘉。燕灵王刘建是西汉开国皇帝刘邦（公元前206—前195在位）的第八子，刘嘉也必定是属于同族的后人。[3]

根据《水经注》的记载，六世纪时蓟城在燕王陵的西北。而根据《金史》的记载，这两座燕王陵墓位于辽南京城的东郊。笔者曾在附录三中提到，辽南京城的东城墙和唐幽州城的东城墙是同一处。根据这些资料，我们必然可以得出结论：唐幽州城与六世纪早期的蓟城城址相同，而且在现存的史料中，也看不到从六世纪早期到唐朝，该城城址曾发生过变动的记载。虽然，从早期城址在元代之前是否发生过变化尚存疑问，但至少我们有确定的理由相信，六世纪早期及其以前的三百年这段时间里，蓟城城址一直未发生变化。从郦道元引用的若干早至三世纪的文献，可以看出这些河道与郦道元时代的蓟城的相对方位和距离是没有变化的。三世纪的《魏土地记》即是其中的一例。其他的相关文献在后面还要陆续提到。因此，一旦古蓟城的城址可以确定，㶟 水以及下面将要讨论的洗马沟、高梁河的河道就可以绘制出来了。

B．洗马沟

（1）“水上承蓟城西之大湖。”

（2）“湖有二源，水俱出县西北，平地导泉，流结西湖。湖东西二里，南北三里，盖燕之旧池也。绿水澄澹，川亭望远，亦为游瞩之胜所也。”

（3）“湖水东流为洗马沟。”

（4）“侧城南门东注。”

（5）“其水又东入㶟 水。”[4]

上述引文中提到的西湖，长期以来被中国学者误认为是位于今北平城西北约五英里（约8.04公里） 的颐和园中的昆明湖，因为它在明朝时被称作西湖。[5] 根据洗马沟与蓟城的相对位置和方向判断，洗马沟发源的湖泊应该距这座城市不远，而且，它必定在城的西面。现在，在今南城的西郊，有个方圆一里的浅水塘，名为莲花池。雨季时，会有溪水由此向东南流入护城河。[6] 笔者认为，这才是《水经注》中记载的西湖。这个湖泊的消失很可能是因为十世纪时被桑干河的泛滥河道所淹没。[7]

C．高梁河

（1）“高梁河……水出蓟城西北平地泉。”

（2）“东注，迳燕王陵北。”

（3）“又东迳蓟城北。”

（4）“又东南流。《魏土地记》曰：蓟东一十里，有高梁之水者也。”

（5）“水又东南入㶟水。”

（6）“《魏土地记》曰：……故俗谚云，高梁无上源……盖以高梁微涓浅薄，裁足津通，凭藉涓流，方成川畎。”[8]

根据以上的史料，我们可以大致勾勒出一幅六世纪初期蓟城周边地区的河道分布图（图52），地图上各条河流旁边的标号与上述引文的序号一一对应。

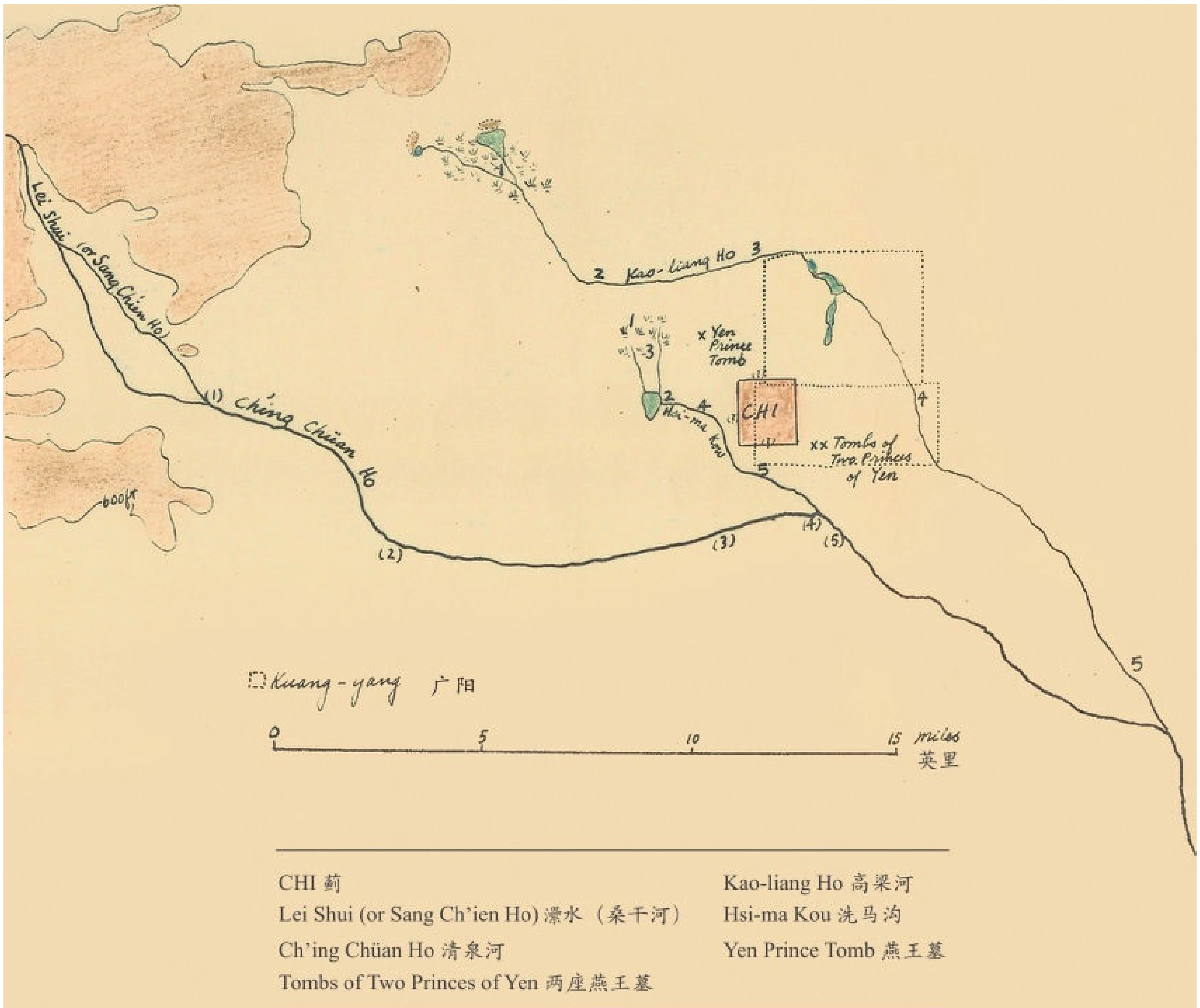


图52　根据《水经注》复原的六世纪初的水道分布

2．浑河（七世纪早期）

七世纪早期，灅 水或清泉河在《隋书》中被称作桑干河。从那时起，水和清泉河这两个名字就不再使用了。桑干河这个名字一直被保留到今天，只是现在专指河流的上游河段。

据《隋书·礼仪志》记载："大业七年，征辽东。炀帝遣诸将，于蓟城南桑干河上，筑社、稷二坛，……行宜社礼。"北宋司马光主持编纂的史学名著《资治通鉴》成书于十一世纪，书中也有类似的记载，其内容如下：

> 大业八年（612），春，正月……四方兵皆集涿郡……凡一百一十三万三千八百人，号二百万，其馈运者倍之。宜社于南桑干水上，类上帝于临朔宫南，祭马祖于蓟城北。[9]

耐人寻味的是，蓟城被当做是与高丽进行大规模战争的军事基地，而当时的政治中心远在南面的黄河流域。通过沟通若干河流，一条南起黄河北至桑干河的大运河建成了，这在正文第四章已经充分讨论过。在这里，我们需要注意的是蓟城和桑干河的地理关系。上述两则引文对此虽然没有直接明确的描述，但是根据隋朝社、稷二坛建在蓟城以南桑干河畔的事实，笔者倾向于相信，七世纪早期的桑干河河道与前文所讨论的六世纪初的河道相比，变化不大。并且，在这段时间里，蓟城城址也没有发生过迁移。据现有的历史文献显示，在此后近四百年的时间里，河道也没有发生新的改变。

3．浑河（十世纪后期）

下述引文源自《宋史·宋琪传》。宋琪曾在宋朝任吏部尚书，是幽州（即后来辽代南京城）人。他对幽州周边的地理环境非常熟悉。989年，当宋太宗准备发动对辽的军事行动时，宋琪上疏曰：

> 大举精甲，以事讨除，灵旗所指，燕城必降。但径路所趋，不无险隘……挟山而行，援粮而进，涉涿水，并大房，抵桑干河，出安祖砦，则东瞰燕城，裁及一舍，此是周德威收燕之路。……从安祖砦西北，有卢师神祠[10]，是桑干出山之口，东及幽州四十余里。……其桑干河水属燕城北隅，绕西壁而转。大军如至城下，于燕丹陵[11]东北横堰此水，灌入高梁河，高梁岸狭，桑水必溢。可于驻跸寺东引入郊亭淀[12]，三五日弥漫百余里，即幽州隔在水南。王师可于州北系浮梁以通北路，贼骑来援，已隔水矣。视此孤垒，浃旬必克。

这段文献对于现在的研究有很大的价值，它清楚地说明，桑干河距幽州城很近。根据附录三的分析，这座城和唐幽州城的城址完全一致。

只是，桑干河的流向似乎向北偏移了一些，但其准确位置尚难以确定。不过，我倾向于相信这条河流在经过今天的石景山之后，折向东流，然后绕幽州城的西、南面流淌，最终注入了幽州城东南面的古河道。这一段河道沿用了桑干河的旧称。

贝利·维理斯也找到了这条流经今南城西部的河流的地质学证据。

> 从汉城（即南城）的西门往西三英里，通往卢沟桥的路上，分布着粗砾石夹杂着细沙，一直延绵至浑河。这些粗砾石很明显是浑河最近几次在平原上摆动时留下的。其间还散布着从其他地区吹来的沙子和尘土堆积而成的沙丘和土堆。[13]

据我们所知，从金朝中期以后，浑河位于今北平城西南的卢沟桥上游的部分，就再未发生过河道变化。尽管有文献记载曾经发生过洪水，但是最远也从未波及城市近郊。所以我猜想，这些接近城区分布的沙砾，是否是辽代时河水流经城西地区时遗留下来的。

至于南城，我们则发现了确凿的证据证明桑干河曾流经此地。宋代官员王曾曾出使辽国，抵达辽国都城。他对此次行程有过详细记载。

> 自雄州白沟驿[14]渡河，四十里至新城县……又七十里至涿州。北渡范水、刘李河，六十里至良乡县。渡卢沟河，六十里至幽州，号燕京。……南即桑干河。[15]

由于这些记载是曾经亲临此地的人留下的，其可靠性自然毋庸置疑。但是一个新的问题又产生了，众所周知，前文所提到的卢沟河即桑干河的又一名称，而这则文献表明这两条河流同时存在，桑干河流经辽南京城的南郊，而卢沟河的河道则在南京西南六十里外，并且非常接近良乡。而且卢沟河的河道和今日良乡东部的浑河河道基本一致。有可能吗？

唯一的合理解释是：这条河流在十世纪从山地流至平原时分成了两条支流，一条流向东南，被称作桑干河；而另一条直接向南流去，被称作卢沟河。大概由于卢沟河这一分支的河道更为笔直，它的流速便日渐增加。随着时间流逝，越来越多的水流入卢沟河，最终东南分支的河道干枯废弃，桑干河也就随之消失，卢沟河则承接了上游河道带来的所有流水。这次变迁极有可能发生在十二世纪早期，也就是辽金混战朝代更替的多事之秋。这可能就是此次河道变迁未曾被载入史册的原因。

要想全面复原这个时期幽州附近的河道变迁，还需要讨论一下高梁河的问题。979年，宋朝军队和辽代骑兵在高梁河畔打了一场战役，这场战役具有决定性的历史意义，史称“高梁河之战”。这次战役发生的具

体位置已经很难确定。在宋琪的奏疏中，他曾建议于“燕丹陵东北横堰此水（即桑干河），灌入高梁河”。根据本书第三章的分析，这个建议应该是在三世纪的一次水利工程完工后提出的。这两个例子充分说明，高梁河十世纪时仍在幽州城北部。而且它也流向城东，最终汇入东南部的桑干河，如同它在六世纪早期流入清泉河一样。这在乐史编写的宋朝地理总志《太平寰宇记》中有记载：“高梁河，在县东四里，南流合桑干水。桑干水，自西北昌平县界来，南流经府西，又东流经府南，又东南与高梁河合。”[16]

这里记载的高梁河河道和六世纪早期的高梁河河道相比，唯一的不同在于从河道到城东边的距离。最初它是在城东边十里，现在则是四里。笔者认为《太平寰宇记》中的四里是误记，因为在汉语中“四”和“十”的发音非常地接近。

为了更直观地展示上述论证，笔者绘制了另一幅地图（图53）。它只是展示了河道的大致方向，因为精确的河道位置已无从考证了。

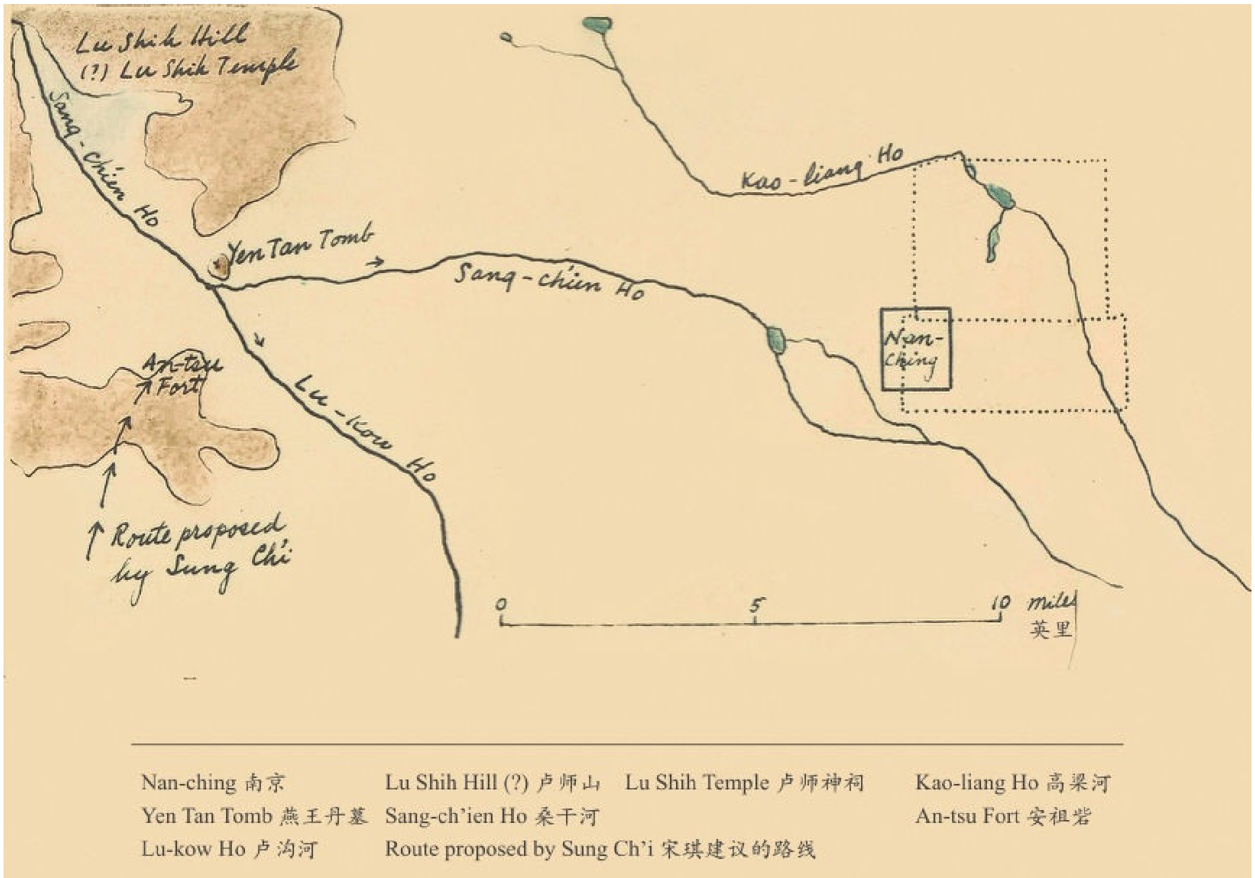


图53　十二世纪初辽金时期北平周边地区的河道分布

4．浑河（自十二世纪以来）

1153年，金朝重建了中都城之后，我们发现桑干河已经消失了，卢沟河则成为当时中都附近唯一一条南流的河流，与今日浑河的流向大致相同。但是“桑干”这个名字保存下来，常常和卢沟河相混淆。下述文献来自南宋学者范成大，他曾于1170年出使金朝。“卢沟去燕山三十五里……此河宋敏求（另一南宋著名学者）谓之芦菰，即桑干河也。”[17]

准确地说，这是个错误的结论，但是这个错误很快被遗忘。不久以后，“桑干”这个名字开始仅被用于位处山峦之中的河道上游，而位于平原上的下游河道，“卢沟”是专用名。“桑干”一词一直被保存到今天，而早在元朝，“浑”便取代“卢沟”，清朝初年又为“浑河”增加了一个官方名字“永定”（寓意永葆安定）。“浑河”和“永定河”这两个名字是可以互换的。

根据范成大的记载，卢沟河距离金中都三十五里。显然，这是都城和范成大渡河地点之间的距离，可惜范成大并未记录他渡河的准确地点。但是，一个值得注意的事实是，辽末金初已经出现了一个永久性的渡河地点。现在我们先来看一下这个渡河地点是如何产生，在哪里产生的。

最早的可考资料来源于另一位宋朝使臣许亢宗，他曾于1123年出使金朝，根据他的记载：“离城（即良乡）三十里过卢沟河，水极湍激，燕人每候水浅，深置小桥以渡，岁以为常。近年，都水监辄于此两岸造浮梁。”[18]

遗憾的是，这则文献也未指出浮桥究竟建在何处。直到1188年，在卢沟河上修建石桥的决定才由金世宗提出，不过尚未动工，金世宗就在

第二年年初病逝了。1189年，金章宗开始修建卢沟桥，一直到1192年才竣工。卢沟桥不仅是北平周边地区的伟大建筑壮举，在地理学上更是意义重大。中国人和西方人都对它很有感情。在西方，它以“马可·波罗桥”著称，因为马可·波罗在目睹了这座当时已经历百年风雨的桥梁时，不惜在《马可·波罗行记》中用了整整一个篇章来详尽地描绘它，这是它第一次进入西方人的视野。[19] 对于中国人来说，这座桥见证了日本人制造“卢沟桥事变”，蓄意发动蓄谋已久的全面侵华战争。中国人八年的浴血抗战最终赢得了正义的胜利，这座桥就如同一座不朽的丰碑，纪念着无数勇敢反抗侵略、无悔奉献的人们。然而，卢沟桥的地理重要性不在于其建筑，也不在于其战略地位，而是它在下列事实中所起到的决定性作用。首先，它确定了从东北部到南部平原之间往来的交通道路，而且它本身便是历史古道中至关重要的环节，标志着北平湾的南大门。其次，它使一次次发生摆动的河道被固定了下来。自卢沟桥建成之后，桥以上的上游河道就没再发生过变动。



图54　宋代北平周边地区的河道分布

注释

1　郦道元：《水经注》，《四部备要》本，第13卷，第20—22页。《水经》记载灅水曾流经蓟城的北边，郦道元认为这是错误的。

2　如，《魏书·地形志》曾记载蓟城地区的燕王陵属于燕昭王和燕惠王。而十二世纪早期的流行观点则认为这两座陵墓属于公元前三世纪的燕王和太子丹，它们也曾被误认为是燕剌王的陵墓。这些观点可参考王先谦：《合校水经注》，第13卷，第22页。

3　《金史·蔡珪传》。

4　郦道元：《水经注》，第13卷，第21页。

5　见附录二缪荃孙书，第36卷，第16页。

6　见《实测京师四郊地图》，1915。

7　详见下文讨论。

8　郦道元：《水经注》，第13卷，第22页。

9　司马光：《资治通鉴》，第181卷，第13—14页。

10　此寺庙今已不可考，但桑干河东侧的山的名字依然是卢师。

11　这座陵墓很可能位于今天的石景山，这一点在前文第三章已有讨论。

12　按：元通惠河上有郊亭闸，因郊亭村而得名。《顺直水利委员会地形图》上著录有大小郊亭村，在今外城之东郊，宋之郊亭淀当于此一带求之。

13　同导言注1引贝利·维理斯书，第198页。

14　现在此地被称作白沟镇，位于北平南65英里（约105公里）处。

15　《辽史·地理志》。

16　《太平寰宇记》，红杏山房本，1803，第69卷，第7页。

17　引自附录二缪荃孙书，第36卷，第2页。

18　徐梦莘：《三朝北盟会编》，第20卷，承宣第一，宣和乙巳奉使行程录。

19　马可·波罗：《马可·波罗行记》，第2卷，第1—2页。

译后记

侯仁之是蜚声中外的历史地理学者，他于1946—1949年留学英国利物浦大学地理系，1949年完成博士论文《北平历史地理》并获得哲学博士学位。这篇英文论文，由于种种原因，一直没有在国内发表过，故学界很少有人知道其中的具体内容。64年之后，承蒙北京外语教学与研究出版社领导的大力支持，他的这篇英文博士论文——《北平历史地理》得以全文翻译和出版。付梓在即，有关侯仁之这篇论文的学术背景和研究内容、研究特色、学术价值，还是很有必要向读者朋友们作一点简要的介绍和说明。

1932年，侯仁之进入燕京大学历史系学习。由于深受顾炎武“经世致用”思想的影响，他对地理学逐渐发生了兴趣。1936年，25岁的侯仁之获燕京大学文学士学位，本科毕业论文《靳辅治河始末》，是有关清代治理黄河问题的研究。在随后的硕士学习阶段，侯仁之对地理学的研究兴趣与日俱增。顾颉刚在燕大开设的“中国疆域沿革史”，以及在学期末组织的“黄河后套水利调查”活动，对他的影响尤深。1940年，在著名历史学家洪业的指导下，他完成了硕士论文——《续〈天下郡国利病书〉山东之部》。研究内容从本科时的黄河问题，转向山东一省的地理研究。按照今天的历史地理学的标准来衡量，侯仁之的硕士论文实际上是一个地区的地理文献汇编，带有强烈的沿革地理色彩。

1946年是侯仁之学术历程的转折点。这一年他远涉重洋，前往英国利物浦大学地理系深造。他的导师是二十世纪三十年代到七十年代英国历史地理学界最具影响力的学者，同时也是英国现代历史地理学最重要的奠基者和建设者——克利福德·达比（Clifford Darby）。达比关于历史地理学的解释简单而明晰，他认为：“历史地理学的材料是历史的，

而研究的方法是地理的，历史地理学的任务就是重建过去的地理。正像现代地理学研究的是现代时段的地理一样，历史地理学研究的是过去一段时间的地理。”他还认为，研究地理景观必须要有发生学的思想：首先，现代的地理景观仅仅是在现在很薄的一个时间层内，而且也正在变成历史地理；其次，现代地理景观的空间特征不是一下子就形成的，而是经过长期的自然和人类的改造。如果地理学的目的是为了了解现代的地理景观，那么就不能单凭现在看到的那些东西，而必须追溯到过去的地理景观。历史地理工作者可以采用横剖面（cross section）的方法，通过一系列横剖面的复原（reconstruction），来恢复某一地区地理景观的变化过程，从而为现代地理景观的特点作出发生学的解释（H. C. Darby, "On the Relations of Geography and History," Transactions and Paper. Institute of British Geographers, 1953, p. 19）。

《北平历史地理》是侯仁之在达比的指导之下完成的博士论文，也是中国历史地理学界第一部关于城市历史地理研究的专著，无论是在侯仁之个人的学术发展历程中，还是在中国历史地理学发展史上均具有重要的标志作用。在中国，虽然上世纪三十年代顾颉刚在燕大创办了《禹贡》半月刊，其英文名称使用了“中国历史地理”（*The Chinese Historical Geography*）这个名词，但是杂志的主要编辑者对于“历史地理”的内涵并没有多少了解，杂志的名称虽然冠以“历史地理”的字样，但是里面的内容却基本上是沿革地理的。从学科发展史的角度来看，《北平历史地理》是中国学者按照现代历史地理学的学科规范，独立完成的第一部系统的城市历史地理研究专著。作者功力扎实，研究视角独到，搜集的古今中外文献极其丰富，加之长期积累的实地考察经验，经过翔实论证后得到的研究结论，即使是在64年之后，仍然具有其学术价值。个人认为，《北平历史地理》具有以下一些独到之处，需要读者朋友们在阅读时加以注意，也是今天从事历史地理研究的青年学者值得借鉴的。

横剖面复原　：《北平历史地理》的研究框架，受到达比学术思想的影响，采用连续横剖面复原的框架。全书分为三个大板块，即前面的导言、后面的四个附录，以及中间的八章，其中中间的八章是论文的核心内容。八章基本上是按照时代排列的，从西周一直到明清，每一个时代构成一个横剖面，反映出一个时间阶段内北平城市地理的特点。侯仁之把北平城市的发展阶段分为三个大时期，即从西周至隋唐“边疆之城”时期、辽金“过渡阶段”时期、元明清“王朝都城”时期，准确勾画出北平城政治地位的变化过程。

地形地貌与交通区位分析：重视地形地貌和交通区位的分析，是这篇论文的一个极其重要的特点，也是作者分析城市的一个重要角度。侯仁之从北平小平原上的地形、地貌特点入手，从南北交通道路格局着眼，指出永定河上以卢沟桥所处位置为代表的古渡口正是通过太行山东麓大道与居庸关大道、古北口大道、山海关大道南北往来的交通枢纽，这个交通枢纽位置，与北平城原始聚落——蓟城的形成关系极大，但因古永定河夏季常常洪水泛滥，威胁着人们的安全，为避洪患，蓟城没有兴起在古永定河古渡口处，而是出现在距古渡口不远、有“西湖”（即今莲花池）作为水源的“蓟丘”，即今广安门一带，从而对北平城原始聚落的起源及其发展的原因作出了令人信服的科学解释，否定了外国学者认为北平城之所以在今天这个地方发展起来，是古代巫师占卜的结果的错误观点。

区域文化差异分析　：北平城的发生与发展，除了受到地形、地貌这些自然地理因素的作用以外，北平城所处的特殊人文地理环境也有很大影响。北平城靠近北方长城带，历史上是中国的北方边疆地区，处于南方农耕文化与北方游牧文化的交流与融合地带。不同文化集团之间的冲突与交流，政治、军事势力的此消彼长，促成了北平城从早期的地方城市——蓟城逐渐上升为北中国的政治中心、全中国的政治中心。作者最

准确地抓住了这个人文地理特点，对不同时期的区域文化特点进行了总结，揭示出北平城发展过程中人文地理因素的影响。

河湖水系分析：侯仁之在揭示了蓟城起源的地理基础之后，又从河湖水系的角度，对历史上的蓟城、辽南京、金中都、元大都、明清北京城的城址、范围与规划特点作了系统而深入的研究。分析了“洗马沟”、“西湖”在蓟城起源过程中的作用，揭示了元大都城址转移与“高梁河”的关系，以及历代城市发展过程中为寻找农业灌溉、漕运水源而采取的水利工程措施等。作者从河湖水系入手，揭示了北平城起源、布局和城址转移的全过程，把古代城市规划的特点放在河湖水系的“网”上来分析，形成了自己独特的城市历史地理分析方法。

文献分析与实地考察相结合：《北平历史地理》的研究工作非常扎实，这一方面是作者对相关研究和史料的搜集格外丰富，另一方面也缘于作者在相关研究领域的深厚积累和广泛的实地考察。早在燕大协助顾颉刚开设“古迹古物调查实习”课期间，侯仁之就开始注意到野外考察的重要性，他多次跑到北平西郊一带，实地考察地理情况和古代的引水工程遗迹，并将有关北平名胜古迹的文献材料分门别类，编辑成《故都胜迹辑略》。1943年，侯仁之发表了他的第一篇关于北平历史地理研究的专题论文——《北平金水河考》，开始试图将文献考证与野外的实地考察结合起来。这个特点在《北平历史地理》中继续得到贯彻，并一直影响到侯仁之以后的其他实证研究工作。

城市形态特点分析：传统的北平城市史研究，主要是考证历代城址、城墙、城门和宫殿，只见局部，缺乏城市整体空间结构的研究。侯仁之对北平城的研究以城市形态为核心，不仅包括城址、城墙、城门与宫殿，还涉及关厢、园林、街道、坊巷、人口、市场、水道、湖泊等内容。侯仁之关注城市整体的形态与规划特点，通过复原不同时期城市的形态，来揭示出城市的规划思想。其对于元大都、明清北京的规划布局

特点和规划思想的研究尤其深刻和独到。侯仁之认为，元大都的规划设计，首先依傍积水潭东岸确定了全城的几何中心和南北中轴线，又以积水潭的东西长度确定了大都城的西、东城墙位置。宫城、皇城、大城的正门，以及钟楼、鼓楼等主要建筑，都坐落在全城的中轴线上。明清北京城的规划设计，使得全城的南北中轴线更加突出，中国传统国都的设计思想在明清北京城的规划设计上达到了顶峰。这些见解，今天来看，还是非常准确而精辟的。

重视地图的表现方式：地图具有强大的空间表现功能，一幅地图胜似千言万语的描述。《北平历史地理》中共有54幅地图，全部为作者亲手所绘。这些精美的插图，不仅增加了论文的美感，更重要的是增加了论文的科学性与直观性，更方便读者对所研究问题的理解。侯仁之重视地图的这个特点，以后逐渐发展到专门采用地图集的方式来表现历史地理学的研究成果，《北京历史地图集》第一、二、三集可以说是这方面的突出代表。

总体来看，《北平历史地理》是一部经受住了时间检验的历史地理研究著作，至今在理论与实践两方面具有重要意义，堪称经典之作。作者所采用的研究框架，以及强调自然地理与人文地理分析、重视地图表现形式、重视文献与考察结合的思想，不仅贯彻到作者自己以后的学术实践中，而且这些思想也值得今天历史地理学界的后学们去阅读、学习和体会。作者有关北平城的具体研究结论，对于今天的城市规划与保护，也仍然具有重要的参考价值。这些都是我们今天翻译和出版这篇论文的价值所在，也是读者们在阅读时需要格外注意的。

邓辉

2013年8月10日于北京大学新地学楼

出版后记

《北平历史地理》成稿于1949年，是侯仁之于英国利物浦大学地理系完成的博士论文。这是该著作首次被译为中文面世。

为呈现原著的时代特点、尊重历史原貌，本书按以下原则进行编辑：内容（含注释、附录）均译自原稿，译者所加少量夹注以楷体区分；注释中的中文文献还原为中文出版信息，西文文献则照录原稿中的出版信息，不作翻译；由于受当时研究资料的限制，书中一些历史事件年代与现今通行的历史年表不尽一致，中文版一律未作修改；凡涉及地名、术语等，也均沿用具体历史时期的说法；本书地图均为作者手绘，原图绝大多数无图名，书中图名为译者所加。

编者谨识

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